

FASCICULUS MORUM  
A Fourteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook

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base text: CC... / Ms. R. 11. 11. 11.  
see v. 11. 11. pp. 23-35

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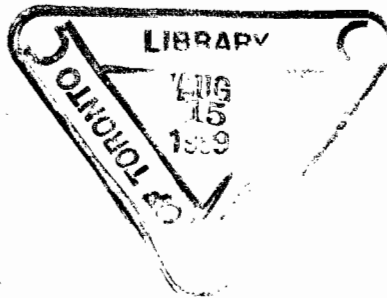
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Sintram, made elsewhere (see *Verses*, p. 22) can be added Leeds, University Library, MS Brotherton 102; see Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 3 (Oxford, 1983), p. 64.

6. See Neil R. Ker, "Cardinal Cervini's Manuscripts from the Cambridge Friars," in: *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomas Kaeppeli, O.P.*, ed. Raymundus Creytens and Pius Künzle, *Storia e letteratura* 141 (Rome, 1978), 1:51–71, esp. 58; repr. with addenda in Neil R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London, 1985), pp. 437–458.

7. To the references to *FM* in medieval booklists, bequests, and the like given in *Verses*, pp. 23–25 and 41–45, the following can be added: A copy of the work is mentioned in a Norwich will; see Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370–1532* (Toronto, 1984), p. 40 and n. 305; a "Fasciculum pauperculum viciorum et virtutum in septem partes diuisum" appears in an early fifteenth-century booklist from the Benedictine abbey of Saint Mary in York (Dublin, Trinity College MS 207, fol. 22v). *FM* is claimed as the source of some added material in the revisions of John Mirk's *Festial*, in Susan Powell, *The Advent and Nativity Sermons from a Fifteenth-Century Revision of John Mirk's Festial*, Middle English Texts 13 (Heidelberg, 1981).

8. The following recension is based on complete collation of III.i.97–III.viii.61 and of shorter passages throughout *FM*.

9. *Verses*, pp. 111–114

10. *Summa brevis*, London, BL MS Royal 4.B.viii, fol. 235.

11. *Summa vitiorum* II.ii.3.

12. *Verses*, pp. 29–34.

13. *Verses*, p. 110.

14. B4 has "te medium scindam quia novi."

15. *Verses*, pp. 26–34. Since publication of my study, attention has been called to some probable borrowings from *FM* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 24, and the extensive use in that MS of the name "Selk"; see Alan J. Fletcher, "'I Sing of a Maiden': A Fifteenth-Century Sermon Reminiscence," *N&Q* 223 (1978), 107–108; Susan Powell, "Connections between the *Fasciculus Morum* and Bodleian MS Barlow 24," *N&Q* 227 (1982), 10–14; and Fletcher, "The Authorship of the *Fasciculus Morum*: A Review of the Evidence of Bodleian MS Barlow 24," *N&Q* 228 (1983), 205–207. It does not seem at all clear what implications for the date of composition of *FM* the borrowings and the occurrence of "Selk" may hold.

16. See the studies by Benedict Hackett, Eric Colledge, and Noel Chadwick, "William Flete's *De Remediis contra Temptaciones* in its Latin and English Recensions: The Growth of a Text," *MS* 26 (1964), 210–230; and S. S. Hussey, "Editing the Middle English Mystics," in: *Spiritualitaet heute und gestern . . . 1982*, *Analecta Cartusiana* 35 (Salzburg, 1983), 2:160–173.

17. For example, the following substitutions: *Ulixbone* (Lisbon) for London and Coventry (II.vi.76); *bestiones* for *babeweis* (V.xvii.00); *Galeco* for *Wallico* II.vi.102); *greyes* for *greges* (III.vii.118); etc. Cf. also the addition "palefridum vel mullam" (III.i.103), and the frequent confusion of initial *b* and *v*.

18. Very much like Nr. 47 in Edward Heawood, "Sources of Early English Paper Supply," *The Library*, fourth series, 10 (1930), 282–307, found in works dated 1462–1503. For a collation of CC, see Neil R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 1977), p. 281.

19. Particularly noticeable, throughout group v, is the uncertainty about verb forms. Especially the present subjunctive and future forms (in the third conjugation) are frequently confused and inconsistent, and certainly wrong in comparison with classical (and even normal medieval) Latin grammar.

## FASCICULUS MORUM

## Prologus

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5 [[M, f. 2] Frater predilecte ac sodalis preelecte, quia Scriptura  
attestante Proverbiorum 18: “Frater qui adiuvatur a fratre quasi civitas  
firma,” vestram fraternalem caritatem ac michi caram fraternitatem supra  
petram Domini positam et fundatam toto cordis conamine operisque iuvamine  
10 stabili(re) peroptans et firmare, ad vestram petitionem fasciculum pauper-  
culum viciorum et virtutum ad vestrum solacium et utilitatem simplicium e  
diversis tractatibus collegi et hic modulo meo inserui. In quo si quid  
minus utile inveneritis, meam insipientiam arguatis. Scio enim et protestor  
in omni sapientia et doctrina, prout scribitur Apocalipsis 3, quod “miser”  
10 sum “et miserabilis, pauper et cecus.” Pro illis vere que placent et valent,  
aliis regraciari et laudare curetis.

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*In C the text of Prologus to I.vii.13 has been lost due to a loss of evidently eight leaves. This section is here edited from M. I have collated M closely with R and W (which begins only at I.iii.51), and I have emended the text of M (indicated by angle brackets) only where the sense evidently demands it. Authorities for the emendations are given in the corpus of variants. Occasionally readings of R and W are cited where these are of textual interest. Material omitted from M is indicated by °. In reproducing M, I have preserved its peculiar (German) spellings but silently omitted repeated words and phrases. 5 stabili(re) stabiliter M.R. Only B3 reads clearly stabilire. The infinitive seems demanded by the syntax, as object, together with firmare, of peroptans. Instead of firmare many MSS read firmiter (corrected from firmare in Go1), evidently in an attempt to correlate the form with stabiliter.*

## Prologue

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Most beloved brother and companion, dear above all others: Since as Holy Scripture testifies in Proverbs 18 that “a brother who is helped by his brother is like a strong city,” I desire, with the greatest effort of my heart and the aid of my work, to build up and strengthen your brotherly love and beloved brotherhood that is placed and founded upon the rock of Our Lord, I have, at your request, collected from various treatises and woven together as well as I could a small and unpretentious bundle of vices and virtues, to comfort you and to help the unlettered. If you find in it anything of little use, you must blame my own lack of wisdom, for I know and acknowledge that, as is said in Revelation 3, in wisdom and learning I am “wretched and miserable, poor and blind.” But for the things that please and are helpful, give thanks and praise to others!

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2–3 Prov. 18.19. 9–10 Rev. 3.17.

# PARS I

## De superbia

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### I.i DE PECCATIS IN GENERALI

Ut enim habetur in *Regula* beati patris Francisci et (eciam) statutum est alibi, tenemur populo denunciare et predicare vicia et virtutes, penam et gloriam cum brevitate sermonis. Ideo a descriptione viciorum est inchoandum, et in virtutibus terminandum, primo in generali, secundo in speciali. Set quia septem considero vicia capitalia et septem oppositas virtutes, tractatus igitur iste *Fasciculus morum* nominatur, et per septem particulas dividatur, in quarum unaquaque precedente vicii descriptione sequitur virtus pro fine, tamquam extirpatrix cuiuscumque mali, nam cuius finis bonus, (ipsum totum) bonum.

10 Circa ergo descriptionem viciorum sive peccatorum in generali est sciendum quod quedam sunt venialia et quedam mortalia. Veniale autem peccatum, secundum Augustinum, est minor amor Dei, utpote quando nimis diligitur aliqua creatura set tamen minus quam Creator; nam si eque aut magis diligetur creatura quam Creator, omnino mortale diceretur. Est igitur peccatum  
15 aversio ab incommutabili bono ad bonum commutabile; hoc est, peccatum est aversio voluntatis a Deo qui omnino immutabilis est, ad aliquid mutabile et transitorium peragendum, quod non vult Deus nec sibi placet. Mortale autem peccatum, secundum Augustinum *Contra Faustum*, “est dictum, factum, aut concupitum quod fit contra legem Dei.” Et dicit “dictum” propter peccatum  
20 oris; “factum” propter peccatum operis; et “concupitum” propter peccatum cordis. Nam sicut hospes per ianitorem ad ostiarium et sic ad domum introducit, sic peccatum a corde ad os, ab ore ad factum, set prochdolor de facto ad dyabolum demandatur.

25 Et dicitur mortale eo quod spiritualiter hominem mortuum reddit. Nam sicut mortui temporaliter cum vivis non communicant, sic spiritualiter mortui per peccatum de beneficiis Ecclesie neque militantis neque triumphantis nullatenus participant. Et ideo omnia eorum opera quoad vitam eter-

# PART I

## Pride

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### I.i SINS IN GENERAL

As is said in the *Rule* of blessed Father Francis and has also been decreed elsewhere, we are held to show and preach to the people, in short words, the vices and virtues, punishment and glory. Hence we must begin with the description of the vices and end with the virtues, first in a general way and then in particular. But since I consider seven chief vices and seven virtues that are opposed to them, this treatise is entitled *Fasciculus morum* and divided into seven parts. In each of them, after the description of a vice there follows in the end a virtue, as a force that uproots every evil; for that whose end is good is itself wholly good.

As regards the description of vices or sins in general, we should know that some sins are venial and others mortal. According to Augustine, venial sin is a diminished love of God, namely when some creature is loved too much, yet still less than the Creator—for when a creature is loved as much or even more than its Creator, this love would be considered plainly a mortal sin. “Sin” is a turning away from the unchangeable good to some changeable good; that is to say, sin means turning away our desire from God, who is altogether unchangeable, to something changeable, and to some transitory action which God does not wish us to do and which does not please him. Mortal sin, according to Augustine in *Against Faustus*, “is any word, deed, or desire which is contrary to God’s law.” By “word” he refers to sin of the mouth, by “deed” to sin in deed, and by “desire” to sin in the heart. For just as a guest is led by the doorkeeper to the gate and thus into the house, so sin proceeds from the heart to the mouth, from the mouth to the deed, and lastly—alas—from the deed to the devil.

And sin is called mortal because it renders man spiritually dead. For as people that are literally dead have no relation with the living, so those who are spiritually dead through sin have no share whatsoever in the benefits of

nam consequendam supervacua dinoscuntur. Est ergo notandum quod sicut nequaquam aliquis vere loqueretur, ambularet, aut huiusmodi que sunt proprietates vite perageret sine vita, sic nec quis in mortali existens nequaquam efficaciter orat, ieiunat, aut cetera opera vite spiritualis peragit sine confessione et penitencia. Dicit Bernardus in *Epistula ad Sophiam*:  
 30 “Absque enim confessione iustus iudicatur ingratus et peccator mortuus reputatur.” Unde peccatorem reprehendens Psalmista ait: “Peccatori autem dixit Deus: ‘Quare tu enarras iusticias meas?’ ” quasi diceret: Sicut ferculum regi presentatum in vase fetido muscis et culicibus deturpato offenderet, revera sic oraciones et alia bona offerendo in corde fedo ac peccatis pleno. Unde narratur de quodam clerico lubrico set in officio Dei et Beate Virginis satis devoto, quomodo Beata Virgo sibi apparuit portans liquorem dulcissimum in vase fetido et sordido, offerens ei ad bibendum. Cum ipse respondit quod propter fetorem vasis non potuit, respondit Virgo Beata:  
 40 “Sic michi oraciones vestre nec filio meo placent, dum vas a quo procedit sit corruptum.”

Et tamen hic notandum est quod bona in mortali peccato [M, f. 2v] facta ad tria valere solent: primo ad augmentum gracie, ut a peccato red-  
 45 eat; secundo ut bona temporalia uberius possideat; tercio ut penas in inferno levius sustineat. Et ideo qui oraciones dicere vel et elemosinas vel alia opera bona (facere) peroptat, primo iuxta consilium beati Bernardi debet a seipso incipere et misereri anime sue, ne regnet peccatum mortale in suo corpore. Quid ergo prodest bona facere et a peccato non cessare?  
 50 Revera sicut de edificante una manu patet et alia destruyente; unde Ecclesiastici 34: “Unus edificans et alius destruens, quid prodest illis nisi labor?” quasi diceret: nichil.

Igitur caveant peccatores, quia Christum capud omnium peccando amittunt et potestati totaliter inimicorum se exponunt. Sicut contingit (in) exercitu regis ubi ex adverso bella imminent mortalia: submisso principe cum vexillo omnes sui exponuntur mortis periculo. Sic certe homines adversus demonum potestates bellantes Christum (principem) habent dum armis virtutum et bone vite viriliter resistunt se submitunt, quorum vexillum  
 60 peccatum mortale est.

Et ideo huiusmodi peccatum est tam Deo quam angelis odiosum, proprio subiecto perniciosum, dampnum proximo et venenosum, et omni creature contumeliosum. Nam omnis creatura natura propria admonet hominem ad Dei cognitionem et debitam subiectionem. Cum ergo peccator eorum doctrinam respuit,  
 65 certum est quod omnis creatura in (ultimo) vindictam sumet, sicut hactenus visum est. Nam de ipso terre elemento patet quando apperrens os suum illos peccatores Dathan et Abiron absorbit, Numeri (16); de aqua patet in diluvio Noe, Genesis 7; similiter de igne, Genesis (19), qui impios Pentapoly incendit, et similiter Regum de igne quinquagenarios devorante; de aere

the Church, whether militant or triumphant. And thus all their works turn out to be completely vain with respect to gaining eternal life. And we should note that just as nobody could properly speak, walk, or do any of the things that are proper aspects of life if he is not alive, so nobody can with any spiritual benefit pray, fast, or engage in any other deeds of the spiritual life without previous confession and penance. Bernard says in his *Letter to Sophia*: “Without confession the just man is judged to be graceless, and the sinner is held to be dead.” Therefore the Psalmist reproaches the sinner and says: “To the sinner God has said, ‘Why do you tell my deeds of justice?’ ” as if he were saying: just as a dish that is offered to the king in a dirty bowl full of flies and gnats, so will prayers and other good deeds give offense if they are offered in a heart that is dirty and full of sins. There is a story about a cleric who was lustful and yet very devout in the worship of God and the Blessed Virgin. The Blessed Virgin appeared to him, carrying a sweet drink in a dirty dish and offered it to him to drink. As he said that he could not do so because of the stench of the dish, the Blessed Virgin replied: “Just so do your prayers not please me nor my son as long as the vessel from which they come is tainted.”

Yet it should be noted at this point that good deeds performed in mortal sin are still of value for three things: first, for an increase of grace, so that the sinner may return from his sin; second, that he may obtain temporal goods more fully; and third, that he may endure his pains in hell more easily. And so, whoever wants to pray or give alms or do other good works should, on the advice of Blessed Bernard, first begin with himself and have mercy on his own soul, that no mortal sin reign in his body. For what is the use of doing good and not ceasing to sin? It is just like building with one hand and tearing down with the other. Ecclesiasticus 34: “One builds up and the other tears down—what is the use of it?” as if to say, none.

Let therefore sinners beware, for by sinning they lose Christ, the head of all things, and give themselves totally into the power of their enemies. Thus it happens in the king’s army when deadly combat threatens: when the leader has fallen with his banner, all soldiers are in danger of death. Likewise, certainly, men who fight against the power of demons have Christ as their leader as long as they withstand manly with the weapons of their virtues and their good life and subject to these the demons, whose banner is mortal sin. ] *whom*

And in this fashion sin is hateful to God and the angels, harmful for the sinner himself, hurtful and poisonous for his neighbor, and an offense to all creation. For every creature by its own nature admonishes man to know God and to subject himself properly to him. But when the sinner refuses to accept their teaching, all creation will certainly punish him in the end, as has been seen before our time. This is true of the element earth, when it opened its mouth and swallowed the sinners Dathan and Abiram, Numbers 16; it is true of

- 70 similiter patet de plagis Egypti, de grandine cadente ac tenebris. Item de nocivis animantibus ad sensum patet tota die; de angelis patet in plerisque locis, tam de bonis quam de malis; et de corporibus supercelestibus patuit Iosue 10, ubi dicitur quod sol et luna steterunt (spacio) unius diei,
- 75 suas creaturas pro peccatis de nobis sicut de predictis vindictam capiat, caveamus, iuxta illud metricè dictum:

Qui tetigit, tetigit; tu desine vivere prave.  
Si feriat, feriat; ° virga secunda cave.

- 80 [[He þat hem reuen, hoe reuen ful sore.  
Amende þy lyf and synne no more,  
Lest he eft so ryue þe.  
þat þou be war, I rede þe.]]

Et hec generaliter ad presens dicta sufficiunt.

1 in . . . Francisci] in regulis sanctorum patrum Et.L3.Pe.W2 and Camb.Dd.10.15; add nostri B3.L2.Sp; om patris B1.Jo; om R (eyeskip); manuscript defective C.W. All full manuscripts recorded. eciam] B1; ecce M.Go2; longer om R; ecclesie B2.Go1. 4 secundo] ac postea R and others. 7 dividatur] dividitur R. 9 ipsum totum] R; ipse quoque M. 32 et penitencia] previa R. 40 fetido et] om R. 47 levius] leviores after penas R. 48 vel alia opera bona] om R. facere] R; om M. 55 in] R; om M. 58 principem] R; principum M. 59 se] thus in M.R; et demones illis Co.Go1. 65 in ultimo] R corr from inutilis; inutilis M. 67 16] R and source; 10 M. 68 19] R; 9 M. 69 de igne] 4 capitulo R. 73 spazio] R; om M. diei] add iubente deo R. 78 feriat(2)] add a interl M. 79–82 He . . . þe] text from R. Verse 1, in B3.E.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.Li.LC.R.Sp.

## I.ii DE DIFFINICIONE SUPERBIE

- Nunc in speciali ad vicia et virtutes procedamus, ita quod cuicumque vicio se semper opponat virtus contraria illud extirpans et confundens, ut dictum est. Et primo et principaliter de superbia et humilitate, secundo de ira et paciencia et mititate, tercio de invidia et caritate, quarto de avaricia et paupertate, quinto de accidia et ocupacionis (agilitate), sexto de gula et sobrietate, septimo de luxuria et castitate.
- 5 Circa enim superbiam hoc modo procedam: primo, que est eius diffinico et proprietates; secundo, unde progreditur eius iniquitas; tercio, quare sit detestanda; quarto, que sunt eius membra numeranda.
- 10 Dico ergo primo quod superbia quantum ad eius diffinicionem est amor

water, as in Noah's flood, Genesis 7; of fire also, which burned the godless people of Pentapolis, Genesis 19, and similarly devoured the quinquagenarians, in the Book of Kings; it is likewise true of the air, as in the plagues of Egypt, when hail fell and darkness came. The same we can observe every day with respect to harmful animals; it is true of the angels, both the good and the evil ones, as reported in various places; and it was true of the celestial bodies, as we are told in Joshua 10 that upon God's command the sun and the moon stood still for one day while Joshua was fighting against his enemies for the children of Israel. Let us beware, then, lest God himself take vengeance on us for our sins with the help of his creatures, as he took vengeance in the cases just mentioned; according to the poem:

He who has struck will strike again;  
Your sinful life repair;  
If he hurts you, bear well the pain:  
His future rod beware!

He þat hem reuen, hoe reuen ful sore . . . .

And these general remarks suffice for now.

1–3 Saint Francis, *Regula bullata* 9; ed. Esser, p. 234. 11–14 Augustine, *De perfectione iustitiae hominis* VI.15 (PL 44:298). 18–19 Augustine, *Contra Faustum* XXII.27 (CSEL 25:621). 33–34 Bernard, *Ep. 113, Ad Sophiam* 4 (7:290). 34–35 Ps. 49.16. 38–43 Tubach 3077. Also in Bromyard, "Confessio," C.VI.3; Brinton, sermons 32, 48, 77, and 96 (pp. 130, 214, 350, and 443); *Spec. laicorum*, No. 361. 48–50 Cf. Bernard, *Ad clericos de conversione* XVI.29 (4:104–105); or *De gradibus humilitatis* IV.13–14 (3:26–27). 52–53 Ecclus. 34.28. 66–67 Num. 16.1–3. 67–68 Gen. 7.10–24. 68–69 Gen. 19.24–29. 69 2 Kings 1.9–12. 69–70 Exod. 7–12. 73–74 Josh. 10.13.

## I.ii THE NATURE OF PRIDE

Now let us turn to the vices and virtues in particular, so that each vice is opposed by its contrary virtue which overcomes and uproots it, as was said earlier. Thus we speak first and foremost of pride and humility, second of wrath and patience and meekness, third of envy and charity, fourth of avarice and poverty, fifth of accidia and swift busyness, sixth of gluttony and soberness, and seventh of lust and chastity.

Concerning pride I shall proceed as follows: first I shall indicate what its nature and character is; second, where its wickedness comes from; third, why it should be detested; and fourth, what its members are.

First, then, I say that by definition pride is the love of one's own

proprie excellencie, cuius potissimum proprietas est quod retrahit Deum ab homine.

(Et) istius peccati quatuor sunt species. Prima species est quando quis bonum quod habet, a seipso id habere estimat. Set contra istud dicitur  
 15 Ad Corinthios 4: “Quid habes quod non accepisti, aut quid inde gloriaris?” quasi dicat: Gloriaris supervacue; neque temporalia neque naturalia neque gratuita, set tantum, o superbe, de te habes peccata. Nam sicut vitrum, quantumcumque fuerit perspicuum et dyaphonum, de se tamen non gignit lucis  
 20 mediante aliquid boni operatur. Et ideo Bernardus super illud Canticorum 1, “Oleum effusum”: “Quis, inquit, tam insanus affuit ut aliunde quam a Deo aliquid habere presumat? Nemo, inquit, adeo sane ut Phariseus agit graci-  
 as.” [M, f. 3] Et subdit: “O Pharisee, putas quod tu habes aliquid quod non accepisti? Nichil, inquit, et ideo gratiam referto largitori.”

25 Secunda species est cum quis bonum quod habet a Deo sibi datum pro meritis propriis putat. Contra quam Romanorum 11 scribitur: “Ergo gracia non est gracia,” nam si hominibus daretur pro meritis eorum, que gracia Dei erit? Utique nulla. Sicut si paterfamilias solvat operario quod meruit, in  
 30 hoc certe sibi nullam gratiam facit; revera sic contumeliam facit Creatori, quando liberatissimum datorem reputat venditorem, dum ea que Dominus dat credit suis meritis emere.

Tercia species est quando quis iactat se habere quod non habet. Contra quam Apocalipsis 3 angelo Laodicie dicitur. Qui cum gloriabatur se esse divitem, locupletem, et huiusmodi, audivit angelum sibi dicentem: “Scio  
 35 opera tua, quia neque frigidus neque calidus.” Et sequitur: “Nescis quia miser es et miserabilis, pauper et cecus.”

Quarta species est quando quis, despectis ceteris, appetit singulariter videri et habere quod non habet. Contra quam Ysaie 33 dicitur: “Ve qui spernis, nonne sperneris?”

5 agilitate] R; angelice M. 13 Et] R; est M. 19 accipit] add lucis R.

### I.iii DE SUPERBIA CORDIS

Circa progressum istius peccati est sciendum quod (a tribus) progreditur, videlicet a corde, ore, et opere, sicut prius diffinivit Augustinus *Contra Faustum*, “Peccatum mortale” supra, capitulo primo.

superiority, and its most outstanding characteristic is that it takes God away from man.

This sin has four branches. The first occurs when someone who has some good believes that he has it from himself. Against this is written in Corinthians 4: “What do you have which you have not received, and why do you take pride in it?” as if to say: you take pride in vain, O proud man, for neither temporal gifts nor natural ones nor those of grace do you have from yourself, but only your sins. For just as glass, however clear and transparent it may be, does yet not produce a ray of light of itself but receives it as a gift from the sun, thus man works no good except with the help of divine grace. And so Bernard says in commenting upon this verse from Canticles 1, “As oil poured out”: “Who was so insane that he would presume to have anything from anywhere else but God? No one in his right mind gives thanks as the Pharisee did.” And he adds: “O Pharisee, do you believe you have anything that you have not received? You have nothing, and therefore give thanks to the giver!”

The second branch occurs when someone believes that the good he has from God was given him for his own merits. Against this is written in Romans 11: “Thus grace is not grace,” for if it were given to men for their merits, what grace of God would there be? Surely none. If an employer pays his worker what he has earned, he is not being gracious toward him. Likewise, a proud person commits an offense against his Creator when he thinks of the most generous giver as if he were a tradesman and believes that what the Lord gives he is buying with his own merits.

The third branch occurs when someone brags of having what he does not have. This branch is referred to in the words to the angel of Laodicea, in Revelation 3. As he gloried in being rich and wealthy and so on, he heard the angel saying: “I know your works, that you are neither cold nor hot”; and afterwards: “You do not know that you are wretched and miserable, poor and blind.”

The fourth branch occurs when someone despises other people and wants to appear unique and to have what he does not have. Against this branch is said in Isaiah 33: “Woe to you who despise; will you not be despised?”

15 1 Cor. 4.7. 21 Cant. 1.2. 21–24 Bernard, *Super Cantica* XIII.ii.2 (1:69). 26–27 Rom. 11.6. 33–36 Rev. 3.15–17. 38–39 Isa. 33.1.

### I.iii PRIDE OF HEART

It should be known that this vice comes from three sources, namely one’s heart, mouth, and deed, as Augustine defined earlier, in his sentence on mortal sin from *Against Faustus* quoted above in chapter 1.



5 Circa superbiam cordis tamen est primo sciendum quod illa committitur,  
 secundum Crisostomum, quando quis tacitis omnibus exterioribus ambicioni-  
 bus ad altiorem dignitatem intrinsecus anhelat, sicut fecit ipse de quo Ysaie  
 14: "In celum conscendam, supra astra celi ° exaltabo solium meum, et simi-  
 lis ero Altissimo." In corde dixit illa, idest in mente, et non ore, quia  
 organo caruit. Et ideo dici potest peccatum inexcusabile, unde Augustinus:  
 10 "Superbis angelis non pepercit Deus; quanto magis nec tibi, putredo et  
 vermis?" Nam qui oppidis impugnat, quomodo tugurio parceret? Similiter qui  
 armatis ad pugnandum se coniungit, quomodo inermibus se ingerere formida-  
 ret? Et ideo summopere nobis cavendum est ne cogitationes inique in cordi-  
 bus nostris ascendant, quas dyabolus in cordibus fidelium que "terrena  
 15 meditantur" nititur horis cotidianis immittere, ut in illis sibi locum re-  
 quieti valeat perlucrari. Sicut quando aliquis princeps magnus quocumque  
 proponit hospitari, premitit nuncium, ubi recipitur descendit, certe sic  
 dyabolus vanas et miseras premitit cogitationes in cordibus hominum, quasi  
 diceret: "Qui vos rec(i)pit, me recipit." Et ideo si eius suggestionibus  
 20 adquiescamus, "tamquam leo rugiens" irrui in nos; set si ei resistamus,  
 tamquam (muscam) ipsum effugare possumus et in omnibus actibus vincere,  
 iuxta illud metricè dictum:

Hostis non ledit nisi cum temptatus obedit.  
 Est leo si cedit; si non, quasi musca recedit.

25 [[þe fende oure foe ne may vs dere,  
 But 3yffe we bowen hym for fere.  
 He is a lyon bote þou with-stond  
 And ferde as a flye 3yf þou ne wonde.]]

30 Et ideo (faciamus) sicut bonus miles qui contra hostes suos imperter-  
 ritus accedit, donec pre confusione devicti ruant et erubescencia disce-  
 dant. Sicut fecit beatus Martinus qui dixit: "Ego, inquit, signo crucis non  
 clipeo protectus aut galea, hostium cuneos penetrabo securus." Sic tu,  
 miles Christi, contra dyabolum pugnaturus signo crucis et cogitationibus  
 sanctis te armare non (fingas), quia scriptum est: "Cogitacio sancta serva-  
 35 bit te." Clypeum eciam crucis anteponas, ut cum cogitationes magnas inferre  
 hostis non desinit, omni sollicitudine resistere conamini, donec confusus  
 recedat. Et pre ceteris Christo cor tuum dare non resistas. Ipse enim dixit  
 Proverbiorum 23: "Fili, prebe michi cor tuum." Avis enim predalis et gene-  
 rosa plus de preda non querit set cor mundatum; sic nec Christus de preda  
 40 quam suo precioso sanguine redemit. Unde Augustinus: "De sinu, inquit,  
 Patris descendit" in cor Virginis tamquam avis generosa, que non querit ni  
 si corda. Et ideo bene dicit Crisostomus: "Si, inquit, Deus peteret elimo

With respect to pride of heart we must know, first, that according to  
 Chrysostom one commits this sin when, hiding all external ambitions, one gasps  
 for a higher position in one's heart. Thus did he who in Isaiah 14 says: "I  
 shall climb to heaven, I shall exalt my seat beyond the stars of heaven, and I  
 shall be like the Most High." He said this in his heart, that is, his mind,  
 and not in his mouth, because he did not have the latter organ. Therefore this  
 sin may be called unforgivable; whence Augustine writes: "God did not spare the  
 proud angels; how much less will he spare you, who are dirt and a worm?" For  
 how will he that assaults cities spare a hut? And how should he that joins  
 battle with armed opponents be afraid of engaging the weaponless? Therefore we  
 must be keenly on guard that no wicked thoughts rise in our hearts, which the  
 devil tries to implant every hour of the day in the hearts of those faithful  
 who think of earthly things, in order to gain in them a place of rest for  
 himself. Just as a great prince sends before him a messenger wherever he  
 wishes to lodge and alights where he is received, so the devil sends before him  
 vain and miserable thoughts into men's hearts, as if he were saying: "Who  
 receives you, receives me." If we then acquiesce in his suggestions, he falls  
 upon us "roaring like a lion"; but if we resist him, we can put him to flight  
 like a fly and overcome him in all his actions, as the poems says:

The foe hurts none of those he tempts  
 But him who soon obeys.  
 A lion is he if you yield;  
 Else like a fly he flees.

þe fende oure foe ne may vs dere. . .

Therefore let us act like the good soldier who advances fearlessly against  
 his enemies until they fall overcome by confusion and yield with shame. Thus  
 acted Blessed Martin, who said: "Protected by the sign of the cross, not by  
 shield or helmet, I shall safely penetrate the battlelines of my enemies."  
 Thus you, soldier of Christ, when you are to fight against the devil, do not  
 hesitate to arm yourself with the sign of the cross and with holy thoughts, for  
 it is written: "Holy thoughts will save you." Also put the shield of the cross  
 before you so that, <sup>for</sup> as long as our enemy does not desist from injecting his  
 35 <sup>powerful</sup> ~~exalted~~ thoughts, we may endeavor to resist with all eagerness until he is  
 confounded and retreats. And above all else, do not desist from giving your  
 heart to Christ. For he himself has said in Proverbs 23: "Son, lend me your  
 heart." A noble bird of prey takes nothing else from its prey but its clean  
 heart, and Christ does not deal otherwise with his prey whom he has redeemed  
 with his precious blood. Therefore Augustine says: "From the Father's bosom he  
 descended into the heart of the Virgin, like a noble bird that seeks nothing

sinam, posset se pauper excusare; si oraciones, mutus; si peregrinationes, claudus. Set quod non habet homo non querit. Set quod omnis homo habet,  
 45 hoc est cor, illud querit et optat." Hec ille. Et (ideo) pre ceteris circum-  
 stantiis magis [M, f. 3v] est timenda superbia cordis. [[Unde Anglice:

The synne of pryde nys noȝt in schroud,  
 But in herte þat is to proude.

"Let þin herte helde and hit þe schal lyke," quod Hendyng.]]

- 50 Secundum autem Anselmum, *De similitudinibus*, sic est de corde hominis  
 sicut est de molendino quod dominus tradidit servo suo custodiendum ut in  
 eo tantum annonam suam molet, scilicet frumentum, ordeum, et huiusmodi, et  
 inde sibi victum acquirat. Cui aliquis inimicus invidet et insidiatur quod,  
 si aliquando illud vacuum invenerit, aut harenam proicit quod illud dissi-  
 55 pet, aut picem que conglutinatur, aut paleam quod nimis occupat. Spirituali-  
 ter hoc molendinum est cor hominis continue molens sine quiete aliquid  
 cogitando, quod traditum (est) cuilibet (nostrum) a Domino Deo ut in illo  
 mole(mus) cogitationes puras de Deo et fructuosas proximo. Quod si vacuum  
 a dyabolo aliquando inventum fuerit, statim nititur illud replere ad dissi-  
 60 pandum per arenam, scilicet ire et invidie, aut per picem glutinantem gulae  
 et luxurie, aut per paleam occupantem superbie et avaricie. Et sicut rota  
 molendini volvendo aquam spargit, sic dyabolus per ocium cogitationes homi-  
 num. Et ideo summo opere est cor a vanis cogitationibus et dyaboli tempta-  
 tionibus et deceptionibus custodiendum.
- 65 Nam sensibiliter videmus quod conservatio maxime civitatis aut terre  
 totaliter aliquando dependet in defensione unius passus, qui si ab hostibus  
 occupetur, tota ista civitas aut terra est sicut capta; et e converso si a  
 domino illius terre viriliter defendatur passus iste, tota terra manet se-  
 cura. Revera totus homo est quasi una terra, quia de limbo terre factus est,  
 70 ut habetur Genesis 1. Unde istius terre defensio totaliter consistit in  
 conservacione unius passus, scilicet cordis; nam quicquid inferant hostes  
 spirituales, scilicet caro, mundus, aut dyabolus, nullum erit periculum si  
 non intrent per istum passum; set capto illo ab illis, perditur tota terra.  
 In cuius figura Ioab volens interficere Absolon infixit tres lanceas in cor  
 75 eius, 2 Regum 18. Revera sic si adversarius noster dyabolus, quem intelligo  
 per Ioab, poterit istas tres lanceas, scilicet superbie, avaricie, et  
 luxurie, in cordibus nostris infingere per consensum, statim de morte nos-  
 tra spirituali certus est. Et ideo bene dicitur Proverbiorum 4: "Omni cus-  
 todia serva cor tuum, quoniam ab ipso vita procedit."
- 80 Unde narratur quod quidam vir sollicitus valde de statu suo, utrum sci-  
 licet deberet salvari vel dampnari, (sicut) quondam solus transivit super

but the heart." And Chrysostom says fittingly: "If God were to look for alms, the poor man would have an excuse; if for prayers, the dumb man would have an excuse; if for pilgrimages, the lame would have an excuse. But he does not look for what man does not have. Rather, he looks for and desires what every man has, namely a heart." Therefore, pride of heart must be feared more than all other aspects of this sin. Therefore in English:

The sin of pride does not in clothes reside  
 But rather in a heart that's full of pride.

"Let your heart bow down, and you will be pleased," says Hending.

According to Anselm in his book of *Similitudes*, it is with man's heart as it is with the mill that a master has given to his servant for safekeeping so that he may grind in it only his harvest of grain, that is, wheat, barley, and the like, and thereby gain his livelihood. Some enemy is envious and schemes against him. When he finds the mill standing empty, he pours sand into it which ruins it, or pitch which stops it up, or straw which keeps it running too much. Spiritually speaking, this mill is man's heart, which grinds without rest in constant thought, and which each of us has been given by God our Lord so that we may grind in it pure thoughts about God that are fruitful for our neighbor. If the devil finds it standing empty, he at once tries to fill it with sand, that is, with wrath and envy, to ruin it; or with the pitch of gluttony and lust to stop it up; or with the straw of pride and avarice to keep it too busy. And as the mill-wheel scatters water when it turns, so does the devil scatter man's thoughts in idleness. Therefore it is mandatory that we protect our heart against idle thoughts and against the devil's temptations and wiles.

For we see with our own eyes that sometimes the safety of a large city or country depends entirely on holding a single pass. If the latter is occupied by the enemies, the whole city or country is practically taken; and conversely, if that pass is being firmly defended by the lord of that country, the entire country remains safe. Indeed, man is like a country, because he was made from the mud of the earth, as we find in Genesis 1. The defense of that country lies entirely in keeping one single pass, namely our heart, for whatever our spiritual enemies, that is, the flesh, the world, and the devil, may advance against it, there will be no danger as long as they do not enter through that pass. But if the latter is taken, the whole country is lost. As a type of this we have Joab, who, when he wanted to kill Absalom, stuck three spears into his heart, 2 Kings 18. Similarly, if our enemy the devil, whom I understand by Joab, manages to stick these three spears of pride, avarice, and lust in our hearts with our consent, he is at once sure of our spiritual death. And thus

hoc (Deum) rogans ut sibi dignaretur revelare, apparuit sibi quidam in forma humana causam sue tristicie querens; qui cum sibi intimasset ait: "Si, inquit, vis salvari, oportet te tria necessario habere et illa Deo offerre,  
 85 scilicet lunam novam, solis rotunditatem, et quartam partem rote." Et hiis dictis disparuit. Iste ergo tristior effectus eo quod solem et lunam habere nequit. Apparuit quidam angelus Dei dicens quod verum dixit (homo) ille set  
 90 alio modo, et ideo (non diffideret), quia dyabolus fuit volens eum in desperationem adduxisse. Cum ergo quesisset ab angelo intellectum dicti sui, respondit: "Per novem lunam, inquit, intellexit hanc litteram C, eo quod  
 95 habet duo cornua ad modum nove lune; per rotunditatem solis hanc litteram O, et per quartam partem rote hanc litteram R, que est quarta littera huius dictionis 'rote.' Coniunge ergo has tres litteras simul et fiet hoc verbum *cor*, quod si Deo cum omni puritate custodieris et dederis, revera salvaberis." Si ergo a dyabolo vel alio inimico invasus fueris, cogita illud Psalmi: "In Domino speravit cor meum et adiutus sum."

Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* quod venit frater quidam ad abbatem Pastorem dicens: "Multe cogitationes veniunt in mente mea et quasi periclitator in eis." Et eiecit eum senex in (aere nudo) dicens: "Expande sinum tuum et apprehende ventum." Et ille: "Non possum." Et senex: "Non prohibere poteris ne cogitationes mentem intrent; set tuum est resistere et illis non consentire, et sic mereri." Hec ille. Principiis ergo obsta, hoc est, quando in corde occurrunt levia et venialia resistas illis, ne ibi radicanur et maiora introducant et mortalia, ad modum quo parvuli latrunculi in domum  
 100 per foramen inmissi apperunt hostia et fenestras per quas intrant (maiores) et forciores ut spoliant et occidunt ibidem inhabitantes. In cuius figura legitur 4 Regum 5 quod latrunculi Syrie captivam duxerunt filiam Ysrael. Expone ut placet.

1 a tribus] R; *canc and replaced by superbia interl* M. 7 celi] *add* et M. 10 superbis angelis] *superbo angelo* R. 19 recipit] R; *recepit* M. 21 muscam] R; *musca* M. 25-28 [pe . . . wonde] *text from* R. Verse 2, in B3.D.E.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.Li. LC.R.Sp. 29 faciamus] R; *om* M. 34 fingas] R; *corrected to desperas set confidenter te (marg) singnans* M. 35 magnas] *magicas* R. 44-45 quod(2) . . . cor] *quia omnino cor habet homo* R. 45 ideo] R; *om* M. 46-49 Unde . . . Hendyng] *text from* R. Verse 3, in E.Go1.Go2.L1.Li.LC.R.Sp.V. In R the phrase quod hendyng appears after line 47. 50 Anshelmum] *W begins here*. 57 est] R.W; *om* M. nostrum] R.W; *nostro* M. 58 molemus] *moletur* M.W; *molere* R. 81 sicud] R.W; *secundum* M. 82 Deum] R; *diu* M.W. 87 Dei] *ei* R.W. homo] R.W; *erased and replaced by qui in forma humana tibi comparuit marg* M. 88 non diffideret] R.W; *ut diffideres on erasure* M. 99 aere nudo] R.W *and source*; *aeris medio* M. 105-106 maiores] R.W; *amores* M (*thus frequently*).

it is well said in Proverbs 4: "Guard your heart with all safekeeping, because from it comes your life."

Whence the story is told that a man who was very concerned about his condition, that is, whether he would be saved or damned, was once walking by himself and asking God to grant him some revelation. Then someone in human shape appeared to him and asked him why he was so sad. When the man told him his thoughts, the other said: "If you want to be saved, you must needs have three things and offer them to God: the new moon, the circle of the sun, and the fourth part of a wheel." With these words he disappeared. As the man now became only sadder because he could not have the sun and the moon, an angel of God appeared to him and said that the other person had spoken the truth but allegorically, and that he should not lose heart, because it had been the devil who wanted to lead him to despair. Then this man asked the angel for the meaning of that message, and the angel replied: "By the new moon he meant the letter C, because it has two horns like the new moon; by the circle of the sun, the letter O; and by the fourth part of a wheel, the letter R, which is the fourth letter of the word *rota*, 'wheel.' Put the three letters together and you get the word *COR*, 'heart.' If you safekeep this in all purity and give it to God, you will indeed be saved." Therefore, if you are attacked by the devil or any other enemy, think on the word of the Psalm: "My heart has hoped in the Lord, and I have been helped."

Whence a story is told in *The Lives of the Fathers* that a brother came to Abba Pastor and said: "Many tempting thoughts come to my mind and I am in danger of perishing in them." The desert father sent him out into the raw air and said: "Open your chest and catch the wind." He answered: "I can't." So the desert father said: "Neither can you prevent thoughts from entering your mind; but it is your task to resist and not give in to them, and thus to earn your reward." Therefore, "resist in the beginning"; that is, when slightly tempting and excusable thoughts rise in your heart, you must withstand them lest they strike root and bring after them more serious and gravely sinful ones, in the same way as thieving children slip into a house through cracks and then open doors and windows through which bigger and stronger thieves enter in order to steal and to kill the inhabitants. A type of this can be found in 4 Kings 5, that the little thieves of Syria have led the daughter of Israel away as a captive. Explain this as you wish.

2-3 Cf. *FM* I.i.17-21. 7-8 Isa. 14.13-14. 10-11 Cf. Bernard, *Super Cantica* LIV.iv.8 (2:107). 14-15 Cf. Phil. 3.19. 19 Matt. 10.40. 20 1 Pet. 5.8. 23-24 *Prov* 11230C and *Verses*, p. 137. Compare also *The Owl and the Nightingale*, lines 402-408 (ed. Stanley, London, 1960). The idea evidently comes from Gregory, *Moralia* V.xxii.43 (PL 75:702). 31-32 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, p. 742. 38 *Prov.* 23.26. 40-42 Cf. *Meditationes piissimae* III.8 (PL 184:490). 50-64 Ps.-Anselm, *Liber de similitudinibus* 41 (PL

## I.iv DE SUPERBIA ORIS

Secundo considerandum est de superbia oris, que in tribus specialiter consistit, scilicet in multiloquio, in vaniloquio, in maliloquio. Primum enim cavendum est, quia sicut ubi multum [M, f. 4] est de palea et parum de grano, et ubi multum est de foliis et parum de fructu, sic ubi verba plurima, accidit  
 5 frequenter est egestas et penuria, hoc est defectus bonarum virtutum. Nam ut dicitur Ecclesiastici (20) capitulo: "Qui multis verbis utitur, ledit animam suam," quia in multiloquio non deerit peccatum. [[Et ideo dicitur:

10 Who-so spekyth oft  
 Of þyng þat is vn-wrest,  
 þou hit seme soft  
 When he spekyth mest,  
 He schal hit heren on loft  
 When he wenyth lest.

15 Et ideo: "Let þy tonge rest and þe schall nouzt rewe," quod Hending.]] Unde Proverbiorum dicitur: "Qui inconsideratus est ad loquendum, senciet mala." Dicit enim sapiens ille Catho:

Virtutem primam esse puta compescere ligwam. °

20 Secundo vaniloquium est cavendum ne forte per hoc labatur in peiora, quia qui spernit modica paulatim decimat. Nam iuxta Bernardum, sicut ab una scintilla parva magna comburitur patria, sic a levitate vaniloquii multa  
 25 proveniunt obstacula virtutum; et tamen quod dolendum est iuxta Psalmistam, "vana locuti sunt," etc. Caveant ergo tales quia ut habetur Matthei 12: "De omni verbo ocioso quod locuti fuerint, homines reddent rationem." Intolerabile utique foret preposito qui per multa tempora servierat domino, si in ultimo die sue deposicionis de minimo grano responderet et necessario.  
 30 Quanto magis difficile erit in die iudicii de minimo verbo ocioso Deo reddere rationem. Unde illud Iob 40: "Que breviter locutus (sum), respondere quid possum?" quasi dicat, nescio.

Tercio cavendum est de maliloquio, quia iuxta Apostolum Corinthiorum,  
 30 "corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala." Modicum eciam fermenti totam

159:621). 69–70 Gen. 2.7. 74–75 2 Sam. 18.14. 78–79 Prov. 4.23. 80–95 The story appears in additions to or expansions of Odo of Cheriton, such as MS Harley 219, fol. 14v. Also in Bromyard, "Cor," C.X.15; Harley 7732, fol. 15v; MS Royal 8.F.vi, fol. 13v (and other copies of *Convertimini*); Cambridge, MS Trinity College 42, fol. 17. All these are later than *FM*. 96 Ps. 27.7. 97–102 *VP* V.55 (PL 73:922). 107–108 2 Kings 5.2.

## I.iv PRIDE OF MOUTH

In the second place we must consider pride of mouth, which consists in three specific vices: speaking too much, speaking idly, and speaking ill. The first must be avoided because just as where there is much straw and little grain, and where there is much foliage and little fruit, so where there are many words there is often poverty and need, that is, lack of good virtues. For as it is written in Ecclesiasticus 20, "he who uses many words hurts his soul," for when one speaks, too much sin will not be far. Therefore it is said:

Whoever speaks oft  
 Of others's defects,  
 They may seem soft  
 As he glibly dissects,  
 But he'll hear them aloft  
 When he least expects.

And likewise: "Give your tongue rest, and you won't regret it," says Hending. Whence in Proverbs 15 it is said: "He who is thoughtless in his speech will suffer evil." For the wise man Cato says:

Consider that the first among  
 All virtues is to hold your tongue.

Next, speaking idly must be avoided lest through it we should slip into worse sins, for he who does not take modest things seriously gradually comes to ruin. According to Bernard, as from a small spark a large country can burn down, so from thoughtless idle speech many obstacles can arise against the virtues; and yet, as we must lament, according to the Psalmist: "They have spoken idle words," etc. Let such people beware, for Matthew 12 tells us: "Of every idle word that men say they will render an account," etc. It surely would be unbearable for an overseer who had served his master for a long time to have to give an account of even the smallest grain on the last day of his stewardship. How much harder will it be to give God an account of the smallest idle word on Doomsday! Therefore Job 40 declares: "What can I answer, who have spoken lightly?"—as if he were saying: I do not know.

massam corrumpit, et una veneni gutta multos inficit cum fuerit diffusa. Secundum ergo (Anselmum) maxime custodienda est lingua, quia per ipsam omnia mala consuluntur et prestantur. Et ideo ad designandum quod bene deberet custodiri, posita est quasi in carcere et murus dencium ante eam atque

- 35 labia pro antemuralibus. Ephesiorum 4 dicitur: "Omnis sermo malus non procedat de ore vestro." [[Unde bene Anglice dicitur:

Se and here and holde þe styлле,  
 3efe þou wolte lyue and haue þy wyлле.]]

- 40 Unde legitur de quodam sene angelos vidente letantes quando de Deo loquebatur; quando vero de mundanis, quasi maculatos et manus stercoreatas ad operantes. Quod intelligens tribus annis portabat lapidem in ore ut (discret) taciturnitatem. Unde beato Archemio fuit dictum: "Si vis saluari, fuge, tace, quiesce," etc.

6 20] R.W; 2° M. 7–13 Et ideo . . . Hendyng] *text from R. Verse 4, in B3.E.Go1. Go2.L1.L2.Li.LC.R.V.W1.* 17 ligwam] M has the following unique addition: Nam apud homines esse sapiens reputatur qui ? rigmam sequentem: Si sapiens fore vis, hec serva que tibi mando—Quid dicas vel ubi, cui, cur, quot, quomodo, quando. 27 brevis] leviter R. sum] R interl; om M.W. 30 mala] prava R.W. 32 Anselmum] R.W; augustinum M. 36–38 Unde . . . wyлле] *text from R. Verse 5, in B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo. L1.L2.Li.LC.R.V.W1.* 41–42 discret] R, corr from diceret; om M; diceret W. 42 dictum] R adds the unique Verse 6.

### I.v DE SUPERBIA OPERIS

Tercio de superbia operis sequitur, que specialiter consistit in vestura, in sciencia, in pulcritudine, in potencia et dignitate, in generis nobilitate.

- 5 Primum autem est cavendum quia sicut parum habet latro gloriari ad patibulum ductus de corda qua debet suspendi—prout habetur Luce 16 de divite induto purpura et bisso et tamen sepultus in inferno—, revera sic nec homo de vestibis pulcherrimis in hac vita, et post vestibis iocunditatis privari; Ecclesiastici 11: "In vestimento ne glorieris." Et ideo Bernardus ait: "Inter omnia animalia pauperior nascitur (homo), set nunquam  
 10 pauperior quam vivit; nam de pratis et pascuis habet victum, et de ovibus et capris indumentum, ac de stercoreis vermium procedit generositas hominum, scilicet in vestura. O ergo, homo (ait ipse), redde singula singulis, et certe nudus eris." Hec ille. Dicit tamen Augustinus vestes dignas non

Third, speaking ill must be avoided because, according to the Apostle in Corinthians, "wicked conversations corrupt good manners." Also, a little yeast taints all the dough, and one drop of poison when it spreads infects many people. For according to Anselm our tongue must be guarded most closely, for through it all sorts of evil counsel and help are given. For that reason, in order to show that it must be well guarded, our tongue is, as it were, put in a prison, with a wall of teeth before it, and lips as a rampart. Ephesians 4 says: "Let no evil speech whatever come out of your mouth." And so it is well said in English:

See and hear and hold thee still  
 If thou wouldst live and have thy will.

Thus we read about a desert father who saw the angels rejoicing when he was talking about God; but when he talked about worldly matters, they were, so to speak, stained and put dung-covered hands to their mouths. When he understood the vision, he carried a stone in his mouth for three years to learn silence. And to Blessed Arsenius it was said: "If you want to be saved, flee, keep silence, and be still."

6–7 Eccles. 20.8. 15 Prov. 13.3. 17 *Disticha Catonis* I.3. 19–20 Cf. Jerome, *Ep. 127* 10 (CSEL 56:153). 22 Ps. 11.3. 22–23 Matt. 12.36. 27–28 Job 39.34. 30 1 Cor. 15.33. 32–33 Similarly in Peraldus, *Summa vittorum* IX.ii.22. 35–36 Eph. 4.29. 39–43 Tubach 245 and 4627; VP III.36 and V.7 (PL 73:762 and 865). See *Verses*, p. 140.

### I.v PRIDE OF DEED

In the third place we speak of pride in deed, which consists especially in clothes, knowledge, beauty, power and rank, and noble lineage.

The first must be avoided because, just as a thief who is being led to the gallows has little reason to be proud of the rope with which he will be hanged—as we see it in the rich man of Luke 16 who is clothed in purple and fine linen and is finally buried in hell—, so indeed must man not take pride in his beautiful clothes in this life and be afterwards spoilt of the clothes of his rejoicing; Ecclesiasticus 11: "Do not take pride in your dress." Bernard says: "Man is born the poorest of all animals, but he is never poorer than when he lives; for he gets his food from fields and meadows, his clothing from sheep and goats, and his nobility, that is, in his dress, from the excrement of worms. O man, return each to their owners and you will surely be naked!" And Augustine says that it is not clothes that are worthy of blame but their mis-



15 (esse) vituperio set istorum abusione, ita quod non debemus vestibus placere set moribus. Set hoc non intendunt iste fatue mulieres que in solemnitatibus vestibus luxuriosis tam in capite quam in corpore ad peccatum excitandum se ornant. Et ideo sicut custos porcorum qui illos dispersos vult congregare unum facit clamare et statim alii conveniunt, sic revera dyabolus quando suos intendit congregare unam de filiabus suis facit clamare ac (precedente campana), scilicet *tabour*, tripudiando coreas ducere, et statim alie conveniunt. In cuius figura in Apocalipsis 14 dicitur (quod)
 20 sextus angelus tuba cecinit, "et vidi equos," scilicet mulieres ornatas, "et (qui) sedebant super eos habebant loricas igneas," scilicet igne concupiscencie inflammatas. Expone. Et ideo, ut michi videtur, corpus sic vane indutum bene assimilatur feretro, quod primo ornatur cum super illud iacet corpus mortuum; certe sic corpus sine virtutibus superflue ornatum, quod est feretrum anime, designat ibi animam mortuam (iuxta Apostolum): "Anima vivens (in) deliciis mortua est." Unde Bernardus: "Magna, inquit, abusio est ancillam dominari et dominam ancillari," quod facit cum corpus extra
 30 perornatur et intus (anima) virtutibus spoliatur et arma dyaboli et eius signa circumquaque (deferuntur).

Unde legitur in *Vitis Patrum* de quodam (sancto), quomodo transiens per quandam civitatem vidit quendam [M, f. 4v] demonem a latere sedentem atque ridentem. Cumque eum adiurasset ut causam sui risus intimaret, respondit:
 35 "Vidi, inquit, socium meum sedentem super caudam illius mulieris, et cum illa cepisset huc atque illuc per vicus discurrere, evulsus est ille et in fovea proiectus."

Item sicut multum displiceret regi si videret vexillum capitalis inimici in supremo loco sui castris ad eius opprobrium elevatum, revera sic displicet Deo vexillum dyaboli explicatum in peplis et in coronis deauratis in capitibus multorum fixum et vexillum eius ab eo remotum, scilicet signum thau, idest crucis humilitatis in frontibus earum, per quod pre ceteris signis expellitur et confunditur dyabolus. In signo cuius in baptismo et confirmatione ac ceteris sacramentis, similiter et in oratione bona incipienda, signum crucis imponitur ad dyabolum specialiter expugnandum.
 45

Unde narrat Vincencius in *Speculo hystorali* si lupus velit hominem invadere et homo ponat signum aliquod inter eos, quod statim lupus timet fraudem, eo quod credit illud erectum esse ad sui captivitatem, et fugit. Revera sic nos: Quando dyabolus per superbiam nos invadit corde, ore, et opere, elevemus signum sancte crucis supra turrim frontis nostri vel pocius memoriam ipsius crucifixi in cordibus nostris, et fugiet sine mora. Ab ista ergo superbia in abusione vestimentorum caveamus. Dicit enim Ambrosius: "Horret, inquit, Deus actor omnium cum corpus mulieris a se factum videt ornamentis vane vel metallis obligatum. Quanto (inquit) hominibus videtur
 50 splendida, tanto magis a Deo despicitur." Hec ille. In cuius signum Iudith

use, for we must not please with our clothes but with our good morals. But such is not the intention of those foolish women who on feast days wear luxurious clothes on their heads and bodies in order to excite men to sin. As the swineherd who, when he wants to gather his scattered swine, makes one of them squeal and then the others come quickly together, thus the devil, when he wants to round up those who belong to him, makes one of his daughters call out and, tripping behind a bell, that is a "tabour," lead the dance, and at once all the others come together. A type of this is found in Revelation 14: The sixth angel blew the trumpet, "and I saw horses," that is, dressed-up women, "and those who sat on them had fiery armor," that is, burning with the fire of lust. Explain this. Therefore it seems to me that a body thus idly dressed is like a bier, which is dressed up when a dead body lies on it; surely in the same way a body that is needlessly dressed up without having any true virtues is the soul's bier and indicates that the soul is dead, according to the Apostle: "The soul that lives in delights is dead." And Bernard says: "It is a great abuse when the servant-girl is the mistress and the mistress a servant-girl," which happens when the body is decorated outside and the soul within is despoiled of virtues, and the weapons of the devil and his banners are carried about everywhere.

In *The Lives of the Fathers* we read of a saint who, as he was walking through some city, saw a demon sitting by the way and laughing. When he conjured him to tell him why he was laughing, the demon replied: "I just saw my companion sitting on the train of that woman, and when she started to walk this way and that through the streets, he was tossed off and thrown in the ditch."

Further, just as the king would be much displeased if he saw the banner of his arch-enemy raised to his shame in the highest place of his castle, thus God will be displeased to see the devil's banner unfolded in fine robes and raised on the gold crown on the heads of many people, whereas God's own banner is taken down by the devil, that is, the Thau, the sign of the cross of humility on their foreheads, with which above all other signs the devil is driven out and confounded. In order to indicate that, the sign of the cross is made in baptism, in confirmation, and in the other sacraments, and likewise at the beginning of a good prayer, especially in order to drive out the devil.

Therefore Vincent tells us in his *Mirror of History* that when a wolf wants to attack a man, and the man puts up some sign between himself and the wolf, the latter begins to fear some trick because he thinks the sign has been put up to capture him, and he flees. In the same way, when the devil attacks us through pride in heart, mouth, and deed, let us raise up the sign of the cross on the tower of our forehead or better still remember the Crucified himself in our hearts, and the devil will flee without delay. Therefore let us avoid such pride in the misuse of clothes. For Ambrose says: "God, the Creator of all things, shudders when he sees a woman's body, that was made by him, vainly

- oratura pro populo induit se cilicio, capitulo 9; Hester eciam oratura deposuit vestes regias, capitulo 14; Daniel eciam dicit se faciem suam ut oraret in sacco et cinere posuisse, capitulo 9; rex quoque Ninive sacco indutus sedit in cinere et fecit clamare ut operirentur saccis tam homines quam iumenta et clamarent ad Dominum in fortitudine, Ione 3 capitulo; et cetera huiusmodi satis patent scripturam sacram intuenti. Nec tamen ornatus honestus nec secundum modum status et patrie usus prohibetur, set tantum ille qui reddit hominem elevatum et superbum et ad cetera peccata inclinat.
- 60
- 65 Secundo ° superbia operis in sciencia consistens similiter est cavenda, ne cum quidam illam habent ut alios instruant, ne illis assimilarentur in sciencia abscondunt. Contra quos Sapiencie 6 dicitur: “Ponam in lucem scienciam illius et (non) preteribo veritatem neque cum invidia tabescente iter habebō.” Lux enim sui communicacione amplius clarescit atque iocundius et lacius diffunditur, set absconsione minuitur et deterioratur. Revera sic sapiencia hominis et sciencia. Unde sicut qui lucernam datam indigentibus aut in domo habitantibus aut in tenebris ambulatibus abscondit, certum est quod datori lucis iniuriosus existeret, sic certe in proposito. Ad hoc enim Deus ordinavit lucernas, idest in Ecclesia sua doctos sapiencia et sciencia, non ut lucem sibi datam abscondant, set ut ipsam gratis omnibus communicantes luceant et aperte demonstrent. Et ideo ipse dicit Luce 11: “Nemo (accendit) lucernam et in abscondito ponit, set super candelabrum ut qui ingrediuntur,” etc.
- 70
- 75 Tercio de superbia pulchritudinis dico quod nec in corporis formositate est superbiendum vel gloriandum. Dicitur Proverbiorum 31: “Fallax gracia et vana est pulchritudo,” etc. Illud enim satis convenienter dicitur vanum quod statum suum diu servare non potest, sicut corporis formositas. Et ideo bene comparatur flori (desciduo) et cadenti, qui ad tempus (virescit), postea marcessit, et tandem totaliter evanescit; Iacobi 1: “Flos decidit et (decor) vultus eius deperit.” Similiter sicut folium in arbore prius virescit, postea in lutum cadit, tercio a bestiis conculcatur, et quarto putrescit et ad arborem nunquam redit, revera sic pulchritudo hominis floret in iuventute, arescit in senectute, cadit in morte, conculcatur in sepulchro a bestiis et hominibus quantum ad corpus, a demonibus quantum ad animam, nec unquam eadem formositas ad idem corpus redibit; Ysaie 14: “Detracta est ad inferos superbia tua, concidit cadaver corpus tuum; subter te sternetur tineā, et operimentum tuum vermīs.” Ecce, karissimi, licet enim vita hominis florida fuerit, post mortem tamen vilis et despecta invenitur. Nam qui sibi salutavit in vita capucio deposito et genibus flexis, tunc super cervicem [M, f. 5] et nasum figit pedem, nec (rememorat) quantumcumque nobilis; Malachie ultimo: “Calcabis impios cum fuerit cinis sub planta pedum vestrorum.”
- 80
- 85
- 90
- 95

fettered with ornaments and metals. The more beautiful she appears to men, the more she is despised by God.” This is prefigured by Judith, who put on sackcloth when she was about to pray for her people, chapter 9; by Esther also, who took off her regal garments when she was about to pray, chapter 14; Daniel, too, says he put his face in sackcloth and ashes in order to pray, chapter 9; and the king of Nineveh put on sackcloth and sat in ashes and let it be announced that both men and animals be covered in sackcloth and call to the Lord with strength, Jonah 3; and other figures of this kind will occur if one reads the Scripture. However, clothing that is decent and in accordance with one’s state and the customs of one’s country is not condemned, but only such as makes a person arrogant and proud and prone to other sins.

Next, pride of deed which lies in knowledge must be similarly avoided. People who have knowledge to teach others must not hide it in order to avoid becoming their equals in knowledge. Against them is written in Wisdom 6: “I shall place his knowledge in the light and will not pass by the truth, nor will I walk with consuming envy.” For by communicating itself the light makes things brighter and is diffused more widely and joyfully, but by being hidden it dwindles and loses brightness. The same is true of man’s wisdom and knowledge. A person who has received a lamp but hides it from those who need it, whether they live in the house or wander in darkness, would surely commit an offense against him who has given him the lamp. The same is true in the matter under discussion. For God has established lamps, that is, people in his Church who are learned in wisdom and knowledge, not that they should hide the light given them but that in sharing it freely with all people they should let it shine forth and show it openly. God himself says in Luke 11: “No one lights his lamp and hides it, but rather puts it on a candlestick so that those who enter,” etc.

Third, concerning pride in one’s beauty, I say that one must not exalt or take pride in the beauty of one’s body. It is said in Proverbs 31: “Grace is deceitful and beauty is vain,” etc. For that is properly called “vain” which cannot keep its condition for long, such as the beauty of our body. Therefore the latter is like a fading and wilting flower which flourishes for a while and then withers and finally vanishes altogether; James 1: “The flower has wilted, and the splendor of his face has gone.” As a leaf on a tree first grows green, then falls in the mud, thirdly is trampled upon by wild animals, and fourthly rots away and never returns to the tree, just so does man’s beauty flower in youth, dry up in old age, fall in death, and get trampled on in the grave by wild animals and men with respect to the body, and by the devils with respect to the soul, and the same beauty will never return to the same body; Isaiah 14: “Your pride is brought down to hell, your carcass is fallen down; under you shall the moth be strewed, and worms shall be your covering.” Behold, beloved: though a man’s life was flourishing, after his death it is found

Quarto dico non superbiendum in potencia et dignitate. Nam qui in ista  
 100 gloriatur, similis puella est pauperrime que in estate in ludo puellarum  
 regina constituitur mutuatis ornamentis ab aliis. Que circumspiciens in  
 dignitate tali, status pristini oblita, regnare veraciter se credit et  
 ideo alias contempnit coetaneas; set die advesperante, cum quelibet vesti-  
 105 menta sua receperit, que prius regina apparebat iam pauper et nuda remane-  
 bit. Sic revera mundani in potencia et dignitate gloriantes statum humane  
 miserie obliti gaudent, rident, et huiusmodi; set die mortis appropinquan-  
 te, que nox dici potest respectu vite presentis, cum mundo reddiderit que  
 ab illo mutuavit, sine potencia et dignitate, nudus et pauper remanebit.

Quod bene figuratum erat Machabeorum 9 de Anthiocho, qui pre nimia  
 eius (superbia) videbatur sibi fluctibus maris imperare, montes in statera  
 110 appendere, et tamen consumptus vermibus et fetore expiravit. Item ut habe-  
 tur Danielis 4 quod Nabuchodonosor qui dignitatem et honorem a Deo sibi  
 datam ex propria virtute putabat redundare, dicendo: "Nonne hec est Baby-  
 lon, civitas magna, quam ego edificavi in domum meam et in robore fortitu-  
 115 dinis mee et gloria decoris mee?" Et ecce, "cum adhuc esset sermo in ore  
 eius, vox de celo irruit dicens: 'Tibi dicitur, Nabuchodonosor rex, regnum  
 tuum transiet a te et ab omnibus eicient te; cum bestiis et feris habitatio  
 tua erit.'" Quod eadem hora factum est. Et ideo bene dicitur in Psalmo:  
 "Homo cum in honore esset non intellexit; comparatus est iumentis insipienti-  
 bus et similis factus est illis."

120 Revera sic contingit quandoque de modernis, quod propter (eventus)  
 fortuitos despiciunt minores et (credunt) dignitatem habitam ex propriis  
 meritis evenire. Set caveant, quia procul dubio aliter continget de eis;  
 sicut contingit de milvis et cornicibus quas capiunt pueri et excecant, et  
 postea in altum volare cogunt, que miserabiliter volant hinc inde, in altum  
 125 erigunt usque pre cecitate collo fracto mortue cadunt. Revera sic superbia  
 mundi. Cum enim aliquos tales aliqua fortuna (ceperit), spiritualiter sta-  
 tim oculos cordis excecant, sic quod in altum dignitatis volantes et statum  
 pristinum obliviscentes quasi inoppinate cadunt et animam eterne (dampnaci-  
 130 oni) exponunt. Ecclesiastici 11: "Multi potentes oppressi sunt valde, et  
 gloriosi traditi sunt in manus alienorum." Et in Psalmo: "Deiecisti, Do-  
 mine, dum allevarentur," etc. Et Ecclesiastici 10: "Hodie rex est et cras  
 morietur." Igitur contra istud peccatum pre ceteris considerandum est quod  
 Christus natus est de pauperibus; similiter Saul electus in regem post se-  
 quelam asini patris sui, Regum 10; similiter David de custodia ovium, Regum  
 135 16. Et ideo in dignitate non est gloriandum, set super omnia Deo regraci-  
 andum.

Quinto eiam de generis nobilitate non est gloriandum, quia dicitur Mala-  
 140 chie 2: "Nonne unus est pater omnium vestrum?" Quare unusquisque ergo  
 contempnit fratrem suum? Non enim fecit Deus unum hominem aureum et  
 alium luteum, set omnes de eadem materia equaliter creavit, ut sic in eadem

to be vile and despised. For he who used to greet you in life by taking off  
 his hood and bending his knees, then puts his foot on your skull and nose, nor  
 will the dead be remembered, however noble he may have been; Malachi near the  
 end: "You shall tread down the wicked when they shall be ashes under the sole  
 of your feet."

Fourth, I say that one must not take pride in one's power and rank. He  
 who does so is like that very poor girl who in summertime, in a game among  
 girls, is made their queen by borrowing fine clothes from her playmates. As  
 she looks around her in that dignity, she forgets her former condition and  
 believes herself truly to be a queen and thus despises her playfellows. But  
 when evening comes and each of the girls has taken back her own clothes, she  
 who first appeared to be the queen will now remain poor and naked. In the same  
 way, worldly people who take pride in their power and rank and forget the  
 condition of human misery, will rejoice and laugh and the like; but when the  
 day of death approaches, which can be called night in relation to our present  
 life, as they give back to the world what they had borrowed from it, they will  
 remain without power and rank, naked and poor.

This was prefigured in Antiochus, of Maccabees 9, who thought in his  
 excessive pride he could command the flood of the sea and weigh mountains in  
 his scale, and yet he died eaten by worms and in stench. Likewise, in Daniel  
 4, Nebuchadnezzar thought that the rank and honor which God had given him came  
 from his own power, and he said: "Is this not Babylon the great city, which I  
 have built to be my house, by the strength of my power and in the glory of my  
 excellence?" And lo, "while the word was still in his mouth a voice came down  
 from heaven and said: 'To you, O king Nebuchadnezzar, it is said: Your kingdom  
 shall pass from you, and they shall cast you out from among men; your dwelling  
 shall be with cattle and wild beasts.'" Which happened in that selfsame hour.  
 Thus it is fittingly said in the Psalm: "While man was in his honor and did not  
 understand, he was compared to the brute beasts and made like them."

Thus it sometimes happens to our contemporaries: because of some good  
 fortune they look down on lower-class people and think the rank they hold comes  
 from their own merits. But let them beware, for beyond doubt it will turn out  
 differently; as it happens with kites and crows which boys catch and blind and  
 then force to fly aloft, so that they fly miserably hither and thither and  
 climb up high until in their blindness they fall down dead with their necks  
 broken. Thus also the pride of this world. When it catches such people with  
 some good fortune, it spiritually blinds the eyes of their heart so that they  
 fly up to a high position and forget their former condition, but then they  
 unexpectedly fall and send their soul to eternal damnation. Ecclesiasticus 11:  
 "Many mighty ones have been overcome, and those full of glory have been given  
 into the hands of strangers." And in the Psalm: "You have cast them down,  
 Lord, when they were lifted up," etc. And Ecclesiasticus 10: "A king is today,  
 and tomorrow he shall die." Against this sin we should foremost keep in mind



caritate permanentes equales a primeva creacione se intelligant omnes esse. Nonne de eodem genere est furfur et farina, ex eadem radice procedit pun-gens spina atque rosa, et ex eadem arbore fructus dulcis et corruptus?

- 145 Reuera sic magni et parvi, divites et (pauperes) ex una materia et pari forma creantur, quamvis fortuna quosdam erigit et quosdam deicit; Sapiencie 6: "Pusillum et magnum ipse fecit et equalis est ei cura de omnibus." Unde Gregorius: "Omnes, inquit, homines equaliter natura genuit; culpa hominem homini prefecit." Et ideo qui querunt propter parentelam honorari et preferri, similes sunt statuīs (depictis) que ad tempus in ecclesiis honorantur et postmodum in igne comburuntur. Unde illud Malachie ultimo: "Ecce dies Domini veniet succensa quasi caminus, (et) erunt omnes superbi et iniquitatem facientes sicut stipula: inflammabit eos." Ab huiusmodi ergo superbia caveamus, quia precedente [M, f. 5v] enim superbia semper pro fine sequitur confusio, prout metrica dicitur:

- 155 Si tibi copia, si sapiencia formaque detur,  
Sola superbia destruit omnia si comitetur.

[[Anglice sic:

- 160 Pruyde þat is ouergart  
Algate haþ vnquart  
At þe latter ende.  
For when pryde goþ byfore,  
Schame sewyþ euermore,  
Wende hou he wende.]]

2-3 in pulcritudine . . . nobilitate] *corr evidently in light of the sections in this chapter* M; in potencia, in nobilitate, in generis dignitate R.W. 9 homo] R.W.; om M. 14 esse] R.W.; om M. istorum] istarum R. 20 precedente campana] R.W.; precedentem campanam M. 21 quod] R.W.; om M. 23 qui] R.W.; om M. 27 iuxta Apostolum] R.W.; om M. 28 in] R.W.; om M. 29 facit] fit R. 30 anima] R.W.; om M. 31 deferuntur] W; defertur M; dominantur R. 32 sancto] R.W.; om M. 33 sedentem] stantem R.W. 34 intimare] indicaret R.W. 41 fixum] infixum R.W. 45 imponitur] imprimitur R.W. 48 captivitatem] capcionem R.W. 65 Secundo] *add de M.* 68 non] R.W.; om M. 77 accendit] R; abscondit M.W. 79 de . . . pulchritudinis] *om R.W.* 83 desciduo] R.W.; deciso M *corr.* virescit] R.W.; crescit M. 85 decor] *interl R.W.; om M.* 91 corpus] *om R.W.* 95-96 rememorabitur] remurmurabit M; remurmurabitur R; rememorabit W. 107 pauper] *add et miser R.W.* 109 superbia] R.W.; potencia *margin M.* 114 mee] mei R. 118-119 insipientibus] *added on erasure M; om R.W.* 120 eventus] R.W.; eventos M. 121 credunt] R.W.; credent M. 126 ceperit] *R corr from ceperint; ceperint M.W.* 128-129 dampnacioni] R.W.; dampnacionis M. 144 pauperes] R.W.; pauperi M. 149 depictis] *corr from despectis R; despectis and margin pictis M; despectis W.* 151 et] R.W.; *apparently expuncted and replaced by ibi M.* 157-163 Anglice . . . wende] *text from R. Verse 7, in B3.D.E.Go1.Go2.L1.L2.Li.LC.R.V.W1.*

that Christ was born of poor parents; similarly, Saul was elected king after following his father's ass, Kings 10; and David was called from keeping the sheep, Kings 16. Thus we should not take pride in our rank but for all things give thanks to God.

Fifth, we should also not take pride in the nobility of our blood, for in Malachi 2 it is written: "Is not one the father of all?" Why, therefore, does everyone look down on his brother? God did not make one man from gold and another from mud; rather, he created all alike from the same substance, so that all might live in the same love and perceive that on the basis of their original creation they are all equal. Do not bran and flour come from the same grain? Do not the pricking thorn and the rose grow out of the same root? Does not sweet and rotten fruit grow on the same tree? Likewise, the great and the small, the rich and the poor are created from the same substance and in like shape, even though fortune raises some and flings down others; Wisdom 6: "He has made the small and the great and has equal care for all." Therefore says Gregory: "Nature has created all men alike; it is sin that has set one man over the other." Therefore, those who seek to be honored and put ahead because of their lineage are like painted statues which are worshipped in churches for a while and then are burned in fire. Whence Malachi says in the end: "Behold, the day of the Lord will come burning like an oven, and all that are proud and have done wickedness will be like stubble: it will set them on fire." Therefore let us avoid such pride, for always pride goes before and shame follows after, as it is expressed in the following verses:

If many riches you possess,  
Wisdom and great beauty,  
Pride alone destroys it all  
If it accompany.

In English thus:

Pruyde þat is ouergart . . .

6 Luke 16.19-31. 8 Eccclus. 11.4. 17-21 Also in *Tabula exemplorum*, pp. 96-97. 21-24 Rev. 9.13-17. 24-27 Also in *Tabula exemplorum*, No. 138(b) and note. 27-28 1 Tim. 5.6. 28-29 *Meditationes piissimae* III.8 (PL 184:490). 32-37 Cf. Tubach 1660; also in Peraldus, *Summa vitiourum* VI.iii.14. 38-43 Also *ibidem*. 55-56 Jth. 9.1. 56-57 Cf. Esther 4.2-3. 57-58 Dan. 9.3. 58-60 Jon. 3.6-9. 67-69 Wisd. 6.24. 76-78 Luke 11.34. 80-81 Prov. 31.30. 84-85 James 1.11. 91-92 Isa. 14.11. 96-97 Mal. 4.3. 108-110 2 Macc. 9.8-10. 111-117 Dan. 4.26-30. 117-119 Ps. 48.13. 129-130 Eccclus. 11.6. 130-131 Ps. 72.18. 131-132 Eccclus. 10.12. 133-134 1 Sam. 9. 134-135 1 Sam. 16. 138 Mal. 2.10. 146 Wisd. 6.8. 147-148 Gregory, *Moralia* XXVI.xxvi.46 (PL 76:376). 150-152 Mal. 4.1. 155-156 *Prov* 29238 and *Verses* p. 142.

## I.vi DETESTATIO SUPERBIE

Sequitur iam tercio quare spiritualiter est detestanda superbia. Ubi respondetur primo quia habitaculum anime subruit et confundit. Secundum enim Philosophum libro 3 *Meteororum* terremotus fit ex vento in ventre terre exagitato, ex (quo) terra necessario movetur; ad (cuius) nimirum  
 5 motum nonnunquam ruunt palacia, prosternuntur edificia. Sic superbia in anima quasi quidam ventus est interclusus et agitatus in terra. Dum illa (que) per humilitatem stabilis et quieta esse deberet vehementer et perniciose se commovet, in ea Christi habitaculum subruit et funditus destruit. Unde Ysydorus *De summo bono*, libro 1, capitulo 38: “Qui, inquit, inflatur  
 10 superbia, a vento (pascitur).” Et non tantum hoc set eciam Christi habitaculum, idest animam fidelem, simpliciter perimit.

Secundum enim Rabanum *De naturis rerum* et Ysydorum *Ethimologiarum* 12 est quedam aspis, prester nomine, que quem perusserit enormi corpulencia (necat). Sic spiritus superbie dum quempiam in anima suo (veneno) inficit,  
 15 confestim interimit; unde Deuteronomii 32: “Venenum aspidum insanabile.”

Item si miles aliquis regem dominum suum armis ipsis ab eo receptis ad eius inimicum se transferens hostiliter impugnet, nonne iuste ingratus et iniuriosus diceretur? Sic in proposito superbus (gracii) a Deo sibi datis pro armis ipsum Deum superbiendo impugnat; Iob 15: “Tetendit adversus Deum manum suam et contra Omnipotentem est roboratus.” Unde Gregorius ait:  
 20 “Scio, inquit, omnia vicia a Deo fugiunt, sola superbia semper se opponit.”

Et nota quod superbia est detestanda quia nocet oculis anime sicut fumus oculis corporis. Et bene assimilatur fumo, nam sicut fumus in ymo densatur et (sursum) elevatus adnichilatur, sic superbus in sui reputatione  
 25 est magnus set in futuro adnichilatur. Psalmista: “Vidi impium superexaltatum;” et sequitur: “Quemadmodum fumus deficient.” Similiter ex igne oritur set lucis heredem non constituit; sic superbia de natura bona est orta, sicut tinea de veste, vermis de fructu, rubigo de auro, et tamen illud de (quo) oritur (corrumpit) et consummit. Similiter quanto alcius ascendit,  
 30 tanto cicius cadet.

4 quo] R; qua M. W. cuius] R. W; quod M. 7 que] R interl; om M. W. 10 pascitur] R. W; om M. eciam] add ipsum R. W. 14 necat] R; necatur M. W. veneno] feneno M (a characteristic habit of M). 15 32] add dicitur R. W. 18 gracii] R. W; gratus M. 21 Scio] cum corr R. 24 sursum] R. W; rursus M. 26 et sequitur] om R. W. 29 quo] R. W; om M. corrumpit] R. W; corrumpitur M.

## I.vi WHY PRIDE MUST BE SCORNED

In the third part we ask why pride must be despised in our mind. The answer is, first, because it destroys and demolishes the dwelling-place of the soul. According to the Philosopher, in Book 3 of his *Meteorology*, an earthquake is caused by the violent movement of wind in the bowels of the earth, by which the earth is shaken; at whose strong movement often palaces fall down and large buildings are flattened. Pride in our soul is similarly like a wind that is shut up and violently moved in the earth. When the soul, which should remain stable and quiet in humility, is in violent and harmful commotion, it overturns and completely destroys Christ's dwelling-place in it. Therefore Isidore says in *On the Highest Good*, book 1, chapter 38: “He who is swollen with pride feeds on wind.” And not only that, but he simply ruins Christ's dwelling-place itself, that is, the faithful soul.

According to Rabanus in *The Nature of Things* and Isidore in *Etymologies*, 12, there is a certain asp called prester which, when it strikes, kills with an enormous swelling. Thus the spirit of pride kills at once whomever it infects with its poison in his soul. Hence in Deuteronomy 32 it is said: “The poison of asps is fatal.”

Further, if a knight were to go over to the enemy and fight against the king his lord with the same weapons that he had received from his king, would it not be just to call him ungrateful and criminal? In the same fashion, in being proud the proud person fights against God with the help of the graces God has given him as weapons; Job 15: “He has stretched out his hand against God and mounted his strength against the Almighty.” Wherefore Gregory says: “I know that all vices flee before God, pride alone always withstands him.”

And notice that pride must be despised because it harms the eyes of the soul, as smoke harms the eyes of the body. It is fittingly likened to smoke because as smoke condenses near the ground and evaporates when it rises up, so the proud person is great in his own estimation, but in the future he comes to nothing; the Psalmist declares: “I have seen the wicked highly exalted”; and further: “They shall come to nothing, like smoke.” Similarly, smoke is born of fire but does not inherit light; likewise pride is born from a good substance, just as a moth from clothing, a worm from fruit, and tarnish from gold, and yet it spoils and consumes what it is born of. Similarly, the higher smoke rises, the swifter it will fall.

3–5 Aristotle, *Meteorologica* II.viii (365b). 9–10 Isidore, *Sent.* II.xxxviii.4 (PL 83:639). 12–14 Isidore, *Etym.* XII.iv.16; Rabanus, *De universo* VIII.3 (PL 111:231). 15 Deut. 32.33. 19–20 Job 15.25. 25–26 Ps. 36.35, 20.

## I.vii DE MEMBRIS SUPERBIE

Demum ad membra superbie procedendum est, eo quod capud membra se-  
cuntur sicut discipuli magistrum. Set advertendum quod eius membra quatuor  
sunt (consideranda), videlicet ypocrisis simulacio, inobediencie usurpacio,  
vane glorie captacio, iactancie elevacio.

5 Ypocrite autem similes sunt trutannis qui cum accessus hominum intel-  
ligerint, labia movent sanctitatem (pretendentes), ut cicius a transeun-  
tibus aliquid accipiant, set cum pertransierint in dissolutionem prorumpun-  
tur. Revera sic ypocrite in conspectu hominum orant, ieiunant, et huiusmodi  
(faciunt) ut ab hominibus videantur; set in latibulo faciunt omnia contra-  
10 ria, nam orant clamorose ut ab hominibus audiantur, set revera cor dissonat  
longe ab ore; Ysaie 29: “Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum  
longe,” etc.

Et nota quod tria oriuntur mala ex] [C, f. 1] oracione clamorosa:  
primum quod sic orans Deum ubique esse non credit nec abscondita cordis  
15 audire, quod est hereticum dicere; secundum est quod oraciones mittit ad  
aures hominum, a quibus deridetur; et tertium malum est quod alium iuxta  
illum perfecte orare volentem impedit. Et ideo iuxta illud Matthei: “Cum  
oraveris, intra cubiculum tuum,” etc. Nam Deus non verborum set cordis est  
auditor, iuxta illud metricae:

20 Non vox set votum, non musica cordula set cor,  
Non clamor set amor sonat in aure Dei.

[Anglice sic:

25 Ne monnes steuen but gode wylle,  
No murthe of mouth but herte stylle,  
No cry but love no oþer bere  
Nys murthe ny song God to here.]

Unde Crisostomus *Super Mattheum*, omelia 19: “Si, inquit, oraciones nostras  
non audimus qui petimus, quomodo ut audiamur a Deo rogamus?” Hec ille. Et  
ideo humiliter sine aliqua ypocrisi insistendum est orando cum publicano  
30 qui stetit a longe et descendit iustificatus a Domino, et non cum Phariseo  
qui fuit reprobatus, Luce 9. Nam sicut sagittator primo ad terram se incli-  
nat ut sagittam alcus emittat, sic qui orat prius se humiliare debet, quia  
iuxta Sapientem Ecclesiastici 35: “Oracio humiliantis nubes penetrat.”  
Exemplum de Chananea que per humilitatem veniam optinuit dum se catellis  
35 comparavit, Matthei 15. Unde Crisostomus: “Orans, inquit, nichil novum  
faciat quod homines appetunt nec voce clamet nec manus expandet nec impru-

## I.vii THE MEMBERS OF PRIDE

Finally we must turn to the members of pride, for the members follow their  
head as the disciples their master. Notice that four members of pride must be  
considered: the deceit of hypocrisy, the practice of disobedience, the clutch-  
ing of vainglory, and the arrogance of boasting.

Hypocrites are like fake beggars who, when they have noticed someone  
coming, move their lips in pretended holiness, in order to receive something  
from the passersby, but when they are gone they dissolve into laughter. Thus  
in the sight of men hypocrites pray, fast, and do similar works that they may  
be seen by people; but in secret they do all the opposite, for they pray aloud  
that they may be heard by people, but in fact their heart is far from their  
mouth. Isaiah 29: “This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is  
far from me,” and so on.

And notice that three evils arise from noisy prayer. The first is that a person  
who prays in this way does not believe that God is everywhere and hears  
what lies hidden in man’s heart, which is heretical to maintain. Second, he  
sends his prayers to the ears of men who laugh at him. Third, he hinders  
another person near him who wants to pray in a fitting way. According to  
Matthew: “When you pray, go into your chamber,” etc. For God hears not  
words but the heart, as in the verse:

Not your voice but your vow,  
Not stringed music but your heart,  
Not shouting but your love  
Sounds in the ear of God.

In English thus:

Ne monnes steuen . . .

Therefore Chrysostom comments in *On Matthew*, homily 19: “If we do not hear our  
own prayers, we who say them, how do we ask God to hear us?” We must beseech  
him humbly without hypocrisy and pray with the Publican who stood from afar and  
went away justified, not with the Pharisee who was reprimanded, Luke 9. As an  
archer first bends to the earth so that he can shoot his arrow higher, the  
person who prays must first humble himself, for according to the wise man,  
Ecclesiasticus 35, “the prayer of a humble person penetrates the clouds.” We  
have as an example the woman of Canaan who through her humility obtained grace  
when she compared herself to the little dogs, Matthew 15. Therefore Chrysostom  
says: “Let the person who prays not do anything novel which pleases people, nor

denter oculos ad celum tollat." Hec ille. Sit ergo oratio tua in abscondito, ut Pater tuus, etc.

40 Secundum membrum superbie est contemptus sive inobediencia exterior, que secundum diffinicionem Crisostomi est vicium ex propria voluntate  
proveniens hominem Deo et suo superiori inobedientem reddens. Et a propria  
voluntate (recedendum est) tamquam a via pessima. Unde Bernardus in sermone  
*De lepra Naaman*: "Quid, inquit, odit Deus aut quid punit nisi propriam  
45 voluntatem? Cesset ergo (dicit ipse) propria voluntas, et iam non erit  
infernus." [Nam "ipsa est," prout dicit in sermone *De cena Domini*, "qui in  
potestate redigit tenebrarum et nos subicit mortis imperio."] Unde legitur  
Regum 23: "Factus est sermo Domini ad virum Dei dicens: 'Quia non obediens  
fui sti ori Domini set comedisti panem et bibisti aquam in loco contra  
preceptum Domini, etc., non [f. 1v] infertur cadaver tuum in sepulcrum  
50 patrum tuorum.' Et percussus est a leone in via et cadaver eius proiectum  
est in itinere." Unde Bernardus: "Maximum est, inquit, vicium quo angelus  
amisit celum, Saul regnum, Salomon amorem Dei," etc.

Tercium membrum est vana gloria que semper Deum inpugnat, sicut miles  
regi aut filius patri ingrattissimus dicitur si contra illum pugnet in  
55 armis ab eo receptis, vel filius cum bonis collatis contra patrem, etc.  
Gregorius: "Qui accepta bona sibi arrogat, suis contra Deum donis pugnat."

Quartum membrum est iactancia, que detestanda est, que non differt  
multum a vana gloria. Et est quando quis laudando facta propria aut dicta  
ostendit se habere quod non habet, puta in sciencia, in fortitudine, et  
60 cetera. Contra quam ait Christus in Mattheo: "Attendite ne iusticiam  
vestram faciatis coram hominibus ut videamini ab eis; alioquin mercedem,"  
etc. Set opera que sunt per iactanciam magnificata et publicata iuste sunt  
a mercede frustrata. Unde Christus concludit: "Amen, dico vobis, receperunt  
mercedem suam."

65 Et hec de superbia et eius membris sufficiant.

3 consideranda] R.W; considerata M. 5-6 intelligerint] intellexerint corr R.B2.B3.Co.  
Go1.Go2.; intelligerent W. 6 pretendentes] R.W; precedentes M. 9 faciunt] R.W; fa-  
ciant M. 13 oracione] C begins here. For editorial principles, see Introduction.

15 est(2)] om O. 17 Et ideo] om O. 18 tuum etc.] om O. 19 metric] om O. 22-  
26 Anglice . . . here] text from R. Verse 9, in B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.Li.LC.R.Sp.V.  
W1. 28 audiamur] audiantur M; audiat R.W. 39 Secundum] add autem O. 42 rece-  
dendum est] non recedentem C. 53 membrum] vicium O. 55 etc.] unde O. Gre-  
gorius] add in moralibus R.W; add moralium M. 58 quis] aliquis O. 60 cetera]  
huiusmodi O. 63 Unde Christus concludit] dicitur in mattheo after vobis R.W; om M.  
65 sufficiunt] sufficient O.

cry out loud, nor stretch out his hands, nor turn up his eyes to the sky like a fool." Therefore, let your prayer be in secret, that your father, etc.

The second member of pride is open contempt or disobedience, which after a definition by Chrysostom is a vice that comes from self-will and renders man disobedient to God and to his superior. Therefore one must withdraw from self-will as from a most dangerous path. Whence Bernard says in his *Sermon on the Leprosy of Naaman*: "What does God hate or punish if not self-will? Let self-will cease, and there will be no hell." For it is self-will, as he says in his *Sermon on the Last Supper*, that leads us into the power of darkness and subjects us to the rule of death. Whence we read in Kings 23: "The word of the Lord came to the man of God saying: 'Because you have not been obedient to the Lord but have eaten bread and drunk water in a place against the Lord's commandment, etc., your dead body will not be brought into the sepulcher of your fathers.' And he was killed by a lion and his body was cast in the way." Therefore Bernard says: "It is the greatest vice, by which the angel lost heaven, Saul his kingdom, Solomon the love of God," and so forth.

The third member is vainglory, which always struggles against God; just as a knight is called most ungrateful to his king if he fights against him with the weapons he has received from him, or a son is most ungrateful to his father if he fights against him with the goods the latter has bestowed on him, etc. Gregory says: "He who claims for himself the goods he has received fights against God with God's own gifts."

The fourth member to be detested is boasting, which does not much differ from vainglory. It occurs when someone by praising his own deeds or words shows off as if he had what he does not really have, such as knowledge, strength, and the like. Against this vice Christ said in Matthew: "See to it that you do not work your justice before men to be seen by them; otherwise you shall not have a reward," etc. But good deeds that are blown up and publicized through boasting are justly deprived of their reward. And therefore Christ concludes: "Amen, I say unto you, they have received their reward."

And this much should be sufficient about pride and its members.

11-12 Isa. 29.13. 13-17 Cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 13 (PG 56:710). 17-18 Matt. 6.6. 20-21 *Prov* 18723 and *Verses*, p. 143. 27-28 Chrysostom, *In Matthaem*, hom. 19, 3 (PG 57:276). 29-31 Luke 18.10-14. 33 Ecclus. 35.21. 34-35 Matt. 15.22-28. 35-37 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 13 (PG 56:709). 37-38 Cf. Matt. 6.6. 43-45 Bernard, *In Resurrectione*, sermo 3, 3 (5:105). 45-46 Bernard, *De diversis*, sermo 11, 2 (6.1:125), quoting Col. 1.13. 47-51 Cf. 1 Kings 13.20-24. 60-62 Matt. 6.1. 63-64 Matt. 6.2.

## I.viii DE HUMILITATE

[N]unc autem expleta parte superbie cum suis membris et oblectamentis offert se domina Humilitas econtra tamquam istorum expugnatrix ac bonorum reparatrix. Ipsa enim est radix et fundamentum omnis boni. Circa quam sic intendo procedere: primo videre qualis est et quare imitanda; secundo, quibus est humiliandum; tercio, que introducunt humilitatem; et quarto, que sit merces humiliantium.

Dico ergo primo quod humilitas est voluntaria mentis inclinatio et proprie excellencie contemptus.

Est igitur humilitas sic decripta imitanda, primo quia sue angustie est paciens tolleratrix; ut matrona a viro suo iniuriose tractata pacienter sustinet ne virum dignum vituperio reddat, et si forte vituperio ex verbibus lesio foris appareat, illam caute dissimulat [f. 2] asserens se aliunde tale malum incurrisse. Ecclesiastici 2 dicitur: "Aurum et argentum in igne probantur," etc. Unde Augustinus: "Beati, inquit, humiles qui, etsi quando fieri solet ut iniustas audiant increpaciones, amplius se Christo humiliant et minus se audire quam meruerunt proclamant." Secundo, quia mala sua recogitans est bonorum morum occultatrix, sicut pavo aspiciens pedes turpissimos caudam suam dimittit lucentem. Unde Luce 18: "Publicanus a longe stans noluit levare oculos ad celum set percuciens pectus suum ait: 'Deus, propicius,' " etc. Et sequitur: "Amen dico vobis, descendit hic iustificatus in domum suam, quia omnis qui se exaltat, humiliabitur," etc. Tercio, quia operum Christi crebra inspectrix et assecutrix. Ad modum quo aquila contra solem irreverberatis oculis respicit, sic vere humilis opera Christi qui est sol iusticie, Ysaie 66: "Ad quem aspiciamus nisi ad humilem," scilicet Christum, ut eum imitemur, scilicet quomodo se Patri humiliavit—cui erat equalis in deitate—in assumptione humane nature; Philippensium 2: "Qui cum in forma Dei esset," etc. Quomodo se eiam humiliavit parentibus in voluntaria subiectione; Luce 2: "Erat subditus illis." Et tercio erat humilis peccatoribus, quia "usque ad mortem," ut sic sibi humiliemus animas nostras, pro peccatis primo corde conterendo, secundo ore confitendo, et tercio opere satisfaciendo. Et de istis quere in titulo "De confessione."

Si ergo sic fecerimus, se habebit Christus erga nos sicut leo ad hominem, qui secundum Rabanum micior est captivis et prostratis quam erectis et dominantibus. Certe sic Christus erga humiles magis quam superbis, nam humilibus parcat et superbis [resistentibus] lacerat et perimit; Osee 13: "Occurram ei quasi ursa raptis catulis et disperdam quasi leo." Unde Ysidorus: "Descende, inquit, ut ascendas, humilia te ut exalteris, ne exaltatus humiliaris." Et nota: Si quis enim vellet ascendere montem pre- eminentem, necesse est ipsum inclinare, ne forte si erectus ascenderet

## I.viii HUMILITY

After the section on pride and its members and false pleasures has been completed, Lady Humility now rises against them to overcome them and to restore the good qualities. For she is the root and foundation of every good. In treating humility I plan to proceed as follows: first we shall see what it is and why it should be practiced; second, to whom we must humble ourselves; third, what things lead to humility; and fourth, what the reward of people who humble themselves is.

First, then, I say that humility is the voluntary lowering of our mind and contempt for our own superiority.

Humility as thus defined must be practiced, first because it patiently endures its troubles; just as a wife who is mistreated by her husband suffers it patiently so that she may not cause her husband to become worthy of public shame, and if perhaps, to his shame, some external lesion from his beating can be seen on her, she carefully dissimulates saying she took such an injury elsewhere. In Ecclesiasticus 2 it is said: "Gold and silver are tried in the fire," and so forth. Whence Augustine says: "Blessed are the humble who, if it sometimes happens that they hear unjust accusations against them, humble themselves further before Christ and declare they hear less than they have deserved." Humility must be striven for secondly because it reflects on its shortcomings and hides its good qualities, like the peacock which, seeing that its feet are most vile, forgets about its splendid tail. Therefore in Luke 18: "The Publican, standing afar off, would not lift his eyes up to heaven but striking his breast said: 'Lord, have mercy on me,' " etc. And then follows: "Amen, I say to you, this man went down into his house justified, because everyone that exalts himself will be humbled," etc. Third, humility must be striven for because it frequently meditates on and follows Christ's deeds. As the eagle looks at the sun with unblinking eyes, just so does a truly humble person look at Christ's deeds, who is the sun of justice. Isaiah 66: "To whom shall we look if not to the humble one," that is, Christ, that we may follow him, that is, in the way he has humbled himself before the Father—whose equal he was in divinity—by assuming human nature; Philippians 2: "Who, while he was in the form of God," etc. Further, in the way he humbled himself before his parents in voluntary submission; Luke 2: "He became subject to them." And in the third place he humbled himself before sinners "even unto death," so that we might humble our souls before him, first by having contrition of heart for our sins, second by confession of mouth, and third by satisfaction in deed. On these matters see under the title "On Confession."

If we do this, Christ will act toward us as the lion does toward humans; according to Rabanus, he is gentler to people who are prostrate and captives than to those who stand upright and are domineering. Certainly, in the same

posset descendere eiectus; ita certe cum humilitate celum ascenditur, sicut cum superbia ad inferos proicitur. In cuius figura, ut habetur 1 Regum 14, Ionathas ascendit clivum montis “reptans manibus et pedibus, et armiger eius post eum;” sic Christus in celum manibus et pedibus cruci affixis et capite inclinato, cuius armiger verus humilis est quia humilitatem sue vite, passionis, et (mortis) vere sequitur. Vas enim non impletur aqua de puteo nisi inclinetur aut profunde mergatur; sic nec homo gracia Dei nisi humilietur. Ecclesiastici ultimo: “Inclinavi modicum animam et accepi sapienciam.” “Quanto ergo (maior) es, humilia te in omnibus et invenies graciam.”]

1 membris et] *om O.* 4 procedere] *add videlicet O.* 5 est] *sit O. et] om O.* 14 etc.] *homines vero acceptabiles in camino humiliacionis O.* 16 humiliant] *humiliant O.* 17 pedes] *add suos O.* 20 Deus propicius] *domine miserere mei O.* 21 humiliabitur] *om O.* 26 deitate] *divinitate O.* 29 erat humilis] *se humiliavit O.* 31 et] *om O.* quere] *add infra O.* 35 dominantibus] *dominativis O.* 36 superbis resistentibus] *M.W. superbos resistentes R.* 36–50 resistentibus . . . graciam] *resistit C; text from M.* 46 mortis] *R.W; morte M.* 49 maior] *amor M.*

### I.ix QUIBUS EST HUMILIANDUM: DEO

[S]equitur quibus sit humiliandum. Ad quod respondetur quod dupliciter, scilicet spiritualiter et corporaliter, hoc est, tam Deo quam homini, sicut fecit ipsemet Christus, qui primo Deo Patri obedivit dicens: “Non mea voluntas set tua fiat.” Docuit eciam matri Ecclesie obedire quando assumpto

5 f[lagello de funiculis eiecit vendentes et ementes de templo [f. 2v] dicens: “Domus mea domus oracionis vocabitur.” Et ideo debetis eam revereri et sibi humiliari. Tercio eciam docuit hominibus humiliari quando neque regi neque regine set Ioseph lignifabri et matri paupercule erat subditus, Luce 2.

10 Set quia dicitur magis oportet Deo obedire quam hominibus, ideo Deo tamquam patri qui fecit nos et non ipsi nos precipue debemus obedire, et hoc secundum nature processum, quia filii magis obediunt patri quam aliis. Set ipse est pater noster precipuus tripliciter: primo generaliter per creacionem, secundo specialiter per gracie adopcionem, et tercio singulariter per nature nostre incarnationem. Et ideo bene dicitur et vocatur in

15 oracione dominica “Pater noster,” in signum quod pre ceteris sibi debemus

way Christ will be more gentle to the humble than to the proud, for the former he spares, but the proud who resist him he tears to pieces and destroys; Hosea 13: “I will confront him like the bear whose cubs have been taken away and will disperse him like the lion.” Therefore Isidore says: “Step down so that you may climb up; humble yourself that you may be exalted, lest by exalting yourself you be humbled.” Notice: if someone wants to climb a steep mountain, he must needs bend down, lest by walking erect he might fall off; thus one surely climbs to heaven with humility, just as through pride one is flung to hell. As a type of this, according to 1 Kings 14, Jonathan climbed the slope of the mountain “crawling on hands and feet, and his squire behind him.” Thus Christ climbed to heaven, with his hands and feet nailed to the cross and his head bent down; his squire is the truly humble person who sincerely follows the humility of Christ’s life, passion, and death. For a vessel is not filled with water from a well unless it is lowered and deeply immersed; likewise man is not filled with God’s grace unless he humbles himself. At the end of Ecclesiasticus: “I have bent my soul a little and have received wisdom.” Therefore, the greater you are, humble yourself, and you will find grace.

13–14 Ecclus. 2.5. 18–20 Luke 18.13–14. 24–25 Cf. Isa. 66.2. 27 Phil. 2.6. 28 Luke 2.51. 29 Phil. 2.8. 31–32 *FM V.* 34–35 Rabanus, *De universo* VIII.1 (PL 111:217). 37 Hos. 13.8. 38–39 Isidore, *Synonyma* II.21 (PL 83:850). 43–44 1 Sam. 14.13. 48–49 Ecclus. 51.21. 49–50 Ecclus. 3.20.

### I.ix HUMBLING ONESELF BEFORE GOD

Next we ask before whom one must humble oneself. To which we reply that we must do so in two ways, namely spiritually and bodily, and that means before God as well as before man, as Christ himself did, who first obeyed his Father saying: “Not my will be done but yours.” He further taught us to obey our mother the Church, when he took a scourge made of ropes and drove those who were selling and buying from the temple, saying: “My house shall be called a house of prayer.” Therefore you should hold the Church in reverence and humble yourselves before it. And thirdly he taught us to humble ourselves before men, as “he was subject,” Luke 2, not to king or queen but to Joseph, a carpenter, and his poor mother.

But since, as is said in Acts, it is more important to obey God than men, we should, in the right order of nature, obey God first of all as our father who has made us and not we ourselves, for children obey their father more than anyone else. But he is our father above any other in three ways: first in general by creating us, second more specifically by adopting us in his grace, and thirdly quite uniquely by becoming one of us in taking on human nature.



obedienciam, reverenciam, et honorem. Unde Augustinus: "Vocatur, inquit, Christus novi testamenti 'Pater noster qui es in celis'. Antiquitus eciam dicebatur 'Dominus' respectu servorum; servi enim fuimus tunc per peccatum. Set iam dicitur 'Dominus' per gratiam." Iuste ergo a nobis veneratur et hoc corde, ore, et opere. Semper enim ipse tamquam pius pater gaudet de bono; (et si ei) deliquerimus, propter hoc visa contricione in corde et audita gratie postulacione in ore, ad gratiam recipit sperans emendam vite nostre et satisfactionem de commissis. In cuius figura, quando filius prodigus bona sua dissipasset vivendo luxuriose, statim ut dixit "Pater, peccavi in celum et coram te," pater osculatus est eum. Et ideo attende hoc quod dicit Petrus Ravennatensis: "Quare, inquit, moramini in peccatis, quare non redimus ad patrem? Non enim dicit pater iste filio prodigo, 'Ubi fuisti? Ubi sunt que tecum optulisti?' Non, 'Quare tantam gloriam in tantam turpitudinem commutasti?' Set continuo ait: 'Proferte stolam primam,' quia delicta non vidit vis amoris." Hec ille. Sic ergo faciamus nos cum omnia tempora in malis dissipamus. Redeamus cum humilitate ad Patrem et dicamus sicut ille dixit: "Pater, peccavi in celum et coram te. Iam non sum dignus vocari filius tuus, sicut Petrus crucifixus, Paulus occisus, Laurencius assatus, [f. 3] Bartholomeus exoriat; et tamen mediante tua misericordia permaxima fac me sicut unum de numero salvandorum." Et hiis auditis procul dubio ad osculum pacis te recipiet [nec extorquetur a te quo fuisti, set potius sinum sue misericordie tibi aperiet et ad veniam te recipiet] indilate. In cuius signum affixus in patibulo brachia expandit ut te amplectetur, et capud inclinans ut te ad penitentiam vocaret; Proverbiorum 1: "Vocavi vos et renuistis, expandi manus meas et non fuit qui aspiceret."

Et advertite: Christus enim pater noster benedictus facit ad modum nobilium qui aves suas avolantes reclamant. Cumque voces eorum obaudierint aves, reclamatorium suum faciunt sanguinolentum carne cruda apposita, ut visa carne cicuius descendunt domestice. Revera sic Christus clamavit ut dispersos per peccatum congregaret, at illi vocem eius non audientes, pietate maxima motus crucem ascendit manus et corpus cruentatum et sanguine conspersum ostendens, ut sic visa eius passione redirent cicuius et a peccato cessarent. Set timeo quod contingit de multis sicut de ave saciata, que nec ad clamorem nec ad (re)clamatorium volunt venire, hoc est non minus propter Christi compassionem cessant peccare. Unde Osee dicitur: "Effraym quasi avis avolavit." "Effraym" enim frugifer interpretatur et signat eos qui propter habundanciam frugum ac ceterarum rerum temporalium ab obsequiis divinis fugiunt.

Et ideo consulo quod faciamus sicut pueri faciunt disciplinabiles et discreti, qui cum se senciunt aliquid contra precepta paterna deliquisse, assumunt sibi virgam et vadunt ad patrem petentes misericordiam, et preparent se totaliter ad disciplinam et patris voluntatem; quod videns pater pietate motus rigorem omnino tollit aut saltem in bona parte compescit. Sic

Therefore he is rightly called and named "our Father" in the Lord's Prayer, as a sign that we owe him obedience, reverence, and honor before anyone else. Whence Augustine says: "The Christ of the New Testament is called 'Our Father who art in heaven.' In olden times he was also called 'Lord' with respect to his slaves, for then we were slaves through sin; but now he is called 'Lord' through grace." Therefore it is right that we should worship him, and that in heart, mouth, and deed. For he always rejoices at the good in us like a loving father; and if we have sinned, when he sees remorse for that in our heart and hears the prayer for grace from our mouth, he receives us to his grace and hopes that we may amend our life and make restitution for our sins. A type of this is the Prodigal Son, who wasted his goods in loose living; as soon as he cried, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you," his father kissed him. Therefore listen to what Peter of Ravenna says: "Why do you dwell in your sins, why do we not return to our Father? For that father does not say to his prodigal son: 'Where have you been? Where are the goods you took with you? Why have you exchanged so much honor for such vileness?' Rather, he said at once: 'Bring forth the first robe,' for the power of love has not seen his crimes." Let us therefore do the same if we have wasted all our time in wickedness. Let us return to our father in humility and say as the Prodigal Son did: "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before you. I am no longer worthy to be called your son, as Peter, who was crucified, Paul, who was killed, Lawrence, who was grilled, or Bartholomew, who was flayed; and yet, through your exceedingly great mercy make me one of the number of those that will be saved." And when God hears this, he will without doubt receive you to the kiss of peace and will not force you to confess where you have been but rather open his merciful heart and accept you into his forgiveness without delay. As a sign of this he opened his arms when he hung on the cross that he might embrace you, and bowed down his head that he might call you to penance; Proverbs 1: "I called you and you refused; I stretched out my hand and there was none that regarded me."

And notice: Christ our blessed father does as noblemen do who recall their hunting birds from their flight. When the birds do not listen to their voices, they put some blood on their recall with raw meat, so that the birds may see the meat and fly down tamely. In the same way Christ called out that he might gather those who were scattered far through sin. But when they did not hear his voice, he was moved by the deepest pity and climbed onto the cross, showing his bleeding hands and his body covered with blood all over, so that in seeing his suffering they might quickly return and leave their sin. But I fear that with many people it goes as it does with the sated bird that will not come either at his call or to his recall—that is, they do not in the least leave their sin out of compassion for Christ. Therefore in Hosea it is said: "Ephraim has flown away like a bird." "Ephraim" means fruitful and indicates those who for their wealth of fruits and other temporal goods flee from God's service.

- 60 certe Pater celestis, cum delicta recognoscimus et preterita deplangimus et plangenda deserimus, aut penam omnino tollit aut ita mitigat quod parum aut nichil gravat.
- Nam de tanta misericordia existit pater noster Christus quod [f. 3v] si crucifigere vel interficere eum vellemus, tamen si contriti veniam
- 65 humiliter peterimus, remitteret et ad gratiam reciperet. Unde refert Valerius libro 3, capitulo 3, de quodam patre divite filium habente qui continue quasi in mortem patris machinavit, aliquando ad occidendum et aliquando ad intoxicandum, et cetera huiusmodi. Quod pater intelligens et ab uxore bona fide veritatem didicisset, scilicet quod filius suus esset et non
- 70 alterius, quodam die dictum filium secum duxit in campum et extracto gladio ° eciam in manibus filii tradito hiis verbis illum allocutus est: "Fili mi, quid contra te demerui? Ulterius ° in mortem patris tui ne machineris. Ecce paratus sum; modo ergo pro voluntate tua occide me." Quo audito naturaliter abhorruit filius necem patris et cum eiulatu magno et lacrimis ad pedes
- 75 patris provolutus veniam postulabat. Quem pater suscipiens et dulciter amplexans in signum pacis reconciliacionis osculum dedit, nec ultra talia cogitare filius temptatus est. Spiritualiter autem loquendo per istum patrem benedictum intelligo Christum, qui non solum unicum filium (habet) ingratum set multos, ut timeo, qui multociens insurgunt in eum ut eum
- 80 iterum interficerent, quando scilicet per superbiam, avariciam, gulam, et huiusmodi in hospicium cordis diabolus introducunt, qui intrat ad modum latronum ut Christum, qui ibidem habitare deberet, quantum in eis est expellunt et occidunt, et non tantum sic set aliquando per intoxicaciones falsorum iuramentorum et conspiracionum et huiusmodi, etc. Quod videns
- 85 pater noster Christus huiusmodi filium in campum deducit, quando scilicet illum ad memoriam reducit ostendens sibi quot bona pro eo fecit, quanta pro eo sustinuit. Que quidem beneficia enumerans beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone sic ait: "Cogor, inquit, racionibus ipsum, idest Deum Patrem, super omnia diligere, a quo me video omnia pignora recepisse. Dedit autem michi
- 90 esse et presse, vivere et bene vivere, corpus cum sensibus, animam [f. 4] cum viribus, mundum cum contentis, Filium cum tormentis, dona cum sacramentis, virtutes cum incrementis, et huiusmodi. Respice, queso (inquit Augustinus), universum mundum et considera si quid in ipso sit quod tibi non serviat. Omnis enim natura sic cursum suum ad hunc finem dirigit, ut tuis
- 95 obsequiis famuletur." Hec ille. In hunc ergo campum, scilicet beneficiorum memoratorum, cum Pater celestis quemlibet nostrum tamquam filium [ingratum] introduxerit, primo dat gladium in manibus, idest iudicium racionis, quod ad modum gladii dividere habet inter istius patris Christi gratitudinem et nostram ingratitude, et tunc ait sic: "Fili mi, quid feci tibi aut in
- 100 quibus molestavi te? Responde michi." Quo audito, revera, si fuerimus per testimonium matris Ecclesie vere filii Dei ad vitam eternam predestinati,

Therefore I counsel that we act like obedient and sensitive children who, when they perceive that they have failed against their father's commands, take a rod and go to their father and ask for his mercy, fully ready to be disciplined and to receive their father's will. When their father sees that, he is moved by pity and lays aside all severity or at least softens it to a large extent. Thus, if we acknowledge our failings and weep for our past sins and leave what we weep about, our heavenly Father surely lays aside our punishment altogether or else softens it so that it hurts us little or not at all.

For our father has such great mercy that, even if we wanted to crucify and kill him, yet if we were contrite and humbly asked for his forgiveness, he would forgive and take us back into his grace. Whence Valerius in book 3, chapter 3, tells of a rich father who had a son that continuously plotted his father's death, sometimes by murder, sometimes by poison and the like. When his father learned that and had ascertained from his wife the truth in good faith, namely that the boy was his own son and not someone else's, he took that son with him into the country some day, drew out his sword, placed it into his son's hands, and spoke to him as follows: "My son, what wrong have I done against you? Do not plot any more for your father's death. Look, I am ready; kill me now if you want to." When the son heard this, he naturally shrank in horror from murdering his father; with loud wailing and tears he threw himself at his father's feet and prayed for forgiveness. Then his father raised him up, embraced him sweetly, and gave him a kiss of reconciliation as a sign of peace. And the son was no longer tempted to such thoughts. Spiritually speaking, by this blessed father I understand Christ, who has not only one ungrateful son but many, as I fear, who often rise against him to kill him again, namely when through their pride, avarice, gluttony, and other sins they bring the devil into the house of their heart, who enters as thieves do, so that they, as much as they can, expel and murder Christ, who should live there, and they plot this not only in the way described but sometimes through the poison of false oaths, conspiracies, and the like. When Christ our father notices this, he takes such a son into the country, that is, he refreshes his memory and shows him how much good he has done for him, how much he has suffered for him. In a sermon blessed Augustine lists these benefits and says: "I am forced by these reasons to love him above all things, that is, God the Father, from whom I realize I have received all these love-pledges. For he gave me being and being ahead, life and living well, my body with its senses, my soul with its powers, the world with all it contains, his Son with his sufferings, his gifts with the sacraments, the virtues with their growth, and so on. Look at the whole universe, I ask (says Augustine), and see if there is anything in it which does not serve you: for all nature directs its course to the purpose of obeying your will." When our heavenly father has led one of us as his ungrateful son into this country, that is, the recollection of his benefits, he first



mox compassione promoti veniam postulare non cessemus. Quo facto, nulli dubium sit quin ipse qui proditori suo Iude osculum non negavit, pacem nobis et concordiam non negabit indilate.

- 105 Item si tanta fuerit erga patrem nostrum Christum transgressio quod eius misericordiam postulare formidamus, faciamus enim tunc sicut ille qui regi (terre) tantam indignacionem incurrit quod coram ipso accedere non audet ad eius gratiam quoquo modo postulandum. Talis enim tunc accedit  
110 roget et deprecetur; deinde vadit ad comites et barones similia faciens; deinde ad familiam liberam; et postremo ad pedi(tes) qui sunt in palacio inferiores, unumquemque iuxta statum suum in aliquo respiciens, ad quorum omnium instanciam non potest in conspectu regis pati repulsum. Revera sic ex parte illa faciendum est cum patrem Christum offendimus et eius veniam  
115 et misericordiam postulare formidamus. Primo matrem misericordie, celi et terre reginam, adeamus aliquas specialitates orando loco exe(nn)ii sibi premitentes, scilicet vigilando, ieiunando, orando, et elemosinas largiendo. Quo facto certe ipsa ad modum pie [f. 4v] matrone occurret inter (te) et patrem Christum volentem te verberare pro delicto tuo, et pallium inter  
120 te et virgam proiciet. Et revera omnem penam tollet vel saltem pro maxima parte compescet, ita ut liberi sine gravamine recedere poterimus. Et tunc dicat unusquisque sic: "Maria, mater graciae, mater misericordie, tu nos ab hoste protege," etc.

- 125 [Mary, moder of grace, we cryen to þe,  
Moder of mercy and of pyte,  
Wyte vs fro þe fendes fondyng  
And helpe vs at oure last endyng;  
And to þy sone oure pes þou make,  
þat he on vs no wreche take.  
130 Alle þe halewen þat aren in heuen,  
To 3ow I crye with mylde steuen.  
Helpe þat Cryst my gult for3eue,  
And I wol him serue whyl þat I leue.]

- Et postea accedendum est ad comites et barones istius regis, hoc est ad apostolos Christi qui cum summo iudice iudicabunt fines terre, ut et ipsi pro te interpellant; deinde ad milites, ad armigeros, scilicet martires et confessores, et similiter ad domicellas de camera regine, etc., dicendo: "Omnes sancti, orate pro me ad Christum." [Tandem pauperes pedites sunt placandi per elemosinarum largicionem, ut et ipsi pro nobis ad Christum intercedant.] Et certe si sic fecerimus, ad istorum petitionem Christus  
140 pater veniam concedet pro peccatis. Est autem hic notandum quod si predic-

puts his sword in his hands, that is, his rational judgment which like a sword can sharply distinguish between the gratitude of this father, Christ, and our ingratitude. And then he says thus: "My son, what have I done to you or in what have I offended you? Answer me." When we hear this, if indeed we are truly God's children after the testimony of our mother the Church and predestined for eternal life, we will soon be driven by compassion and not cease to pray for mercy. After which, let there be no doubt that he who did not deny his traitor, Judas, a kiss will not deny us peace and reconciliation without delay.

Further, if our offense against our father Christ should be so great that we are afraid to pray for his mercy, let us do as he does who causes the king of his land such great indignation that he does not dare come before him in order to ask for his grace in whatever form. Such a person goes secretly to the queen and sends her some gift so that she may pray and intercede with the king her lord for him; then he goes to the counts and barons and does likewise; next to the king's household; and finally he goes to the lower footsoldiers in the palace paying his respect to each of these with some gift according to his rank. When all of them make their prayer, he cannot possibly suffer rejection from the king. Indeed, thus should we do when we have offended Christ our father and are afraid to pray for his mercy. First let us go to the Mother of Mercy, the Queen of Heaven and Earth, and send her as a gift something special, such as waking, fasting, prayer, or almsgiving. At this she will certainly, like a loving mother, hasten to come between you and Christ your father who wants to chastise you for your failing, and she will stretch her mantle between you and his rod. And he will surely relinquish all punishment or at least soften it to a large extent, so that we will go free without grief. And then everyone should say: "Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of Mercy, protect us from the fiend," etc.

Mary, mother of grace, we cry to thee,  
Mother of mercy and of pity.  
Shield us from our en'my's tempting,  
And help us at our own last ending.  
And with thy son our peace thou make,  
That he on us no vengeance take.  
All you saints in heaven high,  
With gentle voice to you I cry.  
Help that Christ my sin forgive,  
And I will serve Him while I live.

After that you should go to the counts and barons of this king, that is, to Christ's apostles, who will judge all the earth with the highest judge, so that

tis modis Christo patri humiliaverimus animas nostras, maximum honorem sibi facimus.

145 Set timeo quod sunt nonnulli de filiis suis qui non inmerito "bastardi" vocantur; ipsum ad tempus cum reverencia et humilitate honorant sicut fecerunt Iudei in die Palmarum. Tunc enim illum primo honorabant eius [discipuli] suis preceptis obediendo, Matthei: "Cum autem discipuli fecerunt sicut preceperat illis Iesus." Set econtra inhonoraverunt eum feria sexta die Parasceves ab eo fugiendo, quia "relicto eo fugerunt," vel si  
150 precipere vellet, non erat cui loqui posset. Et certe sic dehonatur ab homine quando ab eius obediencia fugimus eius precepta contempnentes. Maximum enim dedecus aliquis regi faceret si edictum suum servare contempneret; Romanorum 1: "Quid in lege gloriaris," scilicet te Christianum esse confitendo ac Dei filium esse, "et per prevaricationem legis Deum inhonoras?"  
155 Ideo dicitur Ecclesiastici 7: "Honora Deum ex tota anima tua."

Secundo honorabant eum turbe obviam sibi procedendo, ut patet Iohannis 21; et certe sic adhuc honoratur per veram cordis contricionem. Et tamen postea ipsum inhonorabant de civitate eiciendo; Iohannis 9: "Baiulans sibi crucem exivit." Sic multi spiritualiter [f. 5] obviantes ei per mundam  
160 vitam sibi obviant in die Pasche, set post cito per peccatum eum turpiter eiciunt. Nonne falsi hospites et prodiciosi dicuntur qui, recepto domino suo et maxime patre, si statim post superinducerent inimicos suos capitales qui ipsum exire compellerent? Revera sic hic. Exemplum et signa habemus 2 Regum 15 de Absolon, qui cum David patrem offenderat, postea fuit reconciliatus, scilicet per confessionem et satisfactionem, set post procuravit  
165 mortem patris reducendo sua peccata. Unde ipsum de civitate eiecit nudis pedibus et discooperto capite.

Tercio honorabant eum Iudei vestimenta sua in via sternendo, ut patet Matthei. Per que intelligo bona temporalia, iuxta illud beati Gregorii:  
170 "Que, inquit, sunt ista temporalia nisi quedam corporis indumenta?" Quando enim huiusmodi bona sternuntur in via, hoc est pauperibus in via Dei incedentibus distribuuntur, tunc honoratur Deus. Nam dicit Matthei 25: "Quod uni de minimis meis fecistis," etc. Et ideo dicitur Proverbiorum 3: "Honora Deum de tua substancia." Non enim dicit "de aliena," quod faciunt tales qui  
175 spoliunt pauperes ut inde faciant suas elemosinas. Set econtra isti Iudei inhonoraverunt eum feria sexta quando eum propriis vestibus spoliabant. Certe sic faciunt usurarii et raptores qui pauperes spoliunt bonis suis iniuste; Iob 24: "Nudos dimittunt homines vestimenta tollentes."

Quarto honorabant eum cum virgis et ramis viam decorando, ut patet in  
180 Matthei 21. Sic et nos cum virgis discipline et ramis penitencie debemus sibi obviare. Set econtra feria sexta cum virgis eum flagellabant. Sic certe post Pascha multi quasi illum flagellant, quando vacando peccatis et deliciis virgam discipline quam in Quadragesima portabant a se proiciunt.

they too may intercede for you; then to the knights and squires, that is, the martyrs and confessors, and likewise to the ladies of the queen's chamber, and so forth, and say to them: "All you saints, pray to Christ for me." And finally the poor footsoldiers should be appeased with generous alms, so that they also may intercede for us before Christ. And surely if we have done this, Christ our father will grant us forgiveness for our sins at their prayer. And it should be noted here that if we humble our souls before Christ our father in the ways mentioned, we will pay him the highest honor.

But I fear that there are many of his children who with good reason are called bastards. For a while they honor him with all reverence and humility, as did the Jews on Palm Sunday. For then, in the first place, his disciples honored him by obeying his commands; Matthew: "His disciples went and did all things as Jesus had ordered them." But in contrast, on Good Friday they dishonored him by fleeing from him, for "they left him and fled," and if he wanted to give them an order, there was none to whom he could speak. Certainly, thus he is dishonored by man when we flee from obeying him and despise his commandments. One would do one's king the greatest dishonor if one were to despise observing his command; Romans 1: "Why do you take pride in the Law," that is, when you profess to be a Christian and a child of God, "and dishonor God by breaking the Law?" Therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus 7: "Honor God from your whole soul."

In the second place, the crowds honored him when they met him on the way, as narrated in John 21; and thus he is still honored by true contrition of heart. And yet later on they dishonored him by casting him out of the city; John 9: "Carrying his cross he went out of the city." Likewise, many meet him on his way spiritually on Easter Sunday by their pure life, but soon thereafter they cast him out shamefully through their sin. Do we not call those people false hosts and traitors who first receive their lord and, above all, their father and then right away let in his deadly enemies who force him to leave? So likewise in this case. Of this we have a good example and type in Absalom, in 2 Kings 15: after he had offended his father David, he was afterwards reconciled, that is, by confession and penance; but later he sought to kill his father, namely by bringing back his sins. For that he drove him out of the city with naked feet and bare head.

In the third place, the Jews honored him by spreading their garments in his way, as Matthew tells us. By these garments I understand temporal goods, after the saying of Blessed Gregory: "What else are these temporal goods than garments of our body?" When such goods are spread in the way, that is when they are given to the poor who walk in God's way, then God is honored. For he says in Matthew 25: "What you have done to the least of my brothers," etc. And thus it is said in Proverbs 3: "Honor God with your possessions." He does not say, "with other people's possessions," which is what those people do who rob

Set caveat, quia certe virga sic proiecta vertetur in colubrum, ut habetur  
 185 Exodi 4, hoc est, in penam eternam. Et ideo dicitur in Psalmo: "Apprehen-  
 dite disciplinam ne quando irascatur Dominus et pereatis," etc.

Quinto illum honorabant [f. 5v] salvatorem confitendo dicentes: "Osanna  
 in excelsis," idest, obsecro salva. Quod fit per fidem et spem. Tunc enim  
 honoratur Deus quando homo proprie opinioni contradicit credendo Deo  
 190 et spem suam in illo ponendo. Non enim facit michi honorem qui non credit  
 michi de pariete quod est albus nisi videat; tunc enim non credit michi set  
 sibi. Sic qui credit Deo de hoc quod vidit, facit Deo honorem, set non  
 talem sicut si sibi credat de non visis, iuxta illud: "Quia vidisti me,  
 Thomas, credidisti. Beati qui non viderunt," etc. Sic qui credit secundum  
 195 fidem Ecclesie quod in albedine panis est verum corpus Christi; et de isto  
 modo honorandi dicitur Ad Romanos 3: "Deus autem paciencie et solacii det  
 vobis idipsum sapere," ut sitis concordēs in fide. Set econtra ipsum inhono-  
 rabant fidem eius ac ipsum abnegando; unde qui prius clamabant "Osanna,"  
 postea clamabant: "Alios salvos fecit; seipsum salvum facere non potest."  
 200 Et hoc modo inhonorant Deum infideles et heretici, etc.

Sexto modo ipsum honorabant laudando et cum laudibus ipsum suscipien-  
 do. Unde dicitur quod "turba que preibat et que sequebatur clamabant Osan-  
 na"; et hoc modo iam laudatur in Ecclesia. Set ibi cavendum est ne sit  
 discordia in laudibus et officiis Ecclesie, hoc est, quod os non discordat  
 205 a corde, nec e contrario; sicut illi de quibus Ysaie 25: "Populus iste hic  
 me labiis honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me." Set econtra feria sexta  
 ipsum inhonorabant dicentes: "Vath [qui] destruit templum Dei," etc.; sic  
 modo fatui filii et periurantes faciunt, de quibus dicitur 2 Regum 2: "Per  
 vos nomen Dei blasphematur inter gentes."

Septimo autem ipsum honorabant regiam dignitatem sibi attribuendo  
 dicentes: "Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini, rex Israel," sicut iam  
 faciunt boni et sancti dicentes: "Soli Deo honor et gloria." Set econtra  
 fecerunt feria sexta dicentes: "Non habemus regem nisi Cesarem." Et hoc  
 modo iam faciunt superbi [f. 6] sibi quasi regiam [dignitatem] usurpando. Et  
 215 certe tales filii Dei non sunt, nam ipse dicit: "Vos," scilicet superbi, "ex  
 patre dyabolo estis," Iohannis 8. Patet ergo quomodo aliqui Deum honorant  
 et similiter inhonorant.

Si ergo vestigia Christi sequi optamus, eodem modo oportet quod in  
 seipso contumelias recipiat sicut honores. Et ecce hystoria ad hoc. Legitur  
 220 in *Gestis Romanorum* quod si aliquis strenuus foret in civitate qui trina  
 vice pro civitate pungnasset et vicisset, quod triplex honor sibi debeba-  
 tur: primo quod sederet in curru deaurato et quatuor equi albi ipsum trahe-  
 rent per civitatem; secundo quod inimici eius ad dictum currum afflicti  
 ligarentur; tercio quod duceretur ad templum Iovis et ibi tunica dei sui  
 225 indueretur. Set ne de hiis superbirent, tria opprobria eadem die et tempore

the poor and from that give their alms. But in contrast on Good Friday these  
 Jews dishonored him when they despoiled him of his own garments. Thus do  
 usurers and robbers act who unjustly despoil the poor of their goods; Job 24:  
 "They leave men naked by taking their garments."

In the fourth place, they honored him by decorating his way with twigs and  
 branches, as Matthew 21 tells us. Thus should we also meet him with the twigs  
 of mortification and the branches of penance. But in contrast on Good Friday  
 they scourged him with rods. Thus do many people as it were scourge him after  
 Easter when they give themselves to sins and pleasures and throw away the rod  
 of mortification which they were carrying during Lent. But let them take heed  
 lest the rod thus thrown away turn into a serpent, as happened in Exodus 4,  
 that is, into eternal punishment. Therefore it is said in the Psalm: "Take  
 upon yourselves mortification so that the Lord may not be angry and you per-  
 ish," etc.

In the fifth place they honored him by proclaiming him as their Savior  
 when they said: "Hosanna in the highest," which means: "I pray, save us." This  
 is done through faith and hope. For God is honored when man goes against his  
 own understanding and believes in God and puts his hope in him. A person does  
 me no honor if he does not believe me that a wall is white unless he sees for  
 himself, for then he does not believe me but his own eyes. Just so, a person  
 who believes God in things which he can perceive does God honor, but not the  
 same as when he believes him in things which he does not perceive, according to  
 that word: "Because you have seen me, you have believed, Thomas; but blessed  
 are they who have not seen," etc. This applies to him who, according to the  
 faith of the Church, believes that under the white color of bread is the true  
 body of Christ. And of this way of honoring God it is said in Romans 3: "The  
 God of patience and of comfort grant you to be of one mind one toward another,"  
 that you may be unanimous in faith. By contrast they dishonored him by denying  
 their faith in him and denying himself, whence those who first shouted "Hosan-  
 na" later on shouted: "He has saved others, but he cannot save himself." And  
 it is in this fashion that the infidels and heretics dishonor God.

In the sixth place they honored him with singing praise and by receiving  
 him with praises. Whence it is written that "the crowd that went before and  
 after him cried 'Hosanna,'" and in this fashion he is still praised in the  
 Church. But here we should take heed lest there be any discord in the praise  
 and offices of the Church, that is, that the mouth may not disagree with the  
 heart or vice-versa, so that it may not be with us as it was with those of whom  
 Isaiah 25 says: "This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far  
 from me." In contrast, on Good Friday they dishonored him saying: "Vah, he who  
 destroys the temple of God," etc.; as now his foolish children and perjurers  
 do, of whom it is written in 2 Kings 2: "By you the name of God is blasphemed  
 among the Gentiles."

sustinerent: primum, quod servus quidam rurissime condicionis iuxta eum sederet equalis honoris cum eo; secundum, quod hic servus eum colaphizaret dicens, "Nothos olitos," idest cognosce teipsum; (tercium), quod illo die inimici eius contra ipsum dicerent (impune) quicquid vellent. Revera,

230 karissimi, spiritualiter loquendo quilibet nostrum est in cottidiana pungna cum carne propria, mundo, et dyabolo. Unde si istos vicerimus, triplex honor debetur nobis: primo scilicet quod sedebimus in curru deaurato, per quem intelligo laudem humanam et bonam famam, (per quam) quasi per currum a terra elevamur. Set si currus ille bene disponatur, oportet quod habeat

235 quatuor rotas, scilicet amorem Dei et proximi, similiter humilitatem in prosperis [M, f. 8v] et pacienciam in adversis. Nam rota, que est figura circularis et perfectissima, finem non habet. Sic certe iuxta Apostolum Ad Corinthios: "Caritas numquam excidit." Per quatuor equos albos intelligo quatuor virtutes cardinales, scilicet iusticiam, prudenciam, fortitudinem,

240 temperanciam. Si ergo currus iste per istos equos ducatur, idest una cum quatuor rotis predictis, tunc primus honor satis patebit. Secundus honor erit scilicet quod inimici ligati erunt, scilicet caro, mundus, et demon; quoniam si ipsi viderint nos sic in perfectione permanere, quasi ex dolore et invidia confusi ligantur et vincantur, et sic de bonis nostris torquentur. Tercius honor (erit) quod debet indui tunica Dei, hoc est per totum circumdari compassione mortis Christi. Set ne de hiis honoribus superbiamus, tria opprobria sustinemus: primo servus vilis, scilicet caro nostra, iuxta nos velis nolis sedebit; secundo ipsa caro colaphizet animam nostram, quia iuxta Apostolum "caro concupiscit," etc.; tercio inimici nostri nos

245 accusabunt.

Patet ergo ex predictis quomodo debemus primo Deo nos humiliare tamquam patri.

6 vocabitur] est O. 8 lignifabri] lignifabro O. 10 quia] add prout O. dicitur] actuum O. 11–12 et hoc] om O. 13 tripliciter primo] om O. 14 specialiter] spiritualiter O. et] om O. 17 obedienciam] om O. 22 et si ei] nec sibi C; nec si M. 29 optulisti] tulisti O. 32 dissipamus] dissipavimus O. humilitate] add et reverencia M.W; add et paciencia R. 33 dixit] om O. 36 auditis] add ipse O. 43 eorum] illorum O. 50 reclamatorum] viri clamatorum C. 59 rigorem] rigiditatem O. 65 peterimus] peteremus O. 67 machinavit] machinantem O. et] om O. 68 cetera] om O. 70 gladio] add alio inter] C. 72 Ulterius] add non canc ut inter] C; add non M.W; add enim R. 74 abhorruit] exhorruit O. 78 habet] scilicet C. 79 ingratum] add et degenerem O. 81 diabolum] latere M.W; latenter R. intrat] intrant O. 84 etc.] om O. 94 sic] om O. 100 quibus] quo O. 106 enim tunc] om O. 107 regi terre] regi terreni C; regis terreni corr R. 108 tunc] om O. 109 exennium] exemium C. 111 pedites] pedicas C. 113 repulsum] repulsam R. 116 exennii] exemii C. 117 et] om O. 118 te] se C. 119 tuo] om O. 122 dicat unusquisque sic] dices O. 124–133 Mary . . . leue] text from R. Verse 10, in B3.E. Go1.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.V.W1. 136 ad(2)] et O. 137 ad] om O. etc. dicendo] et dicatis O. 138 orate pro me ad Christum] et sancte dei intercedite pro nobis M; om R.W. 145 cum] add omni O. 149 die] om O. 164 offenderat]

But in the seventh place they honored him by giving him royal dignity when they said: "Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord, the king of Israel"; so do the good and the saints nowadays when they say: "To God alone be honor and glory." But on Good Friday people did the opposite by saying: "We have no king except Caesar." Nowadays proud people do just that when they, as it were, assume royal dignity for themselves. Certainly, these are not children of God, for he himself says in John 8: "You," that is, proud people, "are from your father the devil." Thus it is evident how people honor God and likewise dishonor him.

If we then wish to follow in Christ's footsteps, we must in the same way as he did accept for ourselves reproaches as well as honors. A story relevant to this occurs in *The Deeds of the Romans*, where it is reported that if there was a hardy champion in the City who had fought for it and won a victory three times, he deserved a threefold honor: first, he was to sit in a golden chariot and four white horses were to draw him through the City; second, his enemies were in their defeat to be bound to his chariot; and third, he was to be led to the temple of Jupiter and there clothed in the cloak of his god. But that he should not be too proud in these honors, he was to suffer threefold shame on the same day: first, a slave of the lowest class was to sit next to him in equal honor; second, this slave was to strike him and say, "Gnothi seauton," that is, "Know thyself"; and third, on that day his enemies could with impunity say anything they wanted against him. In truth, dearly beloved, spiritually speaking each one of us is in daily battle against his flesh, the world, and the devil. If we overcome these, we deserve a threefold honor. First, we shall sit in a golden chariot, by which I understand men's praise and good reputation, through which we are raised from the earth as if in a chariot. But in order to be well made, this chariot must have four wheels, that is to say, the love of God and of our neighbor, together with humility in prosperity and patience in adversity. For a wheel, which is round and of the most perfect shape, has no end; thus, according to the Apostle in Corinthians, "charity never ends." By the four white horses I understand the four cardinal virtues, that is, justice, prudence, strength, and moderation. If therefore this chariot is drawn by these horses and has the four wheels mentioned above, the first honor is evident. The second honor will be that our enemies will be bound, that is, the flesh, the world, and the devil; for when these see that we live thus in perfection, they are overcome by grief and envy and are, as it were, bound and fettered and derive torture from our well-being. The third honor will be that he must put on the cloak of God, that is, he must completely wrap himself in compassion for Christ's death. But that we may not become proud of these honors, we shall suffer a threefold shame; first, a lowborn slave, that is, our flesh, will sit next to us willy-nilly; second, the same flesh will strike our soul, for according to the Apostle, "the flesh lusts," and so on; and third, our enemies will accuse us.

*add per quem intelligo peccatorem O. 165 satisfactionem] penitentiam RW; add in quadragesima M.W. set] et O. 166 sua] scilicet O. 169 beati] om O. 172 dicit] add in O. 25] om O. 173 uni de] om O. 174 aliena] alia O. 175 isti Iudei] om O. 176 eum(2)] illum O. vestibus] vestimentis O. 184 caveat] caveant O. 194 Sic] sicud O. 195 in] sub O. 199 postea clamabant] iam clamant O. 200 etc.] om O. 205 iste] om O. 207 sic] sicud O. 208 filii] falsi O. dicitur] om O. 211 in nomine Domini] om O. 214 dignitatem . . . per (I.x.17)] *one leaf mutilated C; text taken from M. 228 tercium] R; tercio M.W. 229 impune] R.W; impie M. 233 per quam] R.W; om M. 245 erit] R; om M.W.**

## I.X HUMILIANDUM ECCLESIE

Secundo eciam (humiliari) debemus Ecclesie Dei, que est mater nostra. Nam sicud mater temporalis et carnalis primo puerum portat et parit, deinde ipsum lavat et balneat, deinde induet, fovet, et pascit, et tandem in lectis secum quiescere facit, revera sic Ecclesia militans mater nostra. Primo  
 5 ad huius hostium portamur et ibi pompis dyabolicis renunciamus et Christum induimus. Postea ibi in ipsa baptismatis unda abluimur et mundamur et a peccato originali sanctificamur. Deinde in ipsa corpore et sanguine Christi pascimur et potamur. Tandem appropinquante vite termino cum ipsa et iuxta ipsam corpora nostra requiescunt. Et merito Ecclesie tamquam matri nostre  
 10 spirituali debemus (nos) totaliter humiliare pre ceteris, maxime scilicet illa que sua sunt sine fraude solvere, hoc est decimas et oblaciones.

Et adverte: decime enim (omnium) datori de iure naturali debentur; nam iustum (est) ut ille qui dat totum, partem recipiat; Paralipomenon ultimo: "Tua sunt omnia, Domine, et de manu tua accepimus quod dedimus tibi." Deus  
 15 enim precepit illas (dari), ut patet Exodi 22: "Decimas, inquit, et primicias non tardabis offerre." Et ideo illas fideliter non solventes] [C, f. 7] per prophetam excommunicavit, Malachie 3: "Quia, inquit, non reddidistis decimas et primicias, idcirco in fame et penuria maledicti estis."

Et nota quod vita decimas recipiendum non est discucienda, cuiusmodi  
 20 sunt rectores, vicarii, et prelati, sive bene vivant sive male, quia non illis set Deo solvunt. Ipsi enim non sunt nisi "dispensatores ministeriorum Dei," ut dicit Apostolus. Et ideo quomodo illa expenderunt, durissimum

Therefore, from all these things it is evident how we must first humble ourselves before God as our father.

3–4 Luke 22.42. 6 Matt. 21.13. 8–9 Luke 2.51. 10 Acts 5.29. 25–26 Luke 15.18. 27–31 Cf. Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo* 3 4 (CC 24:29). 41 Prov. 1.24. 51–52 Hos. 9.11. 66–77 Tubach 4485, from Valerius, V.ix.4. 99–100 Cf. the Improperia of the Good Friday liturgy. 103 Cf. Matt. 26.49–50. 146–217 Peraldus, *Sunna vitiorum* VI.iii.39 (pride), has a similar pattern, though it is attributed to Bernard. 147–148 Cf. Matt. 21.6. 149 Matt. 26.56. 153–154 Rom. 2.23. 155 Eclus. 7.33. 156–157 John 12.12–13. 158–159 John 19.17. 164–167 2 Sam. 15. 168–169 Matt. 21.8. 172–173 Matt. 25.40. 173–174 Prov. 3.9. 178 Job 24.7. 179–180 Matt. 21.8. 181 Cf. Matt. 27.26; John 19.1. 184–185 Cf. Exod. 4.3. 185–186 Ps. 2.12. 187–188 Mark 11.9–10 (cf. Matt. 21.9). 193–194 John 20.29. 196–197 Rom. 15.5. 199 Matt. 27.42. 202–203 Mark 11.9. 205–206 Isa. 29.13. 207 Matt. 27.40; Mark 15.29. 211 Matt. 21.9. 213 John 19.15. 215–216 John 8.44. 220–229 Tubach 5084, a very widespread *exemplum*. Also in Bromyard, "Tribulacio," T.V.36; Holcot, *In Sapienciam* lect. 164; Brinton, sermons 7, 36, and 106 (pp. 18–19, 152, and 488). 238 1 Cor. 13.8. 249 Gal. 5.17.

## I.X HUMBLING ONESELF BEFORE THE CHURCH

In the second place we must humble ourselves before the Church, who is our mother. Just as a mother in this world and in the flesh first carries a child and gives birth to it, then washes and bathes it, next clothes, nurses, and feeds it, and at last brings it to rest with her in bed, so does our mother, the Militant Church. First we are carried to its door and there renounce the devil and his pomp and put on Christ. Next we are washed there in the water of baptism and are cleansed and purified of Original Sin. Then we are given the Body and Blood of Christ to eat and to drink in the Church. And at last, when the end of our life approaches, our bodies rest with her and beside her. Therefore we must rightly humble ourselves totally before the Church as our spiritual mother, primarily by giving her without cheating what belongs to her, namely tithes and other offerings.

Notice that tithes are owed to the giver of all things by natural law, for it is just that he who gives everything receive back a part; at the end of Chronicles: "Yours, O Lord, are all things, and from your hand we have received what we have given you." God has commanded to give tithes, as is clear from Exodus 22: "Do not delay to offer tithes and the first fruits." And those who do not faithfully offer them he has excommunicated through the prophet, in Malachi 3: "Because you have not rendered tithes and first fruits, you are cursed with hunger and need."

And notice that the life of those who receive tithes, such as pastors, vicars, and prelates, is not to be examined by those who render tithes, whether



comptum in extremo iudicio persolvent. Si quis ergo retrahit scienter vel fraudem facit solvendo decimas et oblaciones Deo et Ecclesie debitas, sacrilegium committit, quia non homini set Deo fraudem facit, et per consequens excommunicatus est tam a Deo quam a communi iure, ut patet 17, questione 4, quam eciam a statutis Ecclesie Anglicane. Et ideo si tales inventi fuerint aliqui, ecclesiastica carebunt sepultura. Nichil enim ad dantes sive recipientes, quibus non dant set committunt loco Dei ad bene custodiendum et dispensandum fideliter, sive boni fuerint sive mali, set semper considerant quod Deus ipse cui dant bonus est et suavis, iuxta illud Psalmi: "Et reddens unicuique iuxta opera sua." Unde Augustinus: "Sicut, inquit, infirmitas medici non impedit effectum medicine et virtutem, sic nec iniquitas sacerdotis effectum sacramenti." Opus ergo operatum est semper mundum, quamvis opus operans sit immundus. "Nichil ergo (inquit Augustinus) a bono maius vel a malo minus sacrum in altari conficitur, quia sunt verba Redemptoris et non sacerdotis;" set bonus ad sui et populi salutem conficit, malus autem ad populi salutem et sui ipsius dampnationem, iuxta illud Apostoli Corinthiorum: "Qui manducat corpus Domini indigne," etc.

Et ideo quando decimas damus, consideremus [quod] Deo, non homini, debitum solvimus, et hoc specialiter propter decimi angelorum ordinis perditam restauracionem. Unde Augustinus: "Si non decimaveris, non decimaberis," quasi diceret: nisi decimas Deo et Ecclesie debitas fideliter sine fraude persolveris, ad decimum ordinem angelorum pervenire non [f. 7v] poteris. Absit ergo ut decimando, offerendo malum pro bono commutaveris quia forte non diligis recipientem, set sicut Deus renovavit bona et ut ad manum venerit offerendum est, quia dicit Dominus per prophetam: "Maledictus homo qui habet masculum in grege et offert debilem Deo."

Et nota secundum Raymundum [Distinccione 16] quod quadruplex remuneracio fideliter decimancium est: prima est habundancia fructuum, secunda est sanitas corporum, tercia est indulgencia peccatorum, et quarta premium regni celorum. De duabus autem primis dicit Augustinus 16, questione 1, *Decime*: "Si decimam, inquit, dederis semper fideliter, non solum habundanciam fructuum recipies, set et sanitatem corporis consequeris." Item ibidem pro duabus aliis: "Qui, inquit, premium eternum aut indulgenciam peccatorum desiderat promereri, reddat fideliter decimam, et de novem partibus residuis studeat elemosinam dare pauperibus." Hec ille.

Unde narratur de Ancelmo vidente diabolum in horreo semipleno, qui decimavit iterum et vix nova pars post in horreo poterat intrare. Narratur eciam quod beatus Ignacius vidit semel diabolum super horreum suum sedentem; qui admirans a ministris suis quesivit si recte decimassent. Et accessit unus dicens quod septem garbas de decima, ut horreum impleret, ibidem reposuit. Quo audito accessit vir sanctus ad horreum adiurans diabolum quare ibi sederet. Qui respondit se in huiusmodi iurisdictionem habere. [Et

they lead a good life or a wicked one, because tithes are not given to them but to God alone. They are only "dispensers of the mysteries of God," as the Apostle says, and therefore will have to give a very close account in the Last Judgment on how they have spent them. Therefore, if anyone in any way knowingly withholds or cheats in giving tithes or offerings that he owes to God and the Church, he commits a sacrilege, because he cheats not man but God and is consequently excommunicated by God and by common [Church] law, as is stated in *Causa* 17, question 4, as well as by the statutes of the English Church. If any are found to be in this condition, they will not receive ecclesiastic burial. Thus they must not look at the recipients, for they do not give their offering but only commit it to them in God's place for safekeeping and faithful distribution, whether they are good or evil; and they should always consider that God himself, to whom they give, is good and gentle, according to the Psalmist: "He renders each according to his deeds." Therefore Augustine says: "As the physician's illness is no obstacle against the effect and power of his medicine, thus is the wickedness of a priest no obstacle to the efficacy of a sacrament; the work performed is always pure, even if the performer of the work may be impure. For if a good priest celebrates it," says Augustine, "the sacrament of the altar does not become greater, nor does it become less if celebrated by a bad priest, because the words [of consecration] are the Redeemer's and not the priest's. Yet a good priest celebrates for his own and the people's salvation, a bad one to the people's salvation and his own damnation, after the Apostle in Corinthians: 'Who eats my body unworthily,' etc."

Thus, when we give tithes, let us consider that we pay our debt to God, not to man, and this particularly for the restoring of the tenth order of angels that was lost. Whence Augustine: "If you have not given a tenth, you will not become a tenth," as if he were saying: unless you render the tenth owed to God and the Church faithfully without cheating, you will not be able to come to the tenth order of the angels. Far be it, then, that in giving tithes you render evil for good because perhaps you do not like the recipient; but you must offer just as God has renewed your goods and as they come to hand, for the Lord says through the prophet: "Cursed be the man who has a male in his flock and offers God a weakling."

And notice that according to Raymundus, Distinction 16, those who give tithes faithfully have a fourfold reward, namely, abundance of crops, health of their body, forgiveness of sins, and the kingdom of heaven. Concerning the first two Augustine declares, in Distinction 16, question 1, *Decime*: "If you have always given your tithe faithfully, you will not only receive an abundance of crops but also have health of your body." And concerning the last two he says in the same place: "He who wishes to gain eternal reward or forgiveness of his sins must give his tenth faithfully and from the other nine parts try to give alms to the poor."

- 65 ille:] “Tu, inquit, potestatem et vires tuas exerce.” At ille summitatem domus asportavit, et supercecidit ignis infernalis et residuum domus combussit. Hoc autem non contingit propter quantitatem bladi detenti, set propter inobedienciam Ecclesie factam.
- Caveamus igitur, et maxime timore excommunicacionis quam quis incurrit male decimando. Et [si] forte dic(a)tur: “Quid habeo curare de excommunicacione talis rectoris vel vicarii et cetera?” respondeo quod sic iuste excommunicatus separatur a bonis omnibus que fiunt in Ecclesia Dei universa, tam [f. 8] de die quam de nocte, in missis, in matutinis, horis, vigiliis, oracionibus, ieiuniis, et ceteris; huiusmodi homines a congregacione fidelium separantur et membrum diaboli efficiuntur, ac eius potestati totaliter relinquuntur dum perseverant pro eterno igne cruciandi, sicut lignum omni viriditate carens igni terreno committitur. Unde Augustinus: “Omnis, inquit, Christianus effectus prophanus Sathane potestati traditur, sicut fur incarceratori cruciandus,” etc.
- 80 [I]nsuper et ipsam matrem [Ecclesiam] debemus et tenemur devote revereri absque vaniloquiis et dissolucionibus, propter que divinum obsequium poterit impediri quoquo modo. Sicut enim boni et devoti de omnibus bonis que fiunt in Ecclesia participant, sic tales dissoluti officium Dei quoquo modo impediunt [illius] beneficio carent. Nam ipsi, quantum in eis est,
- 85 faciunt de domo Dei speluncam latronum, et domum oracionis domum taberne aut negociacionis. Et adverte: Si aliquis infans infra claustrum uteri materni palam loqueretur, pro demoniaco reputaretur; quanto magis [qui] in utero matris Ecclesie, ubi verum corpus Christi efficitur, garulat in vanum et eius officium impedit. Unde refert Cassiodorus quod apud Egiptum in solemnitatibus quas vocant Senax(e)s a cunctis prebetur silentium, in tantum quod preter illum qui psallit nullus adesse videtur quousque omnia consummantur; non enim emittitur sputum, non tussis intersonat, non oscitacio sompni, nullus gemitus, nulla que suspiria, nulla eciam vox preter psallentis auditur aut sonus, nisi forte ex excessu mentis quis modo suo
- 90 submissee quid devotum evaporat. Hec ille. Si ergo illi infideles sic honorant ecclesiam suam prophanam, quanto magis nos Christiani tenemur Ecclesiam Dei et eius officium venerari et non impedire; Thobie 3: “Numquam cum ludentibus me miscui, neque cum hiis qui in levitatibus ambulant participem me prebui.” Et ideo iuxta consilium Sapientis, Ecclesiastici 7: “Non te reputes in multitudine indisciplinatorum, [f. 8v] quia ve dissolutis corde.” Nam tales de malis levioribus interdum ad graviora procedunt, sicut latro de pedibus ad patibulum, deinde ad infernum.

There is a story about Anselm, who saw a devil in his half-filled barn. When he tithed again, the new part would hardly fit into the barn. It is also reported that blessed Ignatius once saw a devil sitting on his barn. He wondered and asked his servants if they had tithed correctly. One of them came and said he had put down seven sheaves from the tenth in order to fill the barn. When the saintly man heard this, he went to the barn and conjured the devil to tell him why he was sitting there. He replied that he had jurisdiction over the barn. And Ignatius said: “Exercise your power and might!” And the devil carried off the top of the building, and fire from hell fell on it and burned the rest of the building to the ground. However, this did not happen because a certain amount of grain had been withheld, but rather because of the disobedience that had been shown to the Church.

Let us therefore beware, especially for fear of incurring excommunication on account of false tithing. And if anyone should say: “What do I care about being excommunicated by such a pastor or vicar, etc.?” I answer that anyone who is thus justly excommunicated becomes separated from all good works that are done in the universal Church, both by day and at night, in masses, matins, hours, vigils, prayers, fastings, and other works; such people are separated from the communion of the faithful and become a member of the devil and are totally given over into his power as long as they persevere, to be punished in the eternal fire, just as a piece of wood that is no longer green is put into material fire. Wherefore Augustine says: “Every Christian who has been expelled from the Church is given into the power of Satan, as a thief is given to the jailer for punishment.”

In addition, we must and are obliged to pay devout reverence to our mother the Church without any idle talk and levity which could in any way detract from the divine service. Just as good and devout people share in all the good works that are done in the Church, so do dissolute people who in any way hinder God’s worship lack that benefit. For such people make of God’s house a den of thieves, and of the house of prayer a tavern and shop, as much as it lies in their power. And notice: if a child in his mother’s womb were to speak openly, it would be considered possessed; how much more does this apply to a person who chatters idly and disturbs the service in the womb of our mother the Church, where the true Body of Christ comes into being? Cassiodorus reports that among the Egyptians, in the solemn service they call Synaxes, all keep absolute silence, so much so that besides the one who recites the psalms no one else seems to be present until the service is completed; no one spits or coughs or yawns or sighs or sobs, no voice is heard except that of the person who recites the psalms, no noise except that perhaps someone in ecstasy quietly emits some pious sound in his manner. If therefore those infidels honor their pagan church so much, how much more must we Christians revere the Church of God and its service, and not disturb it; Tobit 3: “Never have I joined myself with them

1 humiliari] R.W; humiliare M. 3 induct] ut decet R; decet W. 5 huius] eius corr R.W. 9 Et] add ideo R.W. 10 nos] R.W; om M. 12 omnium] R.W; omni M. 13 est] R.W; om M. 15 dari] R.W; dare M. 17 per] C full text resumes. 20 prelati]

*add ceteri ab illis qui solvunt O. 21 ministeriorum] thus C.O. 24 decimas] add primicias O. oblaciones] add quoquo modo O. 26 a Deo quam] om O. 32 iuxta] secundum O. 36 vel] nichil O. 38–39 illud Apostoli] apostolum O. 39 Domini] meum O. 40 quando] cum O. 41 specialiter] spiritualiter M.W. 50 est(1)] add scilicet O. 51 et] om O. 51–52 premium regni] regnum R; regna M.W. 59 poterat] potuit O. 61 suis] om O. Et] om O. 65 tuas] om O. 67 contingit] contigit O. 70 dicatur] dicitur C. 71 talis] add iusticiatus talis puta O; in R iusticiatus has been corrected to rustici. vel] aut O. 72 universa] universalis O. 73 in(2)] om O. 74 homines] ac eciam O. 75 separantur] separatur O. efficiuntur] efficitur O. 76 relinquuntur] relinquuntur O. perseverant] perseverat O. cruciandi] cruciandum R; cruciandus M.W. 80 Ecclesiam] interl R, also in Co.Go2; om C.M.W.B1.B2.B3. Et.Go1. 87 qui] R; om C.M.W. 88 efficitur] conficitur corr from efficitur R (with E). 90 Senaxes] senaxos C. 91–92 omnia consummantur] omnino consummatur O. 92 enim] om O.*

### I.xi HUMILIANDUM PARENTIBUS

[N]unc autem de humilitate et obediencia erga hominem est sciendum quod ad hoc tenemur si sequaces Christi esse velimus. De eo vero dicitur Luce 2: “Erat subditus illis,” scilicet Christus Marie et Ioseph; per quod innuitur quod parentibus humiliari et obedire debemus, iuxta illud Exodi:  
 5 “Honora patrem et matrem, ut sis longevus super terram.” Sicut enim paterfamilias certum pactum facit cum opifice ut opus suum consummet, set ut melius et subtilius illud perficiat robam vel aliquid tale de sua curialitate repromittit; revera sic Christus parentes honorantibus legem extendit, set ut melius illa exequatur vitam longiorem repromittit in terris et vitam  
 10 eternam in celis. Ecclesiastici 3 dicitur: “Qui honorat patrem, vita vivet longiori”; set econtra dicitur ibidem: “Quam male fame est qui dereliquerit patrem, et est maledictus a Deo qui exasperat matrem.” Multum enim tenemur recordari que et quanta passi sunt pro nobis parentes pariendo, nutriendo, fovendo, pascendo, omnia necessaria inveniando, quando nos ipsos iuvare  
 15 neque scivimus neque valuimus.

Set timeo quod hoc male hodie perpenditur ab ingratis, quia Michee 7 dicitur: “Filius contumeliam facit patri et filia consurgit adversus matrem et nurus contra socrum suam, et inimici hominis domestici eius.” Et bene patuit de Absalon, Regum 15, qui patrem suum persecutus est usque ad mortem. Similiter filius Nabugodonosor propter desiderium hereditatis ne pater

that play; neither have I made myself partaker with them that walk in lightness.” And thus, according to the counsel of the wise man, in Ecclesiasticus 7, “Do not number yourself among the multitude of the disorderly, for woe to the dissolute of heart.” For such people sometimes fall from slight offenses into more grievous ones, as a thief progresses from the stocks to the gallows and thence to hell.

14 1 Chron. 29.14. 15–16 Exod. 22.29. 17–18 Cf. Mal. 3.8–9. 21–22 1 Cor. 4.1. 26–27 Gratian II.16.1.65 (1:783–784). In England, excommunication for neglect in tithing is mentioned at least as early as the Council of Westminster of 1138: *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church*, vol. I, ed. D. Whitlock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 1981), p. 778; for later decrees, see vol. II, ed. Powicke and Cheney (Oxford, 1964), pp. 13, 75, etc. 32 Ps. 61.13. 35–37 Paschasius Radbertus, *De corpore et sanguine Domini* 4; cf. Gratian II.1.1.77 (1:385). 39 1 Cor. 11.29. 42–43 Cf. Caesarius, *Sermo* 33 2 (CC 103:144–145). 47–48 Mal. 1.14. 49–57 Raymundus, *Summa* I.xv.16 (p. 137). 52–57 Augustine, *Sermo 219 de tempore*, as quoted in Gratian II.16.1.66 (1:784). 58–59 Tubach 488; see also *Spec. laicorum* 174 and note. 59–67 See Tubach 489 (Saint Udalric). 85–86 Cf. Matt. 21.13. 89–95 John Cassian, *De institutis coenobiorum* II.x.1 (CSEL 17:25). 97–99 Tob. 3.17. 99–101 Ecclus. 7.17.

### I.xi HUMBLING ONESELF BEFORE ONE'S PARENTS

Now we turn to humility and obedience before man, and we should realize that we are obliged to practice this if we wish to be followers of Christ. For of him is written in Luke 2: “He was subject to them,” that is, Christ to Mary and Joseph; which indicates that we must be humble before and obey our parents, according to Exodus: “Honor your father and mother that you may live long on earth.” Just as the head of a household makes a firm contract with a builder to do his work, but out of courtesy promises him a coat or something like it so that he may do his job better and with greater care, so has Christ given his law to those who honor their parents, but in order for them to carry it out better, he has promised them a longer life on earth and eternal life in heaven. In Ecclesiasticus 3 it is said: “He who honors his father will live a longer life”; and conversely, in the same place: “What bad reputation does he have who abandons his father; and he who angers his mother is cursed by God.” We must often call to mind what and how much our parents have suffered for us in giving us life, nursing us, caring for us, feeding us, and finding what is necessary for us when we neither knew how nor were able to help ourselves.

But I fear that nowadays this is hardly taken into consideration by ungrateful people, for in Micah 7 it is said: “The son causes his father shame and the daughter rises against her mother, the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law, and a man's housemates are his enemies.” This could be clearly



iterum regnaret, ipso mortuo cadaver eius in frustra concidit et particulariter illa pedibus vulturum ligavit ut ipse illa asportantes in eternum non convenirent.

25 Et ideo tales bene possunt dici catelli canum qui in iuventute matrem secuntur [f. 9] et ab ipsis lactantur et nutriuntur, set quam cito maiores efficiuntur et dentes acutos habuerint et possunt ossa corrodere sicut mater, tunc statim si os in medium proiciatur, illud arripiunt festinanter et eciam insiliunt in illo, nec plus parcent patri aut matri quam alteri cani. Sic multi filii et filie ingrati in iuventute satis obtemperant  
30 parentibus, set facti adulti si aliquid ab illis possunt lucrari et auferre, non plus parcent illis quam aliis.

Contra quos Ambrosius in suo *Exameron* narrat quod ciconia tante pietatis est erga parentes quod, deposita parentis potencia et per longevum senectutis plumis nudati, circumstant soboles pennis propriis fovendo ac  
35 cibo collato de proprio labore pascere non omittunt, et inde senes parentes sublevantes alarum suarum fulcimento ad volandum exercent et ad pristinos usus dissueta membra reducunt. Hec ille. Quis ergo nostrum senem parentem, qui tantum nos dilexit in iuventute, (humeris) inposuit sicut avis ille? Vel quis patrem infirmum vel eciam decrepitem levare, fovere, alere non  
40 fastidit, etc.? "Quis est hic et laudabimus eum." Revera timeo quod valde pauci.

Narratur eciam de upupa, que est avis silvestris, quod cum earum parentes senio fuerint excecati, querit iuxta mare lapidem preciosum et apponit oculis suis et visum recipiunt. Non sic hodie; set si aliquis horum  
45 unum perdidit oculum propter aliquam substanciam paternam, timeo quod vellent plures ingrati quod ambo oculi eruerentur et morti traderentur. Similiter est de matre. Nonne videmus tota die quomodo filius matrem vetulam ad terciam partem ponit eciam terre peioris, et pro ista totaliter optinenda integre mortem eius affectat? Et sic genitricis sue, que tot  
50 dolores parturiendo pro eo sustinuit, quantum amorem nutriendo sibi ostendit, modo pascendo, [f. 9v] modo lavando, modo amplexando, modo osculando, modo "episcopum" vel "regem" vocando, et cetera huiusmodi, obliviscitur et quasi alienam reputat eam. Contra quos dicitur Proverbiorum 53: "Audi patrem qui genuit te, et ne contempnas cum senuerit mater tua." In Deuteronomio enim legitur quod cum populus venerat in terram promissionis, statuerunt sex viros ad benedicendum eos qui legem servaverunt, et sex econtra ad maledicendum transgressoribus, et semper respondit omnis populus "Amen." Et inter alia dixerunt: "Qui patrem et matrem non honorant sint maledicti," et respondit omnis populus, "Amen."

60 Et si queratur causa quare liberi sunt ita ingrati, revera responderi potest: propter defectum correctionis et castigacionis dum fuerunt iuvenes;

seen in Absalom, Kings 15, who persecuted his father until his death. Similarly, the son of Nebuchadnezzar, in his desire to inherit the kingdom and not to let his father reign again, cut his father's body into pieces after his death and tied the pieces to the feet of vultures who were to carry them off so that they would never again come together.

Therefore such people may be called sons of bitches, who in their youth follow their mother and are nursed and fed by her, but as soon as they grow older and have sharp teeth and can gnaw bones like their mother, they quickly snatch a bone that is thrown in their midst and jump on it and have no more regard for their father or mother than for any other dog. In the same way, many ungrateful sons and daughters are very obedient to their parents in their youth, but after they have become adults, if they can gain or rip off anything from them, they have no more regard for them than for anyone else.

To their reproach Ambrose reports in his *Exameron* that the stork has such great care for its parents that when their parents' strength has faded and they have lost their feathers because of old age, their offspring stand around them and warm them with their own feathers and do not neglect to feed them with food they have gathered by their own labors, and then they raise their aged parents with the help of their own wings and incite them to fly and to reemploy their unused wings in their former use. Which of us has ever put his aged parent, who has loved us so much in our youth, on his own shoulders as that bird does? Or who has never tired of raising, taking care of, and nourishing his weak or ailing father? "Who is this, and we shall praise him?" Indeed, I fear, very few.

It is also reported that the hoopoe, a bird of the forest, when its parents in their old age have gone blind, seeks a precious stone by the seaside and puts it on their eyes, and they regain their sight. It is not thus nowadays, but if any of them lost one eye, many ungrateful people, I fear, would that, in order to gain their father's possession, their fathers lost both eyes and would die. The same applies to their mothers. Do we not see every day that a son puts his aged mother on the third part, and that a bad piece of land, and then in order to have that part wholly for himself wishes for her death? And thus he forgets his mother who endured so many pains in bringing him into the world, forgets how much love she has shown him, now feeding him, now washing him, now cuddling him, now kissing him, now calling him "bishop" and "king" and such, and he acts as if she were a stranger. In reproach of such people Proverbs 53 says: "Listen to your father who has begotten you, and do not despise your mother when she is grown old." For in Deuteronomy we read that when the people had come into the Promised Land, they placed six men to bless those who kept the Law and six against them to curse those who had broken it, and all the people always answered "Amen." And among other things they

et ideo, quod in iuventute incaute didicerunt, in senio ad usum ducunt. Dicitur enim communiter: "Quod nova testa capit, inveterata sapit." Et metrice dicitur sic:

65 Qui non assuessit virtutibus dum iuvenescit,  
A viciis nescit discedere quando senescit.

[Anglice:

Woso woneþ hym noʒt to goude furst in hys youth,  
Unthwes to leve were to hym in his elde wel uncouþe.]

70 Unde Proverbiorum 22: "Adolescens iuxta viam suam cum senuerit non recedet ab ea." Cera enim mollis de facili recipit sigilli inpressionem, non sic autem cum fuerit indurata; similiter virga de facili flectitur, non sic cum crescit in arborem magnam; certe sic melius et facilius instruuntur filii in iuventute quam in senectute. Vestis autem si bene formatur in principio decens est, si vero male vix ad bonam formam umquam devenire potest; revera sic est de doctrina et correctione puerorum. Et ideo dicitur in Proverbiis: "Qui diligit filium assiduet ei flagella," quia "confusio patris est filius indisciplinatus." "Qui docet filium, laudabitur." [Unde Anglice dicitur:

80 Chasteʒ ʒoure chyltren quy l þay ben yonge,  
Of lokyng, of dede, of speche, of tonge.  
For if ʒe lett hem be to bold,  
þay wol yow greve when þay ben old.  
Lef chylde lore behoueth, quod Hendyng.]

Unde narratur de quodam divite unicum filium habente, quem tantum  
85 fatue dilexit quod pro nullo defectu illum corripere aut castigare voluit. Tale quidem tandem commisit factum quod pater illum redimere non potuit. Ille ergo assumpto patre in fugam et visis virgis in suo itinere [f. 10] [tradidit] unam patri dicens sibi: "Plica istam virgam, pater"; et fecit levissime. Tradidit etiam sibi maiorem, et fecit similiter. Cum autem sibi  
90 tradidisset maximam virgam et illam plicare non potuisset, dicit patri: "Sicut, inquit, leviter plicasti tenerem virgam, sic me in iuventute castigare potuisses; set modo non potes." Et extracto gladio patrem occidit. Unde Proverbiorum: "Qui parcat virge odit filium."

95 Similiter narrat Boicius *De disciplina scoliarum* de quodam ducto ad suspendium et a patre osculum petente, osculando nasum patris amputavit, quia eum in iuventute non castigavit. Et pro isto nota superius de honore Deo debito in principio istius capituli, etc.

said: "Cursed are those who do not honor their father and mother," and the whole people answered, "Amen."

And if anyone should ask for the reason why children are so ungrateful, one can indeed answer: for lack of correction and chastising in their youth; what they have badly learned in their youth, they make into a habit during old age. For it is commonly said: "What a young head learns, an old one knows." And in verse:

He who of virtuous life in youth  
Will not a custom make,  
Will not be able in his age  
His vices to forsake.

In English:

Woso woneþ him noʒt . . .

Whence in Proverbs 22: "A young man according to his way, even when he is old he will not depart from it." For soft wax takes the form of the seal easily, but not so when it has hardened; likewise, a young shoot bends easily, but not so when it has grown into a large tree. In the same way one's children are better and more easily taught in their youth than in old age. If a dress is well cut in the beginning, it will fit well, but if it is cut badly, it will hardly ever get the right shape; thus is it also with the teaching and correction of children. And therefore it is said in Proverbs: "He who loves his son chastises him frequently," because "an ill-taught son is the confusion of his father." "He who instructs his son shall be praised." Whence it is said in English:

Chastise your children while they're young,  
In looks, in deed, in speech, in tongue;  
For if you let them grow too bold,  
They'll give you grief when they are old.

"A dear child wants teaching," as Hending says.

There is a story about a rich man who had an only son whom he loved so foolishly that he would not correct or chastise him for any failing. The boy finally committed such a crime that his father could not save him. But when the son had taken his father in flight and saw some rods on his way, he gave one to his father and said: "Bend this," and he did so most easily. Then he gave him a larger one, and his father did the same. But when he gave him the largest rod and his father could not bend it, he said to his father: "As you

9 illa exequatur] illam exequantur O. 11 set] et O. 27 tunc] om O. 29 obtemperant] add patri et M.W; add se corr R. 32 suo] om O. 38 humeris] ut super humeros C. 40 etc.] om O. 46 oculi] om O. 53 dicitur] om O. 56 eos] illos O. 61 fuerunt] sunt O. 62 didicerunt] didicerint O. 63 communitur] om O. 67–69 Anglice . . . uncoupe] text from E. Verse 11, in B3.E.L1.L2.LC.W1. 76 in] om O. 78–83 Unde . . . Hendyng] text from R. Verse 12, in B3.E. Go1.Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 86 quidem] quid O. factum] om O; crimen B1.Et. 88 virgam pater] om O. 95 patris] eius O. 97 etc.] om O.

### I.xii DE FRAGILITATE VITE

[S]equitur [de hiis] que veram inducunt humilitatem, per que pessimum vicium superbie potest extirpari et ab eius veneno ab omnibus hominibus caveri. Et sunt quatuor. Primum est proprie fragilitatis consideracio, secundum est mortalis vite abbreviatio, tertium est tremenda iudicii manifestacio, et quartum est reproborum iusta dampnatio.

5 Circa primum est sciendum secundum Gregorium quod custos humilitatis est recordacio proprie fragilitatis. Nec mirum, nam secundum quod legitur Genesis 1, “formavit Deus hominem de limo terre,” que est ceteris elementis indignior. Planetas autem et stellas fecit de igne, flatus et vent(o)s  
10 de aere, pisces et aves ex aqua, set homines et iumenta de terra. Considerans ergo homo aquatica se vilem inveniet; considerans aerea se viliozem agnoscet; set considerans ignea se vilissimum reputabit nec se parificabit celestibus nec audebit se preferre terrenis quia parem cum iumentis seipsum inveniet. Hominum enim et iumentorum unus introitus, et equa utriusque  
15 condicio; de terra simul exorta sunt et in terram simul revertentur. Iob: ‘Comparatus sum luto et assimilatus sum faville et cineri.’ Lutum enim efficitur ex aqua et pulvere utroque manente, et cinis ex ligno [f. 10v] et igne utroque deficiente. Quid ergo, lutum, superbis? Quid, cinis, gloriaris?” Dicit enim Bernardus: “Unde superbis, homo, fili terre, pater vermicibus, frater (ta)lparum? Tuum robur infirmitas, tue divicie paupertas, honor  
20 tuus dedecus, gaudium tuum luctus. Si (inquit) vires in iuventute, si

have bent the tender switch easily, so could you have chastised me in my youth; but now you cannot do so any longer.” And he pulled out his sword and killed his father. Therefore Proverbs says: “He who spares the rod hates his son.”

In a similar vein Boethius reports in his *Instruction for Scholars* of someone who was being led to the gallows. He asked his father for a kiss and bit off his nose, because the latter had not chastised him in his youth. And on this matter notice what was said earlier about the honor we owe to God, in the beginning of this chapter.

3 Luke 2.51. 5 Exod. 20.12. 10–11 Ecclus. 3.7. 11–12 Ecclus. 3.18. 17–18 Mic. 7.6. 19–20 2 Sam. 15. 32–37 Ambrose, *Exameron* V.16 (CSEL 32.1:181). 40 Ecclus. 31.9. 42–44 See Thorndike 2:422. 53–54 Prov. 23.22. 55–59 Deut. 27.11–16. 63 Prov 25948; frequently quoted. 65–66 Prov 24381 and Verses p. 145. 70–71 Prov. 22.6. 77 Ecclus. 30.1. 77–78 Ecclus. 22.3. 78 Ecclus. 30.2. 85–93 Tubach 4488 (only FM). 94 Prov. 13.24. 95–97 Tubach 3488. Also in Bromyard, “Ab infancia,” A.III.19; John of Wales, *Communiloquium*; Gerson’s French sermons, ed. Mourin, p. 409 and n. 10. See also Lutz Röhrich, *Erzählungen des späten Mittelalters*, vol. II, Nr. viii.

### I.xii THE BRITTLINESS OF LIFE

Now we turn to the things that can bring us true humility, with which the evil vice of pride may be uprooted and with which all men may be able to guard against its poison. There are four. The first is consideration of our own frailty; the second, the shortness of this mortal life; the third, the appearing of the terrible judgment; and the fourth, the just condemnation of the wicked.

Concerning the first we must know that, according to Gregory, the guardian of humility is remembrance of our own frailty. This is no wonder, for as we read in Genesis 1, “‘God made man from the mud of the earth,’ which is the least noble of all the elements; for he made the planets and stars from fire, breezes and winds from air, fishes and birds from water, but men and cattle from earth. Therefore, when man looks at the sea animals, he will find that he is despicable; when he looks at the animals of the air, he will find that he is even more so; but when he looks at the creatures of fire, he will deem himself the most contemptible; he will not put himself on the same level as the heavenly bodies, nor will he dare think of himself more highly than the creatures of the earth, for he will find that he is equal to land animals, for men and land animals have the same beginning and the same condition: together they have sprung from earth, and together they will return to earth. Job: ‘I am like mud and like ashes.’ For mud is composed of water and dust, which both remain in it, and ashes are composed of wood and fire, which lose their characteristics.

flores in prosperitate, si fulges pulcritudine, si viges sapiencia, si splendens eloquencia—status tamen iuventutis in senectute proscibitur, adversitas prosperitatem excludit, modica febris pulcritudinem expellit, 25 oblivio sapienciam, mors eloquenciam. Considera ergo, o homo, qualem te fecit Deus et discite humiliari!” Hec ille. O esca vermium, o massa pulveris, o vapor vanitatis, cur sic extolleris? Ignoras penitus utrum cras vives; fac bene igitur quamdiu poteris. Si ergo consideres, o homo, quid per os, quid per nares, quid per ceteros meatus corporis egreditur, numquid vilius 30 sterquilinio invenies te? Certe sic. Ergo humiliemus nos quia pauperes, quia viles, quia ad bene operan(dum) inpotentes; faciles enim sumus ad seducendum et fragiles ad resistendum. Si temptemus facere bonum, deficiamus; si conemur resistere malo, deicimur. “Arbores ergo et herbas,” dicit Bernardus, “investiga et considera, quia ille de se producunt frondes et 35 flores, et tu de te lendes et pediculos et huiusmodi; ille eciam de se fundunt vinum, oleum et balsama, et tu de te stercus, urinam, et sputum. Ad quid ergo (dicit ipse) philacteria dilatas magnificans fimbrias vestimentorum? Dives enim ille qui indutus erat purpura et bisso sepultus est in inferno.” Hec ille. Et ideo dicit beatus Gregorius: “Mens sancti viri 40 semper dolore et fletu afficitur considerando bene ubi fuit, quia in peccato; ubi est, quia in miseria; ubi non est, quia in nulla gloria; ubi erit, quia in iudicio ubi timendum erit de vindicta.” [Et ideo dicitur Anglice sic:

45 Wreche mon, why art þou prowde  
þat art of erthe maket?  
Hedure ne brouztest þou no schroude,  
But pore þou come and naket.  
When þy soule is faren out,  
þy body with erthe yraket,  
50 þat body þat was so ronke and loude  
Of alle men is hated.]

Unde legitur in *Gestis Alexandri* [f. 11] quod cum vellet capere quamdam civitatem, cives basiliscum unum super muros eius posuerunt, qui plures de exercitu Alexandri solo visu interfecit. Cuius causam cum ignorasset 55 Alexander, dicit ei Aristoteles quod parasset quendam armigerum audacem qui scuto largo se operiret et illud inponeret inter ipsum et serpentem, atque coram illo speculum magnum et politum ante serpentem poneret. Quo facto proprio visu interfectus est. Spiritualiter autem per istam civitatem intelligo celum; per Alexandrum illud capere volentem quemlibet fidelem; 60 illi autem qui nobis ingressum negant aliquando cives erant, quia angeli mali qui, ut melius nos defendant ab ingressu, serpentem in sublimi faci-

Why therefore are you proud, O mud; whence do you derive your glory, O ashes?” For Bernard says: “On what basis are you so proud, O man, son of the earth, father of worms, brother of moles—your strength is weakness, your wealth poverty, your honor shame, and your joy mourning. If you sprout in your youth, if you bloom in prosperity, if you shine in beauty, if you flourish with wisdom, if you sparkle with eloquence—still your youthful condition is banished in old age, adversity shuts out your prosperity, a little fever drives away your beauty, failing memory your wisdom, death your eloquence. Therefore consider, O man, what God has made you and learn to be humble!” O food for worms, lump of dirt, cloud of vanity, why do you exalt yourself thus? Since you hardly know if tomorrow you will be alive, do good while you can. For if you consider, O man, what comes out of your mouth, your nose, and the other passages of your body, will you not find that you are worse than a dungheap? Certainly so. Therefore let us become humble, for we are poor, vile, and powerless to do good deeds; we are easy to be seduced and weak to offer resistance. If we try to do good, we fail; if we attempt to resist evil, we are overthrown. “Study and consider the trees and herbs,” says Bernard, “for they produce leaves and blossoms of their own, but you by yourself bring forth fleas and lice and the like; they flow with wine, oil, and balm, but you with faeces, urine, and spit. Why, then, do you broaden your philacteries and enlarge the hems of your garments? For the rich man that was clothed in purple and fine linen was buried in hell.” And for the same reason Gregory says: “The mind of a saintly person is always touched by grief and weeping when he considers where he was—in sin; where he is—in misery; where he is not—in glory; where he will be—in judgment and fear of vengeance.” Therefore it is said in English as follows:

Wretched man, why are you proud  
Who only are made of earth?  
To this life you brought no shroud  
But naked you came and in dearth.  
When your soul has left its hold,  
Your body is covered with dirt,  
That body that once was strong and bold  
All people will desert.

Whence it is reported in *The Deeds of Alexander* that when Alexander wanted to capture a certain city, its citizens set a basilisk on its walls, who killed many from Alexander’s army by his look alone. As Alexander did not understand the cause, Aristotle told him to get a brave soldier ready who was to cover himself with a broad shield and hold it between himself and the serpent, and to put before himself a large, well-polished mirror in the face of the serpent.

unt, qui omnes solo visu interficit. Qui quidem serpens mundus est, qui postquam aliquem sublimaverit et ex nimia dilectione bona mundi respicit et detinet, quasi in illis omnino mortuus videtur, eo quod per illa impeditur  
 65 ne vitam eternam considerent. Quid ergo faciendum est? Revera speculum consideracionis proprie, de qua dictum est, inter nos et illam delectacionem erigendum est, quam diligenter si perspexerimus totum venenum mundi et eius infectio avaricie moritur et adnichilatur.

2 hominibus] *add* potest O. 5 et] *om* O. 9 autem] *enim* O. ventos] *ventus* C. 18 Quid(2)] *unde* O. 20 talparum] *culparum* C. 27 Ignoras] *ignorans* O. vives] *vix-eris* O. 30 sterquilinio . . . sic] *sterquilinium invenies quasi diceret non* O. 31 operandum] *operantes* C.M. 36 balsama] *balsamum* O. 39 beatus] *om* O. 42 ubi timendum erit] *timendus* M.W; *timens* R. 42-51 Et ideo . . . hated] *text from R. Verse 13, in B3.E.Go2.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1.* 55 dicit] *dixit* O. parasset] *pararet* O. 56 operiret] *cooperiret* O. 61-62 faciunt] *statuunt* O. 65 considerent] *consideret* M.W; *desideret* R.

### I.xiii DE MEMORIA MORTIS

[S]ecundo humilitatem inducit memoria mortis, de qua Ieronimus ait: "Facile, inquit, contempnit omnia qui se cogitat moriturum." "Memorare novissima tua," iuxta consilium Sapientis, "et in eternum non peccabis." Unde metrice dicitur:

5 Non aliter melius poterit caro viva domari  
 Mortua qualis erit quam semper premeditari.

[Anglice sic:

þe flesches lust may þou nouzt o-lyue bettur quenche  
 Bote aftur þy deth which þou be3 euermore beþenche,]

10 scilicet quam breve erit tempus et quam incertum, et quam vile est corpus mortuum, quia iuxta Iob: "Homo natus de muliere, brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis," etc. [Anglice:

15 Mon iboren of wommon ne lyueth but a stounde.  
 In wrechednes and in wo ben his dayes iwounde.  
 He spryngus out as blossome and sone falles to grounde,  
 And wendes away as schadewe þat no wey is ifounde.]

This being done, the basilisk was killed by its own look. Spiritually speaking, by that city I understand heaven; by Alexander, any believer who wishes to capture it; but those who deny us the entrance are former citizens, that is, the evil angels, who in order to better deny us entrance place a serpent on the top who kills everyone by its mere look. This serpent is the world. After it has lifted someone on high and he gazes at wordly goods and keeps them with great love, he seems to be totally dead in them, because he is prevented by them from thinking of eternal life. What then shall we do? Indeed, we must put up the mirror of self-knowledge, of which we spoke earlier, between ourselves and that delight; if we look at that with eagerness, all the poison of the world and its infection with avarice dies and comes to nothing.

6-19 Innocent III, *De miseria* I.2. 8 Gen. 2.7. 16 Job 30.19. 19-28 Widespread commonplaces; similarly in *Meditationes piissimae* III.8 (PL 184:490). 28-30 *Ibid.*, III.7 (PL 184:489). 30-32 Cf. Bernard, *In adventu Domini*, sermo 7, 1 (4:196). 33-36 Innocent III, *De miseria* I.8. 36-39 *Ibid.*, II.37. 37-38 Cf. Matt. 23.5. 38-39 Cf. Luke 16.19-22. 52-58 Tübach 495; and see F. Pfister, *Münchener Museum* 1 (1912), 264-265.

### I.xiii MEDITATING ON DEATH

In the second place it is meditation on death that brings us humility, of which Jerome says: "He who thinks of himself as about to die easily despises everything." "Remember your last things," after the counsel of the wise man, "and you will not sin in eternity." Whence it is said in a poem:

There is no other way nor better  
 Our lustful flesh well to subject  
 Than always on its future nature  
 When dead it will be to reflect.

In English thus:

þe flesches lust . . .

namely, how short and uncertain time is and how vile our mortal body, for according to Job: "Man born of woman, living a short time, is filled with many miseries," etc.; in English:

Man born of woman lives no more than an hour.  
 In wretchedness and woe his days are wound.  
 He blossoms and soon fades like a flower,  
 And away like a shadow that nowhere is found.

Nam cum magno labore agitur et cum dolore terminatur. Et tunc quod in vita erat hominibus amabile, erit in morte illis odiosum [f. 11v] et abhominabile.

- 20 Nam sicut candela quando extinguitur lumen non ministrat assistentibus, set certe quod homines solet confortare fetet pessime, revera sic est de homine cum moritur, quia corpus quod vivendo diversos confortabat post mortem illis cedet in horrorem, iuxta illud:

- 25 Vilior est humana caro quam pellis ovina:  
Cum moriatur ovis, aliquid valet illa ruina,  
Extrahitur pellis et scribitur intus et extra;  
Cum moriatur homo, moritur simul caro et ossa.

- Unde Bernardus: "Cum homo, inquit, moritur, nasus frigescit, facies pallescit, nervi ac vene rumpuntur, cor in duas partes dividitur. Nichil est  
30 horribilius cadavere illius: in domo non dimittitur ne familia moriatur, in aqua non proicitur ne inficiatur, in aere non suspenditur ne ille corrumpatur; set tamquam venenum pestiferum in fovea proicitur ne amplius appareat, terra circumdatur ne fetor ascendat, firmissime calcatur ne iterum assurgat, set ut terra in terram maneat et amplius visus hominis illud non aspi-  
35 ciat." [Unde Anglice dicitur:

- Was þer neuer caren so lothe  
As mon when he to put goth  
And deth has layde so lowe.  
For when deth drawes mon from oþur,  
40 þe suster nul not se þe brother,  
Ne fader þe sone iknawe.]

Ideo dicit [Beda] quod mortis memoria humilitatis est victoria.

- Cogitemus ergo temporis brevitatem, mortis securitatem, et amicorum instabilitatem, et simus semper parati, quia revera dies est certissima set  
45 omnino incognita. Nescimus si media nocte an gallicantu an mane veniat, quia sicut umbra cum declinat, ablatu est homo de medio; et sicut navis pertransit aquam fluctuantem, cuius cum preterit non est invenire eius vestigium, sic et nos nati desinimus esse. Quia ergo hec mors communis est omnibus, ideo dicitur quod omnibus superveniet una captivitas.

- 50 Unde narratur quod Alexander in quadam epistola quesivit ab Aristotele magistro suo quatuor questiones subscriptas. Prima fuit hec: Quid est illud quod quanto longior est vel alcior, tanto cursior et brevior est? Et respondit quod vita hominis. [f. 12] Secunda hec fuit: Quid est illud de quo plus capis, tanto ponderosius est? Et respondit quod corpus mortuum

For he is saddled with hard work and ends with pain. And whatever was love-worthy to men during their life will then be hateful and abhorrent in death.

For as a candle when it is blown out no longer gives light to those present, but rather what used to bring men comfort smells very badly, just so is it with a man when he dies, for his body which gave comfort to many people while he was alive turns into something horrible after death. According to the poem:

Man's flesh is viler than the skin of sheep.  
When sheep are dead, their skin still has some use,  
For it is pulled and writ upon, both sides.  
But with man's death both flesh and bones are dead.

Whence Bernard says: "When a man dies, his nose grows cold, his face turns pale, his nerves and veins break, his heart splits in two. Nothing is more abhorrent than his corpse: it is not left in the house lest his family die; it is not thrown into the water lest it become polluted; it is not hung in the air lest it become tainted; but it is thrown in a ditch like deadly poison so that it may not be seen any further, it is surrounded with earth so that its stench may not rise, it is firmly trodden down so that it may not rise again but stay, earth in earth, and the eyes of man shall not behold it any further." Whence it is said in English:

Never was there carrion so loath  
As man when to his grave he goeth,  
And death has laid him low.  
For when death draws a man from another,  
A sister will not see her brother,  
Nor father his son know.

And therefore Bede declares that to think upon death is the triumph of humility.

Let us therefore keep in mind how brief time is, how certain death, and how unstable our friends, and let us always be prepared, for the day is most certain though completely unknown. We do not know if death comes at midnight or at cockcrow or in the morning, for man is taken from our midst like a shadow when it fades; and as a ship sails over the flowing sea, whose track cannot be found once it has gone by, thus we, too, begin to cease being when we are born. Since thus death is common to all, it is said that one and the same captivity will come to all.

Therefore it is reported that Alexander in a letter asked of his teacher Aristotle the following four questions. The first was this: What is that which the longer and taller it is, the shorter and smaller it becomes? And Aristotle

55 postquam anima ab illo fuerit ablata. Tercia questio fuit hec: Quid est hoc  
quod quanto propinquius est, tanto remocius est? Et respondit breviter quod  
amici defuncti. Quarta questio fuit: Quid est hoc quod quanto lacius est,  
tanto strictius est? [Et] respondit quod bona defuncti, que cum fuerint  
largissim(e) inter amicos et executores defuncti dispersa, strictissimam  
60 partem miser defunctus inveniet.

[Unde narratur de clerico Parisius commorante famoso et divite, qui in  
memoriam mortis sue ipso vivente fecit fieri sepulcrum suum; supra pro epi-  
taphio fecit depingi ymaginem sui ipsius (quasi morientis), ad cuius pedes  
eciam depinxit genus nummorum decurrencium in (illa) civitate aut terra. Ad  
65 caput autem et ex utraque parte dicte ymaginis fecit depingi suos executores  
suas manus sic extendentes, unam scilicet versus pecuniam et aliam versus  
socios. Quorum primus dixit in Gallico:

De ceo mort sumus executors,  
Mais de co money quei from nus?

70 Secundus sic:

Pren ta part et ieo la moye,  
Ly mort n'ad cure de monoye.

Tercius sic:

75 Kyke noster dyner achatera,  
Ceo mort issi le quitera.

In Anglico sic primus:

We ben executors of þis dede,  
But of þis mone what is oure rede?

Secundus:

80 Take to þe and I to me,  
þe dede kepes of no mone.

Tercius:

By vs oure dyner who-so wol,  
þe dede schal quyten al þe fulle.]

replied: man's life. The second question: What is that which the more you take  
from it, the heavier it becomes? And he answered: our dead body after the soul  
has been taken from it. The third question: What is that which the nearer it  
is, the more remote it becomes? And he said briefly: our dead friends. And  
the fourth question: What is that which the broader it is, the narrower it  
becomes? And he replied: the goods of the dead, because when they are most  
widely distributed among the friends and executors of the dead person, the  
latter, poor man, will find his part to be the narrowest.

There is a story about a cleric that lived in Paris and was famous and  
rich, who during his lifetime had a tomb built for himself in memory of his  
death. Instead of an epitaph he had made on it a picture of himself as if  
dying, at whose feet he represented some money of the kind that was current in  
that city or country. But at his head and at either side of this image he had  
his executors depicted with their hands extended, that is, one pointing toward  
the money and the other toward his companions. The first of them said in  
French: "We are the executors of this dead man. What shall we do with his  
money?" The second: "You take your part and I take mine. This dead man doesn't  
care about money." And the third: "Who will buy our dinner? This dead man  
here will pay for it." In English, the first said:

We ben executors . . .

The second:

Take to þe . . .

And the third:

By vs oure dyner . . .

Because of all these things we must know that in the word *Mors*, "death,"  
there are four letters which stand for four words and the qualities of anyone's  
death. To the letter *M* corresponds the following sentence: Death is a marvel-  
ous mirror. Second, to the letter *O*: Death is a clock. Third, to the letter  
*R*: Death is a raping robber. And fourth, to the letter *S*: Death is a summoner  
on his circuit.

First, then, I say that death is like a mirror because in it all men are  
seen without differences, the rich as well as the poor, the old as well as the  
young; in the same way, death spares no one. According to authoritative writ-  
ers, and as is obvious to one's sight, in a mirror there is an elevation on  
one side called "boss" and a concavity on the other; if one looks into the side



85 Unde est sciendum quod in isto verbo “mors” sunt quatuor littere co-  
respondentes quatuor verbis et proprietatibus mortis cuiuslibet hominis.  
Nam pro ista littera M hec propositio corespondet: Mors est mirum speculum;  
secundo pro ista littera O corespondet hec propositio: Mors est orologium;  
tercio pro ista littera R corespondet hec propositio: Mors est raptor [ra-  
90 piens]; quarto pro ista littera S corespondet hec propositio: Mors est  
sitor circuiens.

Primo ergo dico quod mors assimilatur speculo eo quod in illo videntur  
omnes, tam divites quam pauperes, tam senes quam iuvenes, indifferenter;  
revera sic mors nulli parcit. Secundum enim auctores et sicut ad sensum  
95 patet, in speculo ex una parte est quedam eminencia que vocatur “booce,”  
et una concavitas ex alia parte; tunc qui respicit ubi est illud booce apparet  
ulterius extra speculum, set qui respicit ex alia parte tunc apparet ulte-  
rius citra speculum, idest inter te et illud. Spiritualiter per istud booce  
intelligitur pompa mundi et superbia, que mortem videre non vult quia extra  
100 ponitur; set per aliam partem speculi, scilicet concavitatem, intelliguntur  
humiles quibus apparet ulterius citra speculum, idest ante mortem. Nam ipsi  
considerant bene mundi deceptionem et propriam fragilitatem, [quo eciam  
tendunt,] et quod omnia concludit mors.

Unde narratur de quadam muliere filium pariente, que cum misisset pro  
105 quodam philosopho querens fortunam pueri, respondit quod bene viveret quo-  
usque proprium vultum in speculo respiceret, [f. 12v] set illo viso statim  
moreretur. Tandem accidit quod ille puer sciens descendit ad quendam fon-  
tem, in quo cum seipsum vidisset statim expiravit. Expone sic: Fons iste  
est consideracio proprie vite, per quam erga mundum homo moritur.

110 Secundo mors assimilatur orologio, cuius officium est religiosos exci-  
tare ad orandum Deum; set pigri audita prima pulsacione expectant secundam  
et sic sompno gravati, ut frequenter, illam non audiunt. Et causa est quia  
in principio non excuciant pigriciam, unde ab officio absentantur, et ideo  
postea per prelatum puniuntur. Set quia orologia habent diversos cantus,  
115 ideo istius orologii mortis cantus est: “Memorare novissima tua et in  
eternum non peccabis.” [Anglice sic:

Haue mynde on þyn ende,  
And euer fro synne þou myght wende.]

120 Set, quod dolendum est, pauci habent hunc canticum aut attendunt, et (si)  
quando aliqui audiunt et per pigriciam dormientes, a Deo tandem puniuntur.

Tercio mors assimilatur raptori. Nam sicut talis distribuit bona rapta  
ad libitum et sibi ipsi reservat quod magis diligit, sic certe mors. Nam  
ipsa animam dat Deo aut diabolo prout in vita meruit, bona temporalia ami-  
cis, corpus vermibus, et cetera omnia ut sibi placet.

where the boss is, one's image appears beyond the mirror, but if one looks into  
the other side, the image appears in front of the mirror, that is, between  
oneself and the mirror. Spiritually speaking, this “boss” indicates the pomp  
of the world and pride, which does not want to see death because it puts it  
outside the mirror; but the other side of the mirror, its concavity, indicates  
humble people who see their image in front of the mirror, that is before their  
death, for these keep well in mind the treachery of the world, their own  
frailty, where they are going, and that death is the end of all things.

There is a story about a woman who bore a son. When she sent for a  
philosopher asking him about the boy's fortune, he replied that he would be  
fine until he saw his own face in a mirror, but once he saw his face he would  
die right away. Later on it happened that this boy got thirsty and went to a  
fountain; when he saw himself there, he died at once. Expound as follows: this  
fountain is the meditation on one's life, through which man dies to the world.

Second, death is likened to a clock, whose function it is to wake people  
of religion for their prayer to God. Now, the lazy ones hear the first stroke  
and wait for the second, and they become so heavy with sleep that often they do  
not hear it. This is because they do not shake off their laziness in the be-  
ginning, wherefore they are absent from the Office and later on are punished by  
their superior. But since clocks have different voices, the song of the clock  
of death is as follows: “Remember your last things and you will not sin in  
eternity.” In English:

Haue mynde on þyn ende . . .

But it is deplorable that few hear or pay attention to this song, and if they  
sometimes hear it and thus sleep in their laziness, they will in the end be  
punished by God.

Third, death is likened to a robber. For just as a robber distributes among  
his companions at his will the goods that have been robbed and keeps for  
himself what he likes most, thus death does too. For it gives the soul either  
to God or to the devil, as man has deserved it in his life, his temporal goods  
to his friends, the body to the worms, and all the rest as he pleases.

Fourth, death is likened to a summoner. As a summoner carries letters or  
a staff as a sign of his office, thus death carries as his staff an acutely  
painful arrow. Therefore, according to the ancients Death was depicted as a  
knight sitting on horseback and carrying a squared shield. In its first quar-  
ter was a grinning ape, as a sign that after death a man's executors laugh at  
him and spend his goods at their pleasure. In the second quarter a raving lion  
was painted, for as a lion when he catches his prey roars horribly, at whose  
roaring the other animals stand still, and he, having made a circle with his  
tail, takes his prey as he pleases—just so death arrests all around him as he



- 125 Quarto mors assimilatur sitatori. Et sicut citator portat litteras aut  
virgam in signum sui officii, sic mors portat loco virge sagittam acutissime  
pene. Et ideo secundum antiquos mors depingebatur ad modum militis in  
equo sedentis et scutum quadratum baiulantis. In cuius primo quarterio fuit  
130 una simea cachinnans, in signum quod post mortem executores illum deludentes  
expedunt bona sua ad placitum eorum. In secundo quarterio depingebatur  
leo rapiens, quia sicut leo quando capit predam horribiliter clamat, ad cuius  
clamorem cetera animalia sistunt gradum, et sic facto circulo cum cauda  
rapit ut placet, revera sic mors [f. 13] omnes per circuitum arestat ut  
placet et devorat. In tercio quarterio erat quidam sagittarius, in signum  
135 quod ultimus ictus quem homo portabit est mors. Set in quarto erat quidam  
scriptor, in signum quod omnia facta scribentur et coram Deo recitentur,  
sive bona sive mala, post mortem hominis. Iste ergo citator mors primo ci-  
tat ad mortem in iuventute, secundo attachiat in fortitudine adolescencie,  
tercio incarcerat in senectute per debilitates naturales, et quarto secun-  
140 dum veredictum duodenarii coram Deo iusticiario prout meruerunt vite vel  
morti iudicentur. "O ergo mors, quam amara," etc.

7-9 Anglice . . . bepenche] *text from R. Verse 14, in B3.E.Go1.Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.V.W1.* 10 quam(2)] *om O.* 12 repletur . . . miseriis] *om O.* 12-16 Anglice . . . ifounde] *text from R. Verse 15, in B3.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.W1.* 35-41 Unde . . . iknawe] *text from R. Verse 16, in B3.E.L1.L2.LC.R.W1.* 42 Beda] *blank C.* 50 fuit] *est O.* 53 fuit] *est O.* 54 ponderosius] *ponderosior C.* 59 largissime] *largissima C.* 61-84 Unde . . . fulle] *om C. Since M lacks the French and English verses, the text has here been supplied from R.* 63 quasi morientis] *M.W; om R.* 64 illa] *M.W; om R.* 77-84 We ben . . . fulle] *text from R. Verse 17, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.L3.Li.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.* 85 Unde] *add pro omnibus istis O.* 86 hominis] *om O.* 89-90 rapiens] *add et O.* 95 et] *om O.* 97 ulterius] *thus C.O and others here and in the following lines; vultus B1.E.* 102 et] *om O.* 108 sic] *om O.* 115 est] *add iste O.* 116-118 Anglice . . . wende] *text from R. Verse 19, in B3.E.G1.Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.* 119 si] *sic C.* 120 et] *add sic O.* 121 rapta] *add sociis O.* 125 Et sicut] *sicut enim O.* 129-130 deludentes] *deridentes O.*

#### I.xiv DE IUDICIO

- [Tercio dico quod humilitatem inducit tremenda iudicii manifestacio, de quo Ieronimus sic ait: "Quocienscumque, inquit, de die iudicii cogito, toto cor(pore) contremisco, quia sive comedo sive bibo aut quicquid aliud egero, semper videtur in auribus meis tuba illa sonare: 'Surgite mortui, venite ad iudicium.'" Nam sicut latro propter scelus incarceratus delibera-  
5 cionem expectans de adventu iudicis valde timet, sic debet quilibet Christianus in carcere peccati detrusus diem iudicii et Deum iudicem summe time-  
re, prout dicitur Corinthiorum 5: "Omnes vos manifestari oportet coram

pleases and devours them. In the third quarter was an archer, as a sign that the last blow man will bear is death. But in the fourth quarter was a scribe, as a sign that all deeds will be written down and read out before God, the good as well as the evil ones, after man's death. This summoner Death first summons us to death in our childhood; then he seizes us in the strength of our youth; next he puts us in prison in our old age through our natural debility; and finally we will be sentenced before God our justicer after the verdict of our jury, to life or death as we have deserved it. Therefore: "O death, how bitter," etc.

2 Jerome, *Ep. 53 XI.3* (CSEL 54:465). 2-3 *Ecclus. 7.40.* 5-6 *Prov 17219a and Verses p. 148.* The passage in Gregory on which the verse is based may be *Moralia XVI.lxix.83* (PL 75:1162). 11-12 *Job 14.1.* 24-27 *Prov 33353; In 20331.* 28-29 On the "Signs of Death," see *FM VII.xix.* 61-84 *Tubach 4896* (only *FM*). 104-108 Probably the myth of Narcissus: *Ovid, Met. III.* 115-116 *Ecclus. 7.4.* 141 *Ecclus. 41.1.*

#### I.xiv THE DAY OF JUDGMENT

In the third place I say that the fearful revelation of the Judgment also leads to humility. About it Jerome says: "Every time I think about the day of judgment, I tremble in my whole body, for whether I eat or drink or do anything else, always that trumpet seems to sound in my ears: "Rise, you dead, and come to your judgment!" For as a thief who is put in prison for his crime and waits for the sentence is much afraid of the coming of his judge, thus should every Christian who has been thrown into the prison of sin fear above all the day of judgment and Christ his judge, for as it is said in *Corinthians 5*: "You must all

tribunali Christi, ut recipiat unusquisque prout gessit," etc. Item scribitur 3 capitulo: "Iudicabo te iuxta vias tuas et imponam tibi omnia scelera tua et non parcat oculus meus et non miserebor, etc. Et scies quia ego Dominus percuciens." Et Aggei dicitur capitulo 3: "Movebo pariter [celum et terram] et subvertam solium regnorum et convertam fortitudinem gencium et convertam quadrigam et ascensorem eius." Unde Ieremie 4 dicitur: "In die illa, dicit Dominus, peribit cor regum et principum, et obstubescunt sacerdotes, et prophete consternabuntur." Ecce quod iudicium illud magnum tale erit quod pro indifferenti nullus [f. 13v] latebit set unusquisque de factis suis reddet rationem, sicut pastor de agno minimo. Nos siquidem nunc cum arguimur, dicit Ieronimus, multas pretendimus excusaciones, set tunc obmutescemus nec dabitur locus audiendi, ubi nos accusabunt nostre consciencie. Unde Bernardus: "Veniet, inquit, veniet dies iudicii, ubi plus valebunt opera bona quam auri pondera, consciencia pura quam verba dura, ubi iudex donis non flectetur, nec precibus placabitur, ubi nil prodesse poterint Aristotelis argumenta, quando filius mulieris iudicabit fines terre." "Quis ergo non timet," dicit Ieronimus, "⟨illud examen⟩ in quo idem erit accusator, advocatus, et iudex? Accuset enim cum dicet, 'Esurivi et non dedistis michi manducare,' etc.; advocabit cum dicet, 'Quod minimis meis fecistis, michi fecistis;' set iudicabit cum infert, 'Ite maledicti,' etc." Unde versus:

30           Quantus erit luctus cum iudex dixerit, "Ite,"  
              Tantus erit fructus cum dixerit ipse, "Venite."

Dicunt enim naturales quod turbo per suam maximam violenciam quandoque quercum maximam eradicat et quandoque hominem in sublime elevat, et nescit utrum in plano vel in foveam cadat; revera sic erit de ira Dei; Ieremie 13: "Ecce turbo dominice indignacionis egredietur," cui nullus resistere potest quantumcumque potens quin in ira conterit et subvertit. Et ideo hic in vita ista de hoc cogitemus et ipsum placare pro posse nostro curemus; modo enim est satis benignus et misericors ad prestandum; non sic autem tunc, set omnem iusticiam excercebit.

40           Unde ut videtur est modo et erit tunc de Deo sicut de sole in suis signis. Secundum astronomos aliqua sunt signa solis maioris efficacie et aliqua maioris austeritatis et duricie; quia signum Virginis est secundum aliquos mitissimum et signum Leonis austerissimum, et sic de aliis. Inter que [f. 14] transit sol sicut rex aut magnus dominus annuatim de castro ad castrum, de manerio ad manerium. Ymaginando ergo de Christo, qui est verus sol iusticie, videtur quod primo intravit signum Libre, sicut in suum castrum de circumstanciis ibidem ordinandis; in antiqua lege [reddebat ut videtur] bonum pro bono, malum pro malo, quia "oculum pro oculo et dentem pro dente," secundum legem talionis, iuxta illud: "Qua mensura mensi fueri-

be manifested before the judgment seat of Christ, that everyone may receive according as he has done," etc. In Ezekiel 3 is written: "I shall judge you according to your ways and all your crimes, and my eye will not spare you, and I shall have no mercy, etc. And you shall know that I am the Lord that strike." And in Haggai 3 it is said: "I will move both heaven and earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms and will destroy the strength of the Gentiles, and I will overthrow the chariot and him that rides in it." Whence in Jeremiah 4 it is said: "In that day, says the Lord, the heart of kings and princes shall perish, and the priests shall be astonished and the prophets shall be amazed." Behold what a great judgment it will be, so that no one will be able to hide as if it were none of his business, but everyone will render an account of his deeds, as a shepherd of his smallest sheep. When we are accused now, says Jerome, we put forth many excuses; but then we shall fall silent and have no chance to be heard when our consciences will accuse us. Therefore Bernard says: "It will come, the day of judgment will come, when your works will weigh more than weights of gold, a pure conscience more than hard words, when the judge cannot be bent by gifts or placated with prayers, when the proofs of Aristotle will avail nothing, when the son of a woman shall judge the whole earth." "Who then will not be afraid," says Jerome, "of that examination in which prosecutor, defense lawyer, and judge will be the same person? For he will accuse when he says: 'I have been hungry and you have not given me to eat', etc.; he will speak in our defense when he says: 'What you have done to the least of mine, you have done to me'; but he will judge when he enjoins: 'Go, you cursed ones,' " etc. As it is said in verse:

As great as the sorrow will be when the judge says, "Go!"  
So great will the reward be when the same says, "Come!"

Natural philosophers say that a whirlwind sometimes uproots a mighty oak through its enormous violence, and sometimes it carries a man aloft and he does not know if he falls on level ground or in a ditch; thus it will be with God's wrath. Jeremiah 13: "Behold, the whirlwind of the Lord's indignation shall come forth," for no one, no matter how strong he is, can keep God's wrath from tearing and pounding him to pieces. Therefore let us meditate on this now in this life and try to placate him as much as we can, for now he is very benign and merciful to give us a chance; but not so later, when he will exercise complete justice.

Therefore it seems that it is now and will then be with God as it is with the sun in the signs of the zodiac. According to the astronomers, some signs through which the sun moves are more benign and others more austere and harsh. For according to some, the sign of Virgo is most mild and the sign of Leo most severe, and similarly with the other signs. The sun passes through them as a king or great lord who every year travels from castle to castle, from manor to

50 tis, remecietur vobis." Set iam de illo signo sive castro Libre amotus est et venit in castrum Virginis, quando ad consolacionem humani generis naturam nostram infra castrum castissime Virginis et matris eius suscipere dignatus est. Unde sicut quando sol est in signo Virginis, ista inferiora melius disponuntur et micus tractantur, sic existente Christo cum ista  
 55 Virgine Maria, que semper illum pro nobis interpellat ac eius furorem contra nos pro peccatis mitigare non cessat, securi esse possumus de venia et gracia si velimus, ipso cum illa durante, ° ad illam confidenter recurrere. Caveamus igitur, quia in illo castro Virginis et gracia morabitur per totum tempus vite nostre, ut quantumcumque fecerit peccator in vita et  
 60 misericordiam pecierit, concedet; ipse enim dicit: "Convertimini ad me, quia nolo mortem peccatoris set ut convertatur et vivat." Cum ergo amotus fuerit ab illo signo Virginis, transit ad signum Leonis; tunc ulterius non est gracia speranda, ut predictum est, set tunc per iram iusti iudicii sicut leo circuit "querens quem devorat," nullique parcens set omnibus  
 65 reddens secundum opera sua.

Unde de isto die pulcre scribit Ieronimus *Ad Eliodorum Epistula prima*, dicens sic: "Veniet, inquit, dies illa quando hoc corruptum et mortale corpus induet incorruptionem et immortalitatem. Beatus tunc servus quem Dominus vigilantem invenerit. Tunc enim ad vocem tube pavebit terra cum populo,  
 70 [f. 14v] et tunc gaudebit regnaturus cum Domino, (lugubre mundus rugiet, tribus ad tribum pectora feriet,) potentissimi reges nudo latere palpabunt, tunc [se exhibebit cum prole sua Venere ignis Iupiter, adducetur cum stulticiis discipulis Platonis,] argumenta Aristotelis non proderunt. Tu autem rusticanus et pauper exultabis et ridebis et dices: "Ecce crucifixus  
 75 Deus meus!" Hec Ieronimus.

De isto ergo iudicio cogitabat Dionisius magnus, de quo narratur quod cum argueretur semel a quodam super tristiciam vultus quam semper ostendebat cum alii gauderent, fecit illum poni in quodam loco deaurato et mensam optimis cibariis repletam ante eum; supra capud eius gladium acutissimum et  
 80 maximi ponderis cum filo gracillimo [pependit], et subtus pedes eius prunas ardentes substituit, et quatuor lanceas acutissimas apposuit illum paratas perforare. Quo facto sibi dixit: "Comede et cum aliis gaude." Qui respondit: "Quomodo, inquit, hoc facere possem cum videam mortem meam ubique imminere?" Cui Dionisius: "Sic, inquit, est michi cotidie sicut tibi hodie.  
 85 Tantum enim timeo iudicem superius rigidum et subtus ignem inferni et cetera quod gaudere non possum." Ad idem nota narrationem de rege Grecie, qui cum esset sic interrogatus a germano suo, fecit eum capi sicut dampnatum, etc.

3 corpore] corde C. 4 sonare] resonare O. 7 timere] add quia O. 9 Item] longer om M; ezechielis interl R; om W. 10 capitulo] om O. 14 convertam] subvertam O. 4 di-

manor. If we apply this to Christ, who is the true sun of justice, it seems that he first entered the sign of Libra as if he were entering his castle in order to put it in order; in the Old Law, as it seems, he rendered good for good, evil for evil, "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," according to the law of retaliation, after these words: "By the same measure that you measure with, it will be measured to you." But now he has left that sign or castle of Libra and has come to the castle of Virgo, when to the consolation of mankind he deigned to assume our nature within the castle of the most chaste Virgin, his mother. When the sun is in the sign of Virgo, things here below are under a good and benevolent influence; just so, as long as Christ is with the Virgin Mary, who always intercedes for us before him and never ceases to mitigate the wrath he has against us for our sins, we can be assured of his grace and forgiveness if we will go confidently to her while he is with her. But let us beware: he will remain in that castle of Virgo and of grace as long as we live, so that, whatever a sinner has done in his life, if he begs for mercy, Christ will grant it, for he himself says: "Turn to me, for I do not want the sinner's death but that he repent and live." But when he has moved away from the sign of Virgo, he passes on to the sign of Leo, and then we can no longer hope for grace, as was said earlier, but then he goes about in the wrath of a just judgment like a lion, "seeking whom he may devour" and sparing no one but rendering to all according to their deeds.

With respect to that day Jerome speaks beautifully in his *First Letter to Eliodorus* and says: "That day will come when this corrupt, mortal body puts on incorruption and immortality. Happy then the servant whom the Lord finds watching. For then the earth with all mankind will tremble at the voice of the trumpet, and he who shall reign with the Lord will rejoice, the world will howl in grief, tribe will beat its breast against tribe, kings, once most powerful, will shiver with naked flanks, fiery Jupiter will show itself with its offspring Venus, the disciple of Plato will be brought forth with his stupidities, and Aristotle's arguments will avail nothing. But you, a poor peasant, will exult and laugh and say: 'Behold, the Crucified, my God!'"

It is of that judgment that the mighty Dionysius was thinking, of whom it is reported that once when he was criticized by somebody for always looking glum while others were rejoicing, he had his critic put in a golden room with a table full of the best food set before him, but above his head he hung a sharp and heavy sword on a hair-thin string, and beneath his feet he put burning coals and set four sharp lances ready to pierce him. When this was arranged he told him: "Eat and rejoice with the others." His critic then replied: "How can I do so when I see death threatening me from all sides?" And Dionysius said to him: "Thus I feel all the time as you do today. For I fear the stern judge above and the fire of hell below and the other things so much that I cannot rejoice." On this matter also notice the story about the king of Greece who

citur] *om* O. 23 flectetur] flectitur O. placabitur] placatur O. 24 prodesse poterint] proderint M; proderunt *corr* R.W. 25 illud examen] in suo exameron C. 26 erit] est O. dicet] dicit O. 27 dicet] dicit O. 34 Dei] *add* in die iudicii O. 37 nostro] *om* O. 48 et] *om* O. 57 durante] *add* et C. 59 nostre] *om* O. 62 transit] *om* O. 64 devorat] devoret O. 66 scribit] ait O. 69 invenerit] invenit O. 70–71 lugubre . . . feriet] et tunc C. 71 potentissimi] *add* quondam O. 72–73 se exhibebit . . . Platonis] *om* C. *The entire quotation is much corrupted in O. RW omit tunc and read exhibebitur . . . ignitus iupiter . . . suis stulticiis . . . See source note.* 77 tristiciam] tristicia O. 77–78 ostendebat] ostendit O. 79 supra] *add* vero O. 87 dampnatum] *add* various *corrupted forms* of sub buccina O.

### I.XV DE PENIS REPROBORUM

[Q]uarto inducitur humilitas considerando reproborum iustam dampnationem. Sicut scholaris trutannus attendens discipline flagellum cum diligencia exercet studium, et latro considerans patibulum dimittit latrocinium, sic superbus considerans Domini verba diffinitiva in iudicio: “Ite maledicti,”  
 5 etc., sequitur exemplum humilitatis. Maxima enim pena est malorum intueri gaudia electorum. Unde Gregorius: “Quis putas tunc erit meror et tristitia cum separabuntur mali a consorcio iustorum et sanctorum et tradentur in potestate demonum divina visione carentes?” Revera secundum Crisostomum: “Siquis in mille iehennis esset positus sine culpa, nichil esset tale quale  
 10 est ab illa gloria [f. 15] excedere et divina visione carere, (odio) haberi a Christo, et ° audire: ‘Non novi vos.’” Tales enim tunc dicent illud Sapientie 9: “Erravimus a via veritatis.” Set certe caveant quia nimis tarda est eorum penitencia, sicut est de latrone qui primo penitet ad pedem patibuli; sic etiam expectavit dives ille quousque venit ad infernum penitere, ubi dixit: “Pater Habraham, miserere mei.” Iste enim patrem  
 15 vocavit in penis cuius filius non erat in terris, et a Lazaro peccit ministrari in pena cui numquam ministravit in vita. (Sic) isti qui de bonis dicunt: “Hii sunt quos aliquando habuimus in derisum,” etc. Unde dicit Gregorius: “Sic acrius, inquit, dolebunt miseri videntes gloriam quam  
 20 amiserunt et boni amplius gloriantur videntes penam quam evaserunt, quia ut

was asked a similar question by his brother and had him captured like a condemned criminal, and so forth.

2–5 Ps.-Jerome, *Regula monachorum* 30 (PL 30:417), from Jerome, *Ep.* 66 10 (CSEL 54:660). 8–9 2 Cor. 5.10. 10–12 Ezek. 7.8–9. 12–14 Hag. 2.22. 14–16 Jer. 4.9. 21–23 Bernard, *Ep.* 1 7 (7:6). 23–25 Cf. below, line 73. 25–29 Innocent III, *De miseria* III.19. 26–27 Matt. 25.40–42. 27–28 Matt. 25.40. 28 Matt. 25.41. 30–31 *Prov* 23647; 30991a. Very widespread. 35 Jer. 23.19. 48–49 Exod. 21.24, etc. 49–50 Matt. 7.2. 60–61 Ezek. 33.11. 64 1 Pet. 5.8. 67–75 Jerome, *Ep.* 14 11 (CSEL 54:61): “Veniet, veniet illa dies, qua corruptivum hoc et mortale incorruptionem induat et immortalitatem. Beatus servus, quem Dominus invenerit vigilantem. Tunc ad vocem tubae pavebit terra cum populis, tu gaudebis. Iudicaturus Domino lugubre mundus immugiet; tribus ad tribum ferient pectora; potentissimi quondam reges nudo latere palpabant; exhibebitur cum prole sua vere tunc ignitus Iuppiter; adducetur et cum suis stultus Plato discipulis; Aristoteli argumenta non proderunt. Tunc tu rusticanus et pauper exultabis, ridebis et dices: ‘Ecce crucifixus Deus meus, ecce iudex.’” 76–86 “Sword of Damocles (!)”: Tubach 4994; also in Bromyard, “Homo,” H.I.22; Brinton, sermons 18, 25, 76, and 101 (pp. 74, 99, 347, and 464); Grisdale, pp. 33–34. Derived from Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* V.21. 86–88 “Trumpet of Doom”: included in Tubach 4994; see *Gesta Romanorum* 143.

### I.XV THE PUNISHMENT OF THE WICKED

In the fourth place, humility is brought about by considering the just damnation of the wicked. Just as a lazy schoolboy who has his eyes on the rod of punishment pursues his studies with diligence, and as a thief who thinks of the gallows abandons his thieving, thus the proud person who reflects on the words which the Lord will proclaim in judgment: “Go hence, you cursed ones,” and so on, follows the way of humility. The greatest pain for the wicked is to see the joys of the elect. Therefore Gregory says: “What do you think will be the grief and mourning when the wicked are taken away from the company of the good or the saints and handed over into the power of the devils, where they will lack the vision of God?” In truth, according to Chrysostom, “if one were put in a thousand hells without guilt, this would be nothing like failing to reach that glory and losing the sight of God, being hated by Christ, and hearing his words: “I do not know you.” Such people will then exclaim the words written in Wisdom 9: “We have erred from the way of truth.” But let them beware: their remorse comes too late, as in the case of a thief who begins to repent when he stands at the foot of the gallows; just so did that Rich Man wait with his repentance until he came to hell, where he said: “Father Abraham, have pity on me.” He called him “father” in his punishment whose son he had never been on earth, and he begged that Lazarus should help him in his pain whom he never helped in his life. So it will go with those who say of the

dicitur Iob 24: 'Transibunt ab aquis nivium ad calorem nimium.' " O quam  
 cruenti erunt oculi qui tot effundent lacrimas quot habet oceanus guttas,  
 et tamen tota illa aqua minimam sintillam ignis inferni extinguere non  
 valebit, testante Augustino et dicente: "Quanto, inquit, naturalis ignis  
 25 distat a picto, tanto distat ignis inferni a naturali. Cuius (dicit ipse)  
 tanta erit violencia quod si in ipso influeret universitas aquarum, ipsum  
 nec ad momentum extingueret." Ille ergo ignis maximum fumum generat, et  
 fumus tantus necessario magnum fletum provocat, set fletus ille ignem  
 30 fortificat et fervere facit, sicut faber acuit lentum ignem aquam  
 spergendo in illo. Et tunc mortem appetunt qui mori non possunt. Unde  
 Gregorius: "O, inquit, mors, quam dulcis eris quibus tam amara fuisti." Hec  
 ille. Unde Apocalipsis dicitur: "Desiderabant mori et fugiet mors ab  
 illis." Sicut animalia non evellunt radicitus herbas comedendo, summitates  
 solummodo capiunt ut iterum crescant, [f. 15v] sic dampnati quasi morte  
 35 depascuntur, et tamen iterum ad mortem reviviscunt. Sicut videmus quod  
 ioculator equum suum mactat, excoriat, ac mortuum similat, et post  
 reviviscere facit, sic demones per penas animam quasi mactant et iterum  
 reviviscere faciunt, etc.

7 et] vel O. 9 in . . . culpa] decem milia ponat gehennas O. esset(2)] om O. 10 odio]  
 apparently hodie C. 11 et] add forte cras C. audire] add quoniam O. Tales] om O.  
 13 eorum] om O. 16 non] numquam O. 17 Sic] sicut C; similiter W. 21 nivium] nivis  
 M.R; nimis W. 32 Desiderabant] desiderabunt R.W. 38 etc.] om O.

## I.xvi DE MERCEDE HUMILIUM

[C]irca mercedem humilium est sciendum quod triplex merces veris humi-  
 libus qui predictis [modis] se humiliant et superbiam extirpant attribuitur:  
 prima in oratione exaudicio; secunda in tribulacione consolacio; tertia  
 est eternalis beatificacio.

5 De primo dicitur Ecclesiastici 35: "Oracio humiliantis se nubes pene-  
 trat," quia iuxta illud [Psalmorum]: "Respexit Dominus in oracionem humili-  
 um et non sprexit," etc. Nam sic est de humilitate sicut de scala Iacob  
 quam vidit celos attingentem, cuiusmodi sunt tres gradus, scilicet subdere  
 propter Deum superiori, pari, et minori; et certe cum hac scala capitur  
 10 castrum sine resistencia. Similiter sicut ostium humile intrare non potes  
 nisi inclinato capite, nec lapidem in altum proicere nisi brachio inclina-  
 to, nec ludens in alto salire nisi incurvato corpore, sic certe vere humi-

good: "These are the people whom we formerly held in contempt," etc. Whence  
 Gregory says: "Thus the wicked will suffer more keenly when they behold the  
 glory they have lost, and the good will rejoice more fully when they see the  
 punishment they have escaped, for as it is said in Job 24: 'From icy water they  
 will pass to extreme heat.'" How bloody will the eyes be which shed as many  
 tears as there are drops in the ocean, and yet all that water cannot quench the  
 least spark of hellfire, as Augustine witnesses when he says: "As unlike natu-  
 ral fire is to painted fire, so is the fire of hell unlike natural fire. It  
 will burn with such vehemence that, if all the waters there are were to flow  
 into it, they would not extinguish the least bit of it." For that fire causes an  
 enormous smoke, and that smoke of necessity causes weeping, but that weeping  
 increases the fire and makes it burn the more, just as a blacksmith heats up a  
 slow fire by sprinkling water on it. And then they will desire death yet  
 cannot die; whence Gregory exclaims: "O death, how sweet will you be to those  
 to whom you have been so bitter." Therefore it is written in Revelation: "They  
 longed for death, and death will flee from them." Animals, when they feed, do  
 not pull up plants by their roots but only take their tops so that they may  
 grow again; in the same way the damned are, as it were, fed upon by death, and  
 yet they grow afresh for death. We observe that a juggler kills his horse,  
 flays it, and pretends that it is dead, and then he makes it come alive again;  
 in the same way devils kill the soul through their punishments as it were and  
 make it come alive again.

4 Matt. 25.41. 6-8 *Meditationes piissimae* III.10 (PL 184:491). 9-11 Chrysostom, *In  
 Matthaum*, hom. 23, 8 (PG 57:317). 12 Wisd. 5.6. 15 Luke 16.24. 18 Wisd. 5.3.  
 21 Cf. Job 24.19. 31 Innocent III, *De miseria* III.12. 32-33 Rev. 9.6.

## I.xvi THE REWARD OF THE HUMBLE

Concerning the reward of humble people, we must know that to the truly  
 humble who in the aforesaid manners humble themselves and eradicate pride a  
 threefold reward is given: first, the fulfillment of their prayer; second,  
 comfort in tribulation; and third, eternal bliss.

Of the first is said in Ecclesiasticus 35: "The prayer of one who humbles  
 himself pierces the clouds," for according to the Psalm verse, "the Lord has  
 looked on the prayer of the humble and has not scorned it," etc. For true hu-  
 mility is like the ladder Jacob saw, which reached to the skies; it has three  
 steps, namely, to submit oneself for God's sake to a person of higher standing,  
 or of equal rank, or of a lower one; and surely, with this ladder a castle may  
 be captured without resistance. In similar fashion, just as one cannot go  
 through a low gate without bending one's head, nor throw a stone up high

lis quanto humilior se inclinatur tanto altius ad gaudii perfectionem ascendit; Iacobi 4: "Humiliamini in conspectu Domini, et exaltabit vos."

15 Secundum premium est in tribulatione consolatio, sicut pie matris presencia filio egrotanti est consolatio maxima; Corinthiorum 7: "Qui consolatur humiles, consolatus est vos Deus." Arbores autem quanto magis fructificant, tanto magis inclinantur; sic perfectus humilis quanto magis in bonis operibus crescit, tanto magis humiliatur et in tribulatione consolatur;

20 Iudith 8: "Expectemus humiles consolationem eius."

Tercium premium eterna gloria est et celi gaudia; Proverbiorum: "Humilis spiritu suscipit gloriam." Unde Augustinus *De verbis Domini*, sermone 39: "Si, inquit, vis [f. 16] capere celsitudinem, cape humilitatem." Dicit enim Christus Matthei 4: "Sinite parvulos venire ad me, talium est enim regnum celorum." Ibi enim cum venerimus, eum facie ad faciem sicuti est in natura nostra filius Dei, una cum beatissima matre eius et omnibus sanctis videbimus; ubi nullus alteri incognitus, nullus ab alio separatur, nulla servilis subiectio, nulla tristitia, nichil compaciendum, nichil despiciendum, set pax interminabilis, amicitia indissolubilis. Ibi etiam rex est

30 veritas, lex est caritas, et merces iocunditas. Quid plura? Certe, quod "oculus non vidit nec auris audivit nec in cor hominis ascendit, que preparavit Deus diligentibus se," sicut dicitur Corinthiorum 2. Ad quam nos perducatur per veram humilitatem Iesus Christus. Amen.

35 Et hec de superbia et humilitate cum suis membris ad presens dicta sufficiunt, et sic terminatur prima particula istius libelli.

6 Psalmodum] om C.W. 7 de] add vera O. sicut] add est O. 12 alto] altum O. 14 Domini] dei O. 30 quod] om O.

without bending one's arm, nor in a game jump high without bending one's body—thus likewise a truly humble person, the lower he bends, the higher he climbs to perfect joy; James 4: "Humble yourselves in the sight of God and he will raise you up."

The second reward is comfort in tribulation, as the presence of his loving mother is the greatest comfort for her sick child; Corinthians 7: "God who comforts the humble, has comforted you also." For the more heavily trees are laden with fruit, the more they bend down; thus, the more a perfect, humble person grows in good works, the more humble he becomes and is comforted in tribulation; Judith 8: "Let us in humility wait for his consolation."

The third reward is eternal bliss and the joy of heaven; Proverbs: "The humble of spirit receives bliss." Whence Augustine says in Sermon 39 of *On the Words of the Lord*: "If you want to gain the height, gain humility." For Christ says in Mark 4: "Let the children come to me, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." When we get there, we shall see him face to face as he is in our nature, the Son of God, together with his most blessed mother and all the saints; where no one will be unknown to the other and no one is separated from the other; there will be no slavish submission, no sadness, nothing to feel pity for, nothing to be scorned, but peace without end and friendship that never dissolves. For there truth is king, charity law, and joy the reward. What more? Surely, "eye has not seen, nor ear has heard, nor has it entered the heart of man what things God has prepared for those that love him," as is said in Corinthians 2. To which Jesus Christ may lead us through true humility. Amen.

And these things that have been said about pride and humility and their members suffice for now, and thus ends part 1 of this book.

5-6 Eccles. 35.21. 6-7 Ps. 101.18. 7-8 Cf. Gen. 28.12. 14 James 4.10. 16-17 2 Cor. 7.6. 20 Jth. 8.20. 21-22 Prov. 29.23. 23 Augustine, *Sermo 117* 17 (PL 38:671). 24-25 Mark 10.14. 31-32 1 Cor. 2.9.



## PARS II

### De ira

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#### II.i QUID SIT IRA

- [Q]uia mater crudelis parere solet filiam sevissimam, ideo in ista secunda particula agitur de ira, tamquam de principali filia pessime matris superbie; cuius condicio principalis est cito accendi, et numquam mitigari potest donec per vindictam voluntatis irascibilis totaliter consummatur, ad
- 5 modum quo ignis cui ligna sicca administrantur de levi accenditur nec cessat, quantum in eo est, donec omnia destruantur. Unde circa istam iram sic intendo procedere et videre primo que sit eius proprietas, secundo que mala facit eius iniquitas, tercio que sunt eius membra, quarto quare omnino est detestanda.
- 10 Circa primum est sciendum secundum Gregorium libro 5 *Moralium* quod aliquando dicitur ira per zelum et aliquando per vicium. Prima est quando animus turbatur propter malum, iuxta illud Psalmi: "Irascimini et nolite peccare." Set ira per peccatum, de qua hic intenditur, est secundum Augustinum "voluntas irrefrenata semper ulciscendi et numquam miserendi," [f.
- 15 16v] sicut patet supra exemplo de igne.

#### II.ii MALA QUE IRA FACIT

Circa autem mala que facit eius iniquitas est sciendum quod primo [anima], que est ymago Dei in homine, [per illam] exterminatur, sicut aqua turbida non representat formam ymaginis sicut facit aqua limpida et clara. Unde legitur in *Vitas Patrum* de quodam sene qui posuit denarium in cippo

## PART II

### Wrath

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#### II.i THE NATURE OF WRATH

Since a cruel mother usually gives birth to a savage daughter, in this second part we deal with wrath, as the chief daughter of that wicked mother, pride. Its main character is to be quickly inflamed, and it can never be mitigated until it has spent itself by totally venting its irascibility, just as a fire that is given dry sticks is easily kindled and cannot stop of itself until all the sticks are burnt. Therefore I plan to deal with wrath in the following way: to see first what its nature is, second what evil consequences its wickedness has, third what its members are, and fourth why it should be totally condemned.

Concerning the first point we must know that according to Gregory, in book 5 of his *Morals*, wrath is sometimes considered as zeal and sometimes as a vice. The former occurs when one's mind is disturbed on account of some evil; according to the Psalm: "Be angry and sin not." But the kind of wrath which is a sin, with which we are dealing here, is according to Augustine "the unbridled desire always to get vengeance and never to have pity," as we saw above in the example of fire.

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11 Cf. Gregory, *Moralia* V.xlv.82 (PL 75:726). 12–13 Ps. 4.5. 14 Cf. Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XIV.15 (CC 48:438) or *Sermo* 58 vii.8 (PL 38:396). 15 *FM* II.i.3–6.

#### II.ii THE EVIL CONSEQUENCES OF WRATH

Concerning the evil consequences which its wickedness has, we must know first that the soul, which is the image of God in man, is destroyed by it, just as turbulent water does not hold the shape of a reflection in the same way as clear and still water does. Whence we read in *The Lives of the Fathers* about a

5 pleno aqua clara, et videns ymaginem illius dixit fratri suo: "Sic apparet ymago Dei in tranquillibus cordibus." Quo dicto aqua[m] movit et ymago denarii disparuit, et dixit: "Sic deletur ymago Dei in turbatis cordibus." Hec ille, etc.

10 Secundo impedit animam ab influencia divine gracie, sicut aer turbidus impedit splendorem et irradiationem solis. Unde Gregorius libro 5 *Moralium*: "Per iram, inquit, lux veritatis amittitur, quia cum iracundia confusionis tenebras [menti] incutit, huic Deus radium sue cognitionis abscondit." Hec ille.

15 Tercium malum est quod sibi subiectum membrum diaboli facit. Ieremie 6: "Crudelis est et non miserebitur." Contra dicit Augustinus: "Non meretur misericordiam qui eam proximo negat." Et ideo tales merito peiores possunt dici diabolo. Diabolus enim instigator malorum peccata dum perpetrantur commemorat; cum vero per penitentiam delentur, omnino illa ignorat, et Christus remittit sua gracia. Exemplum de illo de quo narrat Gregorius, qui  
20 postquam homagium fecerat diabolo et eius carecteres in manu sua recep(er)at, postea contritus et confessus et penitencia recepta evanuerunt carecteres nec illum diucius diabolus pro suo agnovit. Ezechielis 18: "Si impius egerit penitentiam, omnium iniquitatum eius non recordabor, dicit Dominus." Multo forcius ergo nec diabolus. Nam demones ad mensuram reddunt malum  
25 pro malo nec ultra meritum punire possunt nec unum pro peccatis alterius; set certe iracundi pro unico verbo mille reddunt et pro una alapa in facie mergunt arma mortifera in corpore, et non in illum qui dedit alapam [f. 17] tantum, set secundum suum posse totam progeniem destruere nititur. Patet ergo quod peiores sunt diabolo. Dicitur autem metrice sic:

30 Impedit ira animum ne possit cernere verum, etc.

19 narrat] add beatus O. 20–21 receperat] recepit C. 22 diucius] om O. 28 nititur] nitetur M; nituntur R; nitentur W. 30 etc.] om O.

### II.iii DE MEMBRIS IRE

[C]irca eius membra est sciendum quod duo sunt specialiora, scilicet odium et vindicta; nam multi sunt hodie qui se armis materialibus vindicare

desert father who put a denarius in a bowl full of clear water, and as he saw its image he said to his brother: "Thus does the image of God appear in tranquil hearts." After saying that he moved the water, and the image of the denarius disappeared, and he said: "Thus is the image of God destroyed in troubled hearts."

Second, wrath obstructs God's grace from flowing into the soul, as turbulent air obstructs the brightness and radiance of the sun. Therefore, Gregory says in book 5 of *Morals*: "Through wrath the light of truth is lost, for when anger injects the darkness of confusion into the mind, God withholds from it the ray of his knowledge."

The third evil is that wrath makes a person who suffers from it a member of the devil. Jeremiah 6: "He is cruel and will take no pity." Against such a person Augustine says: "He deserves no mercy who denies it to his neighbor." Those people may rightly be said to be worse than the devil; for the devil, who instigates evil, remembers sins as long as they are being committed; but when they are wiped away through penance, he forgets them altogether, and Christ forgives them in his grace. As an example we have the case of a person of whom Blessed Gregory reports that, after he had sworn fealty to the devil and had received his marks in his hand, when he later on felt remorse and confessed and received his penance, the marks disappeared and the devil no longer recognized him as his own. Ezekiel 18: "If the wicked does penance, I will not remember all his iniquities, says the Lord." Much less, then, will the devil remember them. For the devils return evil for evil in like measure and cannot give punishment beyond what is deserved, nor can they punish one person for the sins of another. But wrathful people, in truth, return a thousand words for one, and for one blow in the face they thrust deadly weapons into the body, and not just into the one alone who gave the blow, but they try to destroy his entire offspring if they can. Thus it is evident that they are worse than the devil. On this we have the following saying in verse:

Anger blocks our mind from seeing what is true.

4–8 Cf. *Speculum laicorum* 349; also in Bromyard, "Paciencia," P.IV.9. 11–13 Gregory, *Moralia* V.xlv.78 (PL 75:724). 15 Jer. 6.23. 15–16 Cf. Augustine, *Sermo* 58 v–vii (PL 38:395–96) or *En. in Ps.* 102 11–14 (CC 40:1461–1465). 19–22 Tubach 2414. 22–23 Ezek. 18.21. 30 *Prov* 11566, etc.; from *Disticha Catonis* II.iv.2.

### II.iii THE MEMBERS OF WRATH

Concerning its members we should know that there are two in particular, namely hate and revenge. For many people today cannot take their revenge with

non possunt, et ideo odium per iram induratam in corde retinent. Set nota quod duplex est odium, scilicet virtuosum et viciosum. De primo dicit Augustinus: "Perfectum odium, inquit, est quod nec iusticia nec sciencia caret, hoc est si propter vicia homine(s) non oderis, nec vicia propter homines diligis. Recte ergo in malis odimus maliciam et diligamus creaturam, ut nec propter vicium creatura dampnetur nec propter naturam vicium diligitur." Et alibi: "Sic, inquit, diligendi sunt homines, ut eorum non diligan-  
 5 tur errores; quia aliud est amare (dicit ipse) quod facti sunt, et aliud odisse quod faciunt." Et iterum: "Omnis peccator in quantum peccator non est diligendus; set omnis homo in quantum homo diligendus est propter Deum, Deus autem propter seipsum."

De malo autem odio et vicioso similiter dicit Augustinus in quodam sermone: "Si, inquit, irasci fratri non licet sine causa aut dicere ['racha' aut dicere] 'fatue,' multo magis non licet aliquid tenere in odium, per quod odium in indignacionem convertaris," nam huiusmodi odium hominem assimilat diabolo. Est enim [naturale] odium inter homines et serpentes sicut inter equos et griphones, lupos et canes; unde serpenti a Deo dictum est, Genesis 3: "Inimicicias ponam inter te et mulierem." Igitur qui hominem odit serpentini generis est, ac per hoc diabolo assimilatur, qui est maledictus; et talis ergo a Domino cum serpente maledicatur. Et ideo talis ira et odium potest per illum ventum designari de quo Iob 1: "Qui irruit a regione deserti et concussit quatuor angulos domus et oppressit liberos."  
 20 Sic ira et odium [cum in domum] anime irruit, quatuor eius affectiones, [f. 17v] scilicet quatuor virtutes, corrumpit et quicquid boni in ea nascitur destruunt, quoniam sine caritate bona non prosunt.

Secundum autem membrum ire est vindicta, quam qui in proximis exercent et iniuste et ultra debitam mensuram (quod non facit diabolus, ut dictum est), non homines set potius bestie, idest vastie, feroces esse videntur. Unde Crisostomus de Herode loquens sic ait: "Sicut, inquit, fera bestia per naturalem asperitatem si ab alico fuerit vulnerata suam naturalem crudelitatem duplicis doloris infundit, unde quasi ceca furore iam non aspicit vulnerantem set quicquid ante oculos eius occurrerit, sive homo sive alterum animal, quasi auctorem vulneris sui dilacerat, sic (dicit ipse)  
 30 Herodes a magis illius iram suam super parvulos innocentes infudit."

Unde tales similes sunt iunipero, cuius natura (est) secundum Ysidorum, *Ethimologiarum* libro 17, capitulo 7, quod per annum observat ignem, si prunae ex proprio cinere fuerint cooperte. Certe sic est de multis qui sub cinere ac velamine proprie malicie ignem sic servant iracundie quod aliquando per plures annos semper expectant oportunitatem vindicandi. Et ideo tales communiter in proprio furore confunduntur, sicut patet sub figura Exodi 28 de Pharaone cum suis in Mari Rubro submersis filios Israel iniuste persequendo; similiter de Sampsona a Philisteis illuso, ulcionem expeccit

material weapons and therefore retain hatred through hardened anger in their hearts. But notice that there are two kinds of wrath, one virtuous, the other a vice. Of the first Augustine says: "Just anger is not devoid of either justice or knowledge, namely, when you neither hate men because of their vices, nor love vices because of human beings. For it is right for us to hate evil in wicked men yet to love the created human being, so that the created being should not be condemned because of his vice, nor should a vice be loved for the sake of man's nature." And elsewhere he says: "Men should be loved in such a way that one does not love their mistakes; for it is one thing to love what has been created in them, another to hate what they do." And again: "No sinner, insofar as he is a sinner, must be loved; but every human being, insofar as he is human, must be loved for God's sake, but God for himself."

Of the evil and vicious kind of wrath, however, Augustine says likewise in a sermon: "If it is not permitted to be angry with one's brother without cause, or to call him 'racha' or 'fool,' much less is it right to nurse hatred whereby one turns hatred into indignation," for such hatred makes a man like the devil. There is a natural hatred between men and snakes, as there is between horses and griffins, wolves and dogs; whence God said to the serpent, in Genesis 3: "I will put enmity between you and the woman." Therefore, anyone who hates a human being has the nature of the serpent, and by this he becomes like the devil, who has been cursed; and thus a person who hates is cursed by God together with the serpent. Such anger and hatred may therefore be indicated by the wind of which Job 1 speaks: it "came from the side of the desert and shook the four corners of the house, and it fell upon the children." Thus when anger and hatred come upon the house of our soul, they overthrow its four affects, that is, the four virtues, and destroy whatever good comes to life in it, because no good is of any value without charity.

The second member of wrath is revenge. Whoever practices that against his neighbor both unjustly and beyond due measure (which even the devil does not do, as has been said), seems to be not human but a wild beast. Therefore Chrysostom speaks of Herod as follows: "When a wild beast is wounded by someone, out of its natural defensive fierceness it makes its natural cruelty twice as painful, and, as it were, blind with fury no longer looks for the one who has wounded it but instead tears to pieces whoever comes into its sight, be it man or another animal, as if it were the cause of its wound; so did Herod vent his wrath on innocent children when he had been fooled by the Magi."

Such people are like the juniper, whose nature it is, according to Isidore, *Etymologies*, book 17, chapter 7, to keep a fire alive for a year if the glowing coals are covered with its own ashes. Surely, the same is true of many people who keep the fire of wrath alive under the ashes or the cover of their own wickedness and who through many years still wait for an opportunity to take vengeance. Such people are commonly confounded in their own wrath, as is shown

45 et seipsum cum aliis occidit, Iudicum 26; similiter de Aman, qui suspensus est in patibulo quod pro Mardocheo paraverat, Hester 7.

Unde talis inordinatus appetitus vindicte assimilatur bene iracundum hominem lapidi magneti, cuius natura est trahere ferrum, et ille qui magis est attractivus, magis habet de natura [sua]. Unde recitat Augustinus *De civitate*, libro 21, capitulo 4, se vidisse magnetem sub quodam vase argenteo teneri, qui ferrum ipsi vasi appensum miro modo [f. 18] attraxit. Spiritually ergo loquendo per magnetem iram considero, per ferrum autem vindictam intelligo. Solet enim per ferrum vindict(a) sumi; trahit ergo ira ferrum, nam lancee, gladii, et omnia genera armorum extrahuntur per iram.

55 Et ideo ira est talium origo. Et quanto quis magis est iratus et maioris potencie, tanto plus trahit de ferro. Videmus enim quod plures lanceas et loricas trahit comes quam baro, et baro quam miles, et sic de singulis. Set aliquando contingit iuxta casum [Augustini] et naturam istius lapidis quod si aliquis simplex aliquem magnum offenderit, sive iuste sive iniuste,

60 postea [tamen] instat pro gracia habenda et mittit munera et exennia, et certe talis magnetem cooperit quasi sub vase argenteo, ne scilicet talis dominus ferrum trahat contra eum pro vindicta. Set aliquando contingit quod magnes diabolica est sub isto vase qui movit lapidem, hoc est magnus ribaldus qui est consiliarius talis domini, semper illum instigans ad malum et

65 dicens (quod si esset sicut) ipse, propter omnia dona alterius et exennia non dimitt[er]et quin vindic[re]t se de illo; unde hoc modo non obstante vase argenteo attrahit ferrum. Unde timeo quod dicere possum illud Deuteronomii 8: "(Hoc modo) est terra cuius lapis ferrum est."

Unde tales bene assimilantur cuidam alteri lapidi "albeston" dicto, qui "semel accensus numquam extinguitur." Sic nec tales iracundi hiis diebus remittunt offensum sine vindicta, etc.

3 et ideo] *om* O. induratam] induratum O. 4–5 Augustinus] *add* pro sermone M; *add* prosperi 65 R.W. 6 homines] hominem C. 7 diligis] diligas O. 8 naturam] creaturam M.R. 16 magis non licet] minus fas O. 20 est(1)] esse probatur O. 21 et(1)] ille serpens antiquus apocalipsis 12 O. 25 Sic] nam O. cum in domum anime] anime C; cum in animam M. 27 destruunt] destruit M.W. Notice that R has the related verbs *irruit and corrumpit in the plural*. 33 duplicis doloris infundit] duplicat doloris M; duplicat causa doloris R; duplicat dolorem W. 34 quicquid] quicumque O. 36 infudit] *add* hec ille O. 37 est] talis C. 42 tales] *add* ut O. 50 4] 10 O. 53 vindicta] vindicte C. sumi] assumi O. 55 est] *add* omnium O. magis est iratus] iratus forcior est M.R; iratus forcioris W. 60 gracia] *add* sua O. 65 quod si esset sicut] credens sic esse C. 66 vindicaret] vindicabit C. 68 Hoc modo] hermon C.M. 71 etc.] *om* O.

## II.iv DE DETESTACIONE IRE

[R]estat igitur iam quarto ostendere quare est ira omnino detestanda: revera quia directe vadit contra preceptum Dei et eius voluntatem ubique

typologically in Exodus 28 by Pharaoh, who unjustly persecuted the children of Israel and drowned with his army in the Red Sea; similarly by Samson, who, when he was tricked by the Philistines, craved vengeance and killed himself with the others, according to Judges 26; and similarly by Haman, who was hanged on the gallows he had prepared for Mordecai, Esther 7.

Such an unruly desire for vengeance easily makes a wrathful man like a magnet, which by its nature attracts iron, and the more magnetic it is, the greater is its attractive power. Augustine in *The City of God*, book 21, chapter 10, says he once saw a magnet held underneath a silver bowl, and the magnet, in wonderful fashion, attracted a piece of iron that was placed in the silver bowl. Spiritually speaking, by the magnet I understand anger, by the iron, revenge, for iron is usually interpreted as symbolizing revenge; wrath draws iron, because through wrath lances, swords, and all kinds of weapons are drawn out. And thus wrath is the ground for all such things, and the more wrathful a person is and the more powerful, the more iron he attracts. For we see that a count attracts more lances and armor than a baron, and a baron more than a knight, and so on. But it sometimes happens as it does in the instance reported by Augustine, according to the nature of this stone: if a simple citizen has offended some magnate, whether rightly or wrongly, but then asks him for grace and sends him gifts and presents, he certainly covers that magnet as it were with a silver bowl, so that such a lord may not draw his iron in vengeance against him. But it sometimes happens that there is a diabolical magnet under the bowl which moves the stone, that is, a great scoundrel who is counselor to that lord and who always instigates him to evil, saying that if he were in the lord's place, he would not for all those gifts and presents refrain from taking revenge; and in this way he attracts the iron despite the silver bowl. Therefore I fear that I can say the words of Deuteronomy 8: "Such is the land whose stone is iron."

Such people are also like another stone called "asbestos," which, once it has been ignited, can never be extinguished. In similar fashion, such wrathful people in our days do not forgive any offense without taking revenge.

5–9 Prosper, *Sententiae* 65 (PL 45:1865). 9–11 *Ibid.*, 2 (1859). 11–13 *Ibid.*, 267 (1881). 15–17 Augustine, *De sermone Domini in monte* I.x.26 (PL 34:1242). 20 Gen. 3.15. 23–24 Job 1.19. 31–36 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 2 (PG 56:644). 37–39 Isidore, *Etym.* XVII.vii.35. 43–44 Exod. 14.19–31. 44–45 Judg. 16. 45–46 Esther 7.10. 49–51 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XXI.4 (CC 48:763–764). 68 Deut. 8.9. 69–70 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.iv.4.

## II.iv HOW TO DETEST WRATH

In the fourth place, it remains to show why wrath should be totally rejected: because it goes directly against God's commandment and his will when

- clamantis et dicentis: “Estote misericordes, sicut et Pater vester misericors est.” Unde Bernardus: “Facilius est, inquit, enarrare stellas celi, pisces maris, et folia nemorum, quam misericordiam Dei certe estimare; quia secundum Psalmistam: ‘Miseraciones [f. 18v] eius super omnia opera eius.’” Nam ipsa qualescumque peccatores cum corde veniam petent(es) ad gratiam recipit, sicut patet de Thasi meretrice, propter cuius pulcritudinem multi substanciam perdiderunt, multi sanguinem effuderunt, et quamplures vitam amiserunt, et tamen reducta ad compunctionem et penitentiam misericordiam et gratiam consecuta est. Nota etiam de milite qui mortem patris remisit alteri militi in Parasceve pro amore illius qui illo die pro humano genere mortuus est: qui cum simul ad crucem honorandam et oblaciones offerendas ivissent, crucifixus brachiis dissolutis illum qui misericordiam fecit amplexatus est, et vocem pro venia ibidem audivit. Idem etiam patet de beato Paulo, de Magdalena, et de beato latrone, etc. Unde Bernardus super illud “Nolo mortem peccatoris”: “Qualiscumque, inquit, necessitas te ad penitentiam duxerit, nec peccati quantitas nec vite enormitas nec operis brevitates excludit a venia, dum vera sit contritio cordis, confessio oris, et satisfactio operis.” Unde ibidem Bernardus ait: “O bone Iesu, inquit, non horruisti latronem confitentem, non lacrimantem peccatricem, non supplican- tem Chananeam, non deprehensam adulteram, non negantem discipulum Petrum, non persecutorem Paulum, non impios crucifixo- res; quomodo ergo de tua misericordia desperarem?” quasi diceret, nullo modo, quia “maius gaudium erit in celo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente,” etc. Hec ille.
- Et nota quod hec misericordia divina tam dulcis et benigna habet duos pessimos armigeros, quia ex una parte presumptionem sive magnam fiduciam peccandi ex nimia confidentia de Dei misericordia, ex alia parte desperationem de venia pro peccatis.
- Contra igitur primum, scilicet fiduciam magnam peccandi, ait Dominus Ysaie 36: “Super quem habes fiduciam,” peccandi magnam [f. 19] suple, “quia recessisti a me peccando?” Ideo Proverbiorum 10: “Spes impiorum peribit.” Et nota quod illud vicium tria genera hominum sequuntur: primo ypocrite, qui pessime confidunt in simulat[ori]a vanitate; Job 8: “Spes ypocrite peribit, non placebit in corde suo, quia sicut tele ar[ane]arum fiducia eius.” Secundo superbi illud sequuntur ex sua fortitudine et potestate, contra quos Amos scribitur 6: “Ve qui confidunt in monte Samarie,” hoc est in sublimitate et arrogancia vel divitiis et habundancia, sicut cupidi et avari. Tercio luxuriosi in carnali voluptate, contra quos Ieremie 17:
- “Maledictus homo qui confidit in homine ponens carnem brachium suum,” hoc est appetendo carnales voluptates. Caveamus ergo a tali presumptione peccandi ex confidentia misericordie Dei. Est ergo de Deo erga peccatores sicut de aquila et cornice. Cornix autem persequitur aquilam, que est rex avium, set illa magnitudine animi et sua curialitate dissimulat; quod

he calls out and says, “Be merciful as your Father is merciful.” Whence Bernard declares: “It is easier to count the stars of heaven, the fish in the sea, and the leaves of the forests, than for you to appraise God’s mercy, for according to the Psalmist, ‘his mercies are above all his works.’” God’s mercy receives into his grace any sinners that ask from their heart for his forgiveness, as is seen in Thais, the prostitute: on account of her beauty many men lost their possessions, many shed their blood, many lost their lives; yet when she was led to remorse and penance, she obtained mercy and grace. Notice also the story about the knight who on Good Friday forgave another knight the death of his father, out of love for him who died on that day for all mankind. When the two knights went together to worship the cross and bring their offerings, the Crucified detached his arms and embraced the one who had acted so mercifully, and he then heard a voice speaking of forgiveness. The same is true of Blessed Paul, of Magdalene, of the Good Thief, and of others. Therefore, in commenting on the verse “I do not want the death of the sinner,” Bernard says: “Whatever plight may lead you to penance, neither the number of your sins nor the wickedness of your life nor the short time you have to do good bars you from God’s forgiveness, as long as you have true contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction in deed.” Whence Bernard says in the same place: “O good Jesus, you did not turn in horror from the thief who confessed, the sinful woman who wept, the woman of Canaan who implored you, the adulteress who was caught, your disciple Peter when he denied you, or Paul, who persecuted the Church, or the ruthless men who crucified you. How then should I despair of your mercy?”—as if he were saying, not at all; for “there is greater joy in heaven over one sinner who repents,” and so forth.

But notice that this divine mercy, so sweet and benign, has two very evil squires: on one hand, presumption or sinning with confidence that stems from overly relying on God’s mercy; on the other hand, despair of receiving forgiveness for one’s sins.

Against the former, that is, sinning with overconfidence, the Lord says in Isaiah 36: “In whom do you trust,” add: overly in your sin, “that you are revolted from me?” Similarly Proverbs 10: “The hope of the godless will perish.” Three kinds of people follow this vice. First, hypocrites, who trust most wickedly in outward show; Job 8: “The hope of the hypocrite shall perish, it shall not please him in his heart, for his trust shall be like spiderwebs.” Second, the proud follow that vice, on account of their strength and power, against whom is written in Amos 6: “Woe to those who trust in Mount Samaria,” that is, in high estate and arrogance, or riches and wealth, as covetous and greedy men do. Third, lechers follow it in their carnal lust, against whom is written in Jeremiah 17: “Cursed is the man who trusts in man and makes flesh his arm,” that is, who desires carnal pleasures. Let us therefore beware of thus sinning in confidence of God’s mercy. God’s attitude toward sinners is

45 videns cornix ex hoc audacior effecta inopportune persequitur, unde aquila  
nimium fatigata et irritata ad ultimum cornicem inpetuose arripit et dila-  
cerat. Revera sic Christus peccatores tales nisi desistant (a) mala confi-  
dencia in peccando, ad ultimum occidit. Narratur eciam de quodam tali pre-  
sumente peccare forte per luxuriam; cum autem super hoc argueretur a quodam  
50 clerico sancto, respondit: "Deus enim ita bene mortuus est pro me sicut pro  
te; non ergo plus perdet me quam te. Ideo tantum confido de eius misericor-  
dia quod si sibi dicere possem ante mortem hec tria verba, 'Miserere mei,  
Deus,' salvus ero." Accidit quodam die cum transivit quendam pontem et  
cespitare incepit deorsum, tunc predicta tria verba oblitus est; in quorum  
55 loco hec tria dixit: "Ore ascent a deables." Sic ergo patet quod non est  
peccandum sic presumptuose ex confidentia misericordie Dei, ut scilicet  
quis credat sibi misericordiam dari sive bene fecerit sive non, eo quod  
Deus [f. 19v] nichil vult perdere vel dampnare quod redemit; verum est  
certe quantum in eo est, set quilibet talis hoc modo peccando seipsum per-  
60 dit et dampnat. Et ideo quilibet cupiens veram spem et confidentiam habere,  
primo commissa delicta considerat et corrigat, secundo studeat bona facere  
et continuat. Nam contra presumes dicitur Ecclesiastici 5: "Non dicas  
peccavi," etc.; et sequitur: "Non adicias peccatum super peccatum dicens,  
'Misericordia Dei magna est, super multitudinem peccatorum meorum misere-  
65 bitur,' set (converti ad eum ne tardes et) ne differas de die in diem, subito  
enim veniet (ira) eius et in tempore vindicte disperdet te." Hec ibi.

Ut ergo nec diffidas nec presumas, set spem veram et fiduciam habeas,  
oportet ut tres partes prudencie caucius consideres: et primo de preteritis  
considera mala que commisisti, bona que omisisti, et quam pauca bona egis-  
70 ti; secundo de presenti cave ne corruas, et age bona que omisisti et res-  
taura; et tercio de futuro vide ne residives ad prohibita, et ne disconti-  
nues bene incepita.

Est eciam hic advertendum quod sicut de Dei misericordia non est pre-  
sumendum, ut dictum est, sic nec de eius misericordia est nullatenus despe-  
75 randum. Dicit enim Augustinus: "Peccatum, inquit, cum desperatione necessa-  
rio salute privetur." Nam secundum Ambrosium magis peccat homo desperando  
quam peccat perpetrando. Et ideo Ieronimus *Super Psalmos* dicit quod Iudas  
plus Deum offendit quando seipsum suspendit quam quando eum tradidit. Et  
ideo dicitur Proverbiorum 24: "Ne desperaveris in die angustie." Unde  
80 Bernardus super illud Genesis "Maior est iniquitas mea," etc.: "Mentiris,  
inquit, o Chayn, quoniam sicut scintilla ignis in medio maris, sic miseri-  
cordia Salvatoris ad maliciam omnis hominis."

Et nota quod istud peccatum ex tribus solet provenire: primo ex pusil-  
lanimitate, scilicet quando quis considerat penas pro peccatis debitas,  
85 puta vero pro mortali peccato septem [f. 20] annos penitere et huiusmodi,  
quod videns vel audiens peccator fit pusillanimis, et sic lassus et despe-

similar to the relationship between the eagle and the crow. The crow pursues  
the eagle, who is king of the birds, but the latter pays no heed in his great-  
heartedness and courtesy. When the crow sees that, it becomes even more daring  
and pursues him, until the eagle gets too tired and annoyed and finally catches  
the crow with violence and tears it to pieces. Thus will Christ likewise kill  
sinners in the end if they do not give up their wicked confidence while they  
sin. There is another story about such a person who confidently sinned in  
lechery. When he was taken to task by some holy churchman, he answered: "God  
has died for me as well as for you; therefore he won't damn me any more than he  
will you. So, I trust so much in his mercy that as long as I can say these  
three words 'Have mercy, Lord' before I die, I shall be saved." It happened  
that one day when he crossed a bridge and began to reel off backwards, he  
forgot his three words and instead said: "Devil take it." Thus it is clear  
that one must not sin in presumption, by trusting in God's mercy and believing  
that one will receive it whether one has lived well or not because God will not  
lose or condemn what he has redeemed. The latter is certainly true insofar as  
it depends on God, yet anyone who sins in this way loses and condemns himself.  
Therefore, whoever wishes to have true hope and trust must first reflect on the  
sins he has committed and correct them, and then apply himself to doing good  
and continue in this. For against the presumptuous is said in Ecclesiasticus  
5: "Do not say, 'I have sinned,' " etc. And later: "Do not add sin upon sin,  
saying, 'God's mercy is great, he will have mercy on the multitude of my  
sins' "; rather, "do not delay to turn to him and do not defer from day to day,  
for his wrath shall come on a sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will  
destroy you."

So that you may neither lose heart nor be overconfident, but instead have  
true hope and trust, it is necessary to reflect carefully on the three parts of  
prudence: first on the past, remembering what evil you have done, what good you  
have left undone, and how few good things you have accomplished; second on the  
present, paying attention that you do not fall, doing the good you have not  
done, and making restitution; and third on the future, looking out that you do  
not slide back into what is forbidden or give up the good you have begun.

And we should further notice that, just as we must not be overconfident of  
God's mercy, as has been shown, we must likewise in no way despair of it. For  
Augustine says: "Sin with despair will of necessity forego salvation." Accord-  
ing to Ambrose, a man sins more gravely by despairing than by committing an  
evil. And Jerome, in his commentary on the Psalms, says that Judas offended  
God more when he hanged himself than when he betrayed him. Therefore it is  
said in Proverbs 24: "Do not despair on the day of distress." And Bernard  
comments on the verse "My iniquity is greater," etc., from Genesis, as follows:  
"You lie, Cain, because in comparison with the Savior's mercy the malice of any  
man is like a spark of fire in the middle of the sea."



rans penitenciam non aggreditur; secundo provenit ex ipsius peccati enormitate, ut pro peccato contra naturam; tercio provenit ex difficultate vitandi peccatum quod habet ex consuetudine, eo quod secundum Philosophum "consuetudo est altera natura." Quod bene figuratum erat 1 Regum 23 ubi dicitur: "David desperabat fugere a facie Saul, eo quod ipse cum viris suis cingebat David ad modum corone." Iste enim Saul diabolum signat, et viri eius suggestiones prave que cingunt David, idest animam peccatricem, ut quasi videatur sibi non posse per penitenciam evadere, et sic desperat, iuxta illud Iob 7: "Desperavi, nequaquam ultra vivam," idest meritum gratie et penitencie vix accipiam.

Non sic, set contra diabolum et eius temptationes viriliter resistemus et Deus iuvabit iuxta illud:

Cessa, condono; pugna, iuvo; vince, corono.

100 Proverbiorum 3: "Ne paveas repentino terrore et irruentes potencias impiorum, quia Dominus tecum adiutor fortis." Ecce narracio. Refert Diascorides hec de Trinitate quod quondam fuerunt duo iuriste sci(vi)les, nobiles, et fortes, quorum unus fortitudinem suam circa meretrices ° et alias fatuitates, ° scienciam (vero) circa falsas causas consumpsit. Accidit autem 105 quadam [nocte], ut simul dormirent, apparuit Pater celestis isti qui sic gracias sibi a Deo datas fatue consumpserat, dicens ei: "Surge et veni ad iudicium, quia in me peccasti cui potencia attribuitur, fortitudine tua tibi per me data pessime abutendo; dampnaberis." Quo audito horribiliter clamavit in tantum quod socium suum evigilavit. Qui cum quesisset quid sibi 110 esset, totaliter sibi narravit. Ipse vero illum confortans dixit: "Non est curandum de visionibus nocturnis et huiusmodi illusionibus." Et iterum dormierunt. Quo facto secunda vice apparuit Christus Filius Dei sibi dicens sicut (Pater): "Surge, para te ad iudicium. In me, inquit, similiter peccasti [f. 20v] qui sum sapiencia Patris, pessime in falsis causis sapiencia 115 tua abutendo quam a me recepisti; et ideo dampnaberis." Unde territus evigilando horribiliter clamavit quam prius. Cui socius: "Et quid tibi modo est?" Et omnia sibi narravit que viderat a Filio Dei. Cum autem socius a desperatione illum allicere non posset, tandem tanquam sciens et prudens quod dampnari non deberet non obstantibus huiusmodi visionibus, hoc exemplum proposuit: "Si tres, inquit, homines unam hereditatem participantes coniunctim et divisim, ita quod unus sine aliis nec duo illorum sine tercio dictam hereditatem elongare possent, si ergo unus vel duo hoc facere velent, nonne lex contra illos aperte staret?" Qui respondens dixit quod sic. "Sic omni modo," dixit socius, "est in proposito. Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus hereditatem celestem coniunctim et divisim optinent cum eadem 125 iusticia et potestate; si ergo Pater vel Filius elongare illam hereditatem

Notice that this sin usually comes from three causes. First from faint-heartedness, when a sinner thinks of the punishment that is due to his sins, such as doing seven years of penance for a mortal sin and the like; when he sees or hears that, the sinner loses heart, and in this torpor and despair does not take up his penance. Second, it comes from the gravity of the sin itself, as from a sin against nature. And third it comes from the difficulty of avoiding a sin one commits out of habit, because according to the Philosopher, "habit is our second nature." This was well prefigured in 1 Kings 23, where it is said that "David despaired of fleeing from the face of Saul, because he and his men encompassed David like a crown." Saul stands for the devil, and his men for evil thoughts which encompass David, that is, the sinner's soul, so that it may seem to him that he cannot evade them through penance, and then he despairs, according to Job 7: "I have despaired, I shall not live any longer," that is to say, I shall hardly receive the reward of mercy and of penance.

Let us not do thus, but rather withstand the devil and his temptations manly, and God will help us according to the lines:

Cease, and I forgive;  
Fight, and I help;  
Win, and I crown you.

Proverbs 3 says: "Be not afraid of sudden fear, nor of the power of the wicked falling upon you, for the Lord will be with you as a strong helper." Behold the following story. Diascorides reports about the Trinity that once there were two noble and strong civil lawyers. One of them used his physical strength on whores and other follies, and his learning in unjust lawsuits. As both were asleep one night, it happened that the Heavenly Father appeared to the one who had thus foolishly spent the gifts he had received from God and said to him: "Get up and come to your judgment. You have sinned against me whose mark is power. You have badly misused the strength I have given you. You shall be condemned." When the lawyer heard this, he gave a horrified cry so that he woke his companion. When the latter asked him what was the matter, he told him all. But his companion comforted him and said: "Don't pay any attention to nocturnal visions and such illusions!" And they went back to sleep. Then Christ, the Son of God, appeared to him and said, as the Father had done: "Get up, prepare yourself for your judgment. You have likewise sinned against me who am the Father's wisdom, by badly misusing in unjust lawsuits the wisdom you have received from me; and therefore you shall be condemned." Again the lawyer woke up in terror and cried out even more horrified than he was earlier. His companion asked: "And what is it now?" And he told him all that he had seen from the Son of God. Since his companion could not talk him out of his despair, yet knowing in his prudence that he would not be condemned in spite

a te voluerit, [cui in baptismo virtute sanguinis Christi ascriptus es,] sine assensu Spiritus Sancti, certum est quod hoc non possent. Et ideo, quamvis Pater et Filius a te istam hereditatem elongare voluerint, eo prout  
 130 dicunt absusus es tam potencia Patris tibi data quam eciam sapiencia Filii, expecta quousque Spiritus Sanctus, cui attribuitur clemencia et bonitas, veniat; et cum venerit ille, statim illum adiura propter suam magnam clemenciam quod te adiuuare dignetur facere misericordiam inter Patrem et  
 135 manucapio quod benedictam hereditatem optinebis." Quo dicto in spiritu confortatus est.

Ergo para te, o peccator, ad eius misericordiam petendam et non desperes, quia ipsum propiciorem inuenies ad dandum quam tu ad petendum; pro magno enim offenditur et pro minimo reconciliatur; Sapientie 6: "Exiguo conceditur misericordia." "Petite ergo et accipietis." Unde legitur in  
 140 *Gestis Britonum* quod erat quidam rex in hoc regno nomine [f. 21] Cassibilanus habens cognatum nomine Androgeum, inter quos erat maxima discordia pro morte cuiusdam armigeri, ut patet in historia. Unde in tantum crevit discordia quod (omnes terras) quasi in Cancia, idest omnes homines, destruxerat  
 145 flamma et ferro. Accidit postea quod Iulius Cesar graviter concepit contra istum regem et [multum cognato suo Androgeo afficiebatur, unde regem] debellans conpulit ad fugam. Qui cum vidisset non posse resistere, timens eius potestatem et offensam, litteras misit ad cognatum cui tot mala intulerat, eius misericordiam et gratiam petens, recognoscendo quod cognatus  
 150 eius erat, rogans eciam quatehous inter ipsum et imperatorem foret pacis mediator. Quibus visis et intellectis, sic nunciis respondit: "Non est ergo, inquit, princeps iste timendus qui tempore belli est mitis ut agnus et tempore pacis ferox ut leo." Et addidit: "Licet tamen gratiam vel misericordiam erga me in nullo meruit, eum tamen reconciliabo si potero. Sufficit enim michi pro iniuria michi facta quod rex in terra sua meam gratiam humiliter imploret." Et sic imperatorem et regem pacificavit. Moraliter:  
 155 Isti duo cognati sunt Filius Dei et homo, inter quos erat discordia et semper erit quando peccatis consentit; nam in tantum persequitur tunc homo Filium Dei quod quantum in ipso est iterum vult eum crucifigere, quia qui facit illud propter quod Filius Dei mortuus est, hoc est peccatum, quantum in ipso est iterum Filium Dei morti tradit et crucifigit, iuxta illud Ad  
 160 Hebreos 6: "Rursum crucifigentes in semetipsis Filium Dei." Ex qua causa summe offenditur summus imperator Pater celestis. Quid ergo faciendum est? Reuera oportet quod talis sic peccans a cognato suo Christo petat gratiam  
 165 et misericordiam, et si sic fecerit, non desperet quin illa gracia ex corde humili petita quoad eum pro sufficienti vindicta reputabit[ur] et culpam remittet, quo facto pacem inter imperatorem suum Patrem celestem et illum re- [f. 21v] formabit.

of these visions, he then put the following case to him: "Imagine that three men jointly own an inheritance in equal shares, so that no one could sell it without the other two, nor could two of them do so without the third. If one or two of them wanted to do that, would not the law be openly against them?" He answered that this was so indeed. Then his companion said: "Thus it is in your case. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit hold joint ownership of the heavenly inheritance, with equal right and power. If therefore the Father or the Son wanted to take it from you for which you were given a claim in baptism, by the power of Christ's blood, they certainly could not do so without the consent of the Holy Spirit. Therefore, even though the Father and the Son may want to take it from you, because as they say you have misused the Father's power that you were given as well as the Son's wisdom, wait till the Holy Spirit comes, to whom belong clemency and goodness. And when he comes, implore him at once that because of his great clemency he may help you to achieve mercy between the Father and the Son and to restore yourself, by promising him that you will amend your life. If you do that, I give you my pledge that you will gain your blessed inheritance." By this saying the lawyer was comforted in his mind.

Therefore prepare yourself, O sinner, to ask for his mercy and do not despair, for you will find him more ready to give than you are to ask. It takes much to offend God, but little to make peace with him; Wisdom 6: "To him that is little, mercy is granted." "Ask and you shall receive." Whence we read in *The Deeds of the Britons* that there was a king in this realm called Cassibelanus, who had a relative by the name of Androgeus. Between them was a very great enmity on account of the death of some squire, as history tells us. This enmity grew so great that it destroyed nearly all the lands in Kent, that is, all the people, by fire and sword. Then it happened that Julius Caesar was gravely moved against the king and kindly disposed toward his relative Androgeus, and he fought against the king and forced him to flee. When the latter saw that he could not withstand Caesar and was in fear of his power and attack, he sent letters to his kinsman on whom he had inflicted so many evils and asked for his mercy and good grace in recognition that he was his relative, and begged him further to make peace between himself and the emperor. When Androgeus had seen and read the letters, he replied to the messenger: "One rightly should not fear a prince who in time of war is mild like a lamb and in peace fierce like a lion." Then he added: "Although he has deserved no grace or mercy from me whatsoever, I will yet try to reconcile him with Caesar if I can. I am satisfied, for the injury he has done to me, that the king in his own land is humbly begging for my grace." And thus he made peace between the emperor and the king. Morally speaking, these two relatives are the Son of God and man, between whom there was great enmity and ever will be as long as man gives in to sin, for in that case man pursues the Son of God so much that, if it were

Et ideo qui eius timet vindictam ad eius misericordiam fugiat, sicut  
 170 fecit quidam miles qui propter culpam suam per imperatorem Romanorum morti  
 adiudicatus est. Quo audito miles appellavit. Cumque imperator admirasset  
 cui appellaret, cum non esset in terris aliquis superior illo, respondit  
 miles: "Necesse, inquit, est cuicumque imperatori et regi non tantum habere  
 175 tronum iusticie set etiam tronum misericordie. Unde si in trono iusticie  
 sim dampnatus, ad tronum misericordie appello, que est superior locus et  
 virtus in principe." Quo audito ait imperator: "Ad misericordiam, inquit,  
 appellasti, et ipsa te a morte liberabit." Revera sic esse necessario oportet  
 de Christo imperatore nostro, cuius oculi, iuxta Psalmistam, "sunt super  
 180 timentes eum et in eis qui sperant in misericordia eius." Unde Augustinus:  
 "Quid, inquit, misericordius intelligi valet peccatori [eternis tormentis dampnato  
 et unde se redimet non habenti, quam Deum] audire dicere Patrem: 'Accipe  
 Filium meum unigenitum et da pro te,' ac etiam ipsum Filium dicere: 'Tolle  
 et redime te,' etc." Unde Apostolus Ad (Titum) 3: "Non ex operibus iusticie  
 185 que fecimus nos, set secundum suam misericordiam salvos nos fecit," etc.

5 et] *om* O. estimare] estimares O. 7 petentes] petentibus C.M. 13 qui cum] quomodo M.W; quando R. 15 pro venia] de venia pro peccatis O. 16 et] *om* O. 18 operis] temporis M.R. 19 et] *om* O. 23 non(2)] nec O. 24 erit] est O. 25 etc.] quam supra milibus penitentiam non indigentibus O. 35 araneorum] arenarum C. 42 ergo] enim O. 46 arripit] *add* interimit et O. 47 a] ex C. 49 hoc] *om* O. 51 clerico sancto] fratre O.B1.B3.Go.Go2; clerico E; *om* Et.Co. 52 possem] possum O. 53 Deus] *add* quod O. 55 dixit] *add* submergendo M.W; R *adds* submergendo before deorsum. Ore . . . deables] pereo sine spe M. 56 sic] *om* O. Dei] divine O. 62 dicas] dixeris O. 64 super multitudinem] multorum M.W; multitudinis R. 65 converti . . . et] converte ad eum et ne tardas vel C; converti ad eum R. 66 ira] dies C. 75-76 necessario] certa mors est necessario desperantis M; certa mors est nemo desperans R.W. 76 privetur] fruatur O. 85 vero pro] pro uno M; uno R.W. 86 quod . . . fit] quodammodo vadit peccator O. 95 7] *add* capitulo O. 99 corono] *add* unde illud M.W; *add* unde R. 101 fortis] *add* et O. 102 sciviles] scioles C. 103 meretrices] *add* consumpsit C. 103-104 fatuitates] *add* et alius C. 104 vero] suam C. 113 Pater] prius C. 117 Dei] *om* O. 124 Sic . . . est] omnino dixit socius sic O. 126 vel] et O. hereditatem] *om* O. 127 voluerit] voluerint O. 129 hereditatem] *om* O. voluerint] vellent O. 132 veniat] venerit O. 133 facere misericordiam] concordiam O. 140 accipietis] *add* quia in eo impetrabitur M; *add* quia in eo peccabit R.W. 144 omnes terras] *thus* R.B1.E, et al.; omnis terra C.M.W. quasi] *add* que fuerant M.W; que fuerant R. idest omnes homines] *om* O. 151 intellectis] perlectis M.R; auditis W. 152 ergo] *om* O. iste] *add* iuste O. 154 humiliter imploret] conspicio humiliter implorare O; R *has brought the syntax in line by correcting rex to regem.* 157 erat] *add* magna O. 161 et crucifigit] *om* O. Ad] *om* O. 162 in semetipsis] sibimetipsis O. 166 reputabitur] *thus* in B4.E.Go1.Et and others; reputabit C.O. 167 suum] O *have summum before imperatorem.* 172 illo] eo O. 180 valet] videlicet O. 183 Tolle] *add* me M.R. Titum] thi C.

in his power, he would crucify him again; for if one does that for which the Son of God has died, namely sin, one hands the Son over to death and crucifies him again in as much as lies in one's power, according to Hebrews 6: "Crucifying the Son of God again in themselves." By this we cause the greatest offense to the highest emperor, our Heavenly Father. What then is to be done? Indeed, it is necessary that such a sinner ask his relative, Christ, for grace and mercy. And if he has done so, he should not distrust that the grace he has asked for with humble heart might not be reckoned sufficient retribution before God, and that God might not remit his sin. With this, Christ will reestablish peace between the emperor, his Heavenly Father, and the sinner.

Therefore, if you fear his vengeance, flee to his mercy, as a certain knight did who was condemned to death by the Roman emperor on account of his guilt. When the knight heard this, he appealed, and as the emperor wondered to whom he might be appealing since there was no one higher than himself on earth, the knight answered: "Every emperor and king must of necessity have not only a throne of justice but also a throne of mercy. Therefore, if I am condemned in the throne of justice, I appeal to the throne of mercy, which is the higher place and virtue in a prince." Hearing this, the emperor said: "You have appealed to mercy, and mercy will free you from death." It will of necessity be likewise with Christ our emperor, whose eyes, according to the Psalmist, "are on those who fear him and on those who hope for his mercy." Whence Augustine says: "What more merciful word is there to hear for the sinner who is condemned to eternal punishments and has nothing whereby he may save himself, than God the Father's saying: 'Take my Only-begotten Son and give him for yourself' and likewise the Son's saying: 'Take me and save yourself,' etc." Therefore, the Apostle says in his letter to Titus, 3: "Not by the works of justice which we have done, but according to his mercy he has saved us."

3-4 Luke 6.36. 6 Ps. 144.9. 8-11 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, pp. 677-679. 11-15 Tubach 1375. The hero of this widespread story is Saint John Gualbertus. 17 Ezek. 33.11. 17-20 Cf. Bonaventure, *De sanctis apostolis Petro et Paulo*, sermo 2, 1 (9:550), where this quotation is attributed to Augustine. 20-25 Cf. Bernard, *Super Cantica XXII*.iii.8 (1:134). 24-25 Cf. Luke 15.7. 31-32 Isa. 36.5. 32 Prov. 10.28. 34-36 Job 8. 13-14. 37 Amos 6.1. 40 Jer. 17.5. 62-63 Ecclus. 5.4 63-66 Ecclus. 5.5-6, 8-9. 75-76 Augustine, *En. in Ps. 50* 5 (CC 38:602). 76-77 Cf. Augustine, *Sermo 20* 1 (PL 38:138). 79 Cf. Prov. 24.10. 80 Gen. 4.13. 81-82 A commonplace attributed to different authorities; apparently based on Augustine, *En. in Ps. 143* 8 (CC 40:2079). 89-90 Aristotle, *Rhetorica* I.xi.3 (1370a). 91-92 1 Sam. 23.26. 95 Job 7.16. 99 Prov 2690. 100-101 Prov. 3.25-26. 101-136 Tubach 2862. 139-140 Wisd. 6.7. 140 John 16.24. 141-156 Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia regum Britanniae* IV.viii-ix (pp. 313-318). 162 Hebr. 6.6. 170-177 Tubach 3268. 178-179 Ps. 32.18. 183-185 Titus 3.5.

## II.v DE PACIENCIA

[E]xpleta igitur parte ire cum suis miseriis, iam secundo loco in ista secunda particula tractandum est de paciencia, que se aperte offert ad illam expugnandam. Circa quam sic procedam: primo quid sit et a quo sumitur; secundo in quibus necessaria et quibus comparatur; tercio de eius  
5 membris et quomodo terminatur.

Dico igitur primo quod paciencia est virtus que in prosperis non elevatur nec in adversis frangitur, illatasque iniurias equanimiter tollerans, proximis compaciens, et nullum dispendium optans. Et hec paciencia sic dif-  
10 finita principaliter a Christo sumitur exemplum, cuius paciencia in tribus consideratur. Et primo in dulci responsione erga inimicos, Iohannis 8: "Quem queritis?" ut sic exemplariter [f. 22] nos respondeamus in adversis, quia Ecclesiastici 6 dicitur: "Verbum dulce multiplicat amicos et mitigat inimicos, sicut aqua frigida ollam bullientem." Secundo consideratur in moderata correptione, sicut patet (Matthei) 26 ubi dixit discipulis suis:  
15 "Qui intingit mecum [manum] in parapside," etc.; sic et tu, iuxta illud Ad Galatas 6, "argue, obsecra, increpa in omni paciencia et doctrina," et hec contra protervos. Tercio in benigna admissione, sicut quando dixit Matthei 26: "Amice, ad quid venisti?" ad ostendendum quod sic nos qui sumus firmiores debemus infirmorum debilitatem sustinere et compassionis benignitatem  
20 proximis indigentibus impendere, etc.

6 igitur] ergo O. 8 nullum] nullis M.R. 14 Matthei] iohannis C. 19 et] add sic O. 20 etc.] om O.

## II.vi DE PACIENCIE NECESSITATE

[A]d sciendum autem in quibus necessaria est paciencia per quam voluntatem Dei perficiemus eciam ut illius imitatores simus, advertite quod in quatuor necessaria est: primo in adversitate inimicorum, secundo in correptione superiorum, tercio in amissione bonorum, quarto in infirmitate diversorum.  
5

Contra enim adversitatem inimicorum qui dura verba et duriora verbera nobis inferunt, si patienter sustineamus, est de nobis sicut de illis qui tempore guerre contra ictus machinelli ponunt culcitra vel fenum vel ali-  
10 quod huiusmodi molle, ne muri et turres dissolventur; Proverbiorum 12: "Responcio mollis frangit iram." Arbor enim nucis quanto magis verberatur et percutitur uno anno, tanto magis fructificat alio anno; sic verus paciens per opprobria magis fructificat virtutes [producendo], sicut patet de filiis Israel qui quanto magis opprimebantur tanto magis crescebant. Et

## II.v THE NATURE OF PATIENCE

After finishing the part on wrath and its wretchedness, in the second place in this second part we now deal with patience, which offers itself openly to overcome the vice. About which I shall proceed as follows: first, what it is and from where it is derived; second, in what situations it is necessary and to what things it can be compared; and third, what its members are and to what end it leads.

First, then, I say that patience is the virtue of not becoming exalted in good fortune or broken by ill fortune; it bears inflicted injuries with equanimity, has pity on fellow men, and wishes no harm. This patience, as it has been defined, takes its example from Christ, whose patience may be seen in three things. First, in answering his enemies gently, as in John 18: "Whom do you seek?" We should answer in the same manner in our adversity, for in Ecclesiasticus 6 it is written: "A sweet word multiplies friends and appeases enemies," as cold water appeases the bubbling pot. Second, in censuring others with moderation, as Christ did in Matthew 26 when he said to his disciples: "He who dips his hand with me in the dish," etc. Thus you, too, should, according to Galatians 6, "reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine," which is said against vehement people. And third, in accepting others with gentleness, as when Christ said in Matthew 26: "Friend, what have you come for?" In this he showed that we who are stronger should thus bear the frailty of the weak and show gentle compassion to our needy fellowmen.

11 John 18.4. 12-13 Eccles. 6.5. 15 Matt. 26.23. 16 2 Tim. 4.2. 18 Matt. 26.50.

## II.vi THE NEED FOR PATIENCE

In order to know when patience is necessary, through which we shall fulfill God's will even to the point of becoming his imitators, notice that we need this virtue particularly in four situations: in the adversity we suffer from our enemies, in correction from our superiors, in the loss of our goods, and in bearing various kinds of infirmity.

If we patiently endure adversity from our enemies who inflict on us hard words and harder strokes, we will be like those who in time of war put up cushions or straw or anything soft of this kind against the battering rams, so that their walls and towers may not be broken down; Proverbs 12: "A soft answer breaks wrath." The more a nut-tree is beaten and shaken in one year, the more fruit it bears the next; thus a person who is truly patient under insults bears more fruit in bringing forth virtues, as can be seen in the children of Israel: the more they were oppressed, the more numerous they grew. Therefore the truly

- ideo verus pociens auro bene comparatur, quod quanto magis tunditur, tanto magis dilatatur; [sic ille qui per iniuriam atteritur et contunditur, in paciencia dilatatur;] unde in Psalmo: "In tribulacione dilatasti me." Maximus enim honor est militi si ensis eius in bello frangatur, equus proster-nitur et occiditur, et tamen ipse vicit et non devincitur. Et pravus miles qui nimis atteritur [f. 22v] et inimico sine aliqua percussione redditur.
- 20 Sic vir impaciens nullas iniurias valens sustinere set subito in iram prorumpitur, nullam mercedem a Deo optinere meretur. Et ideo Proverbiis dicitur: "Coronaberis si sustinueris pacienter." Et debemus iniurias sustinere. Quando autem aliquando tibi accidit aliqua adversitas vel iniuria ab inimico, delibera bene penes te si sis culpabilis aut non; si sic, revera iniuste conqueris quia forte plura meruisti quam sustines; si non, ecce quid dicit Christus Matthei: "Beati qui persecucionem paciuntur propter iusticiam." Et ideo narratur de quodam philosopho ab uxore maledicto et summe irritato per verba, quem cum ipsa vidit in nullo sibi respondere, vas aqua repletum super capud suum effudit; quo facto cum paciencia dixit:
- 30 "Bene, inquit, scivi quod communiter post ventum sequitur pluvia."  
 Secundo necessaria est paciencia in superiorum correptione. Sicut bos qui semper trahit ad illam partem qua stimulator, sic paciens humiliter tendit gressus ad stimulum superioris et ad eius correctionem voluntatem suam inclinatur. Et ideo bene comparatur testudini, quam cum tetigeris statim cornua sua retrahit et abscondit; sic certe paciens et humilis cum tangitur a superiori per correptiones paternales inclinando capud retrahit et abscondit cornua superbie et impaciencie; Genesis 1: "Audi, Domine, vocem tuam et abscondi me," etc.
- Tercio necessaria est in amissione bonorum temporalium, sicut fecit
- 40 Job, de quo legitur quod cum amisisset totam substanciam pacienter respondit: "Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit; sicut Domino placuit," etc. Unde legitur in *Vitas Patrum* de quodam sene a quo quidam raptor asinum suum abstulit et dedit ei similiter alapam, qui pacienter sustinens aliam maxillam prebuit atque, ut asinum melius duceret, tradidit capisterium. Unde ex-
- 45 iens demon hanc vocem [f. 23] emisit dicens: "A sola paciencia victus sum." Et ideo talis bene comparatur adamanti qui secundum Ysidorum nulli cedit materie sicut ferro nec igne frangitur nec umquam incalescit, unde "adamas" Grece, "vis indomita" Latine dicitur, set [dum sic invictus fuerit ferri ignisque contemptor,] tamen sanguine yrcino (maceratur). Revera sic verus
- 50 paciens nulla vi ferri aut ignis iniuriarum frangitur aut dissolvitur, et tamen amore sanguinis Christi Iesu statim ad compassionem emollitur; Romanorum 12: "Noli vinci a malo set vince in bono malo."
- Quarto necessaria est in infirmitate, quod est vinculum Christi, per quod quos amat castigat. Sicut pia mater filium quem vidit ad aquam vel
- 55 ignem appropinquare unde periculum posset imminere, sic Pater celestis filium quem diligit castigat aliquando per infirmitatem ut caveat ab igne vel

patient person can be compared to gold: the more it is beaten, the wider it spreads; thus a man who is worn thin and beaten in his injuries grows greater in his patience; as the Psalm says: "When I was in distress, you have enlarged me." To a knight it is the greatest honor if his sword breaks in battle, his horse is felled and killed, and yet he himself has won and is not overcome; and wretched is the knight who gets beaten too much and is handed over to the enemy without striking a single blow. Thus an impatient person who cannot endure any injuries but at once breaks into anger does not deserve to receive any reward from God. Therefore it is said in Proverbs: "You shall be crowned if you suffer patiently." And you have to endure injuries. But whenever you suffer any adversity or injury from an enemy, ask yourself within if you have any fault or not; if so, you complain unjustly, for you may have deserved more than you actually suffer; but if not, then behold what Christ says in Matthew: "Blessed are they who suffer persecution on account of justice." And so, a story is told about a philosopher who was cursed by his wife and highly annoyed by her words; when she saw that he would not answer her a single word, she poured a pot of water over his head; whereupon he said with all patience: "I knew well that normally after a storm comes rain."

In the second place patience is necessary when we are corrected by our superiors. As an ox that always pulls in the direction in which he is driven, thus a patient person humbly directs his steps after the goading of his superior and bends his will under his superior's correction. Therefore he may be compared to the snail which, if you touch it, at once pulls in its horns and hides; thus also a patient and humble person, when he is touched by his superior through fatherly corrections, bows his head and withdraws and hides his horns of pride and impatience; Genesis 1: "I heard your voice, Lord, and hid myself."

In the third place patience is necessary when we lose temporal goods, as Job did, of whom we read that when he lost all his belongings he said patiently: "The Lord has given, the Lord has taken away; as it has pleased the Lord," etc. Hence we read in *The Lives of the Fathers* of a hermit from whom a thief took his donkey, giving him a blow in the face. The hermit endured this patiently, offered him the other cheek, and gave him the bridle so that he could lead the donkey away more easily. Whereupon a demon went out of the robber with a loud cry and said: "By patience alone have I been overcome." Such a patient person can be compared to a diamond. According to Isidore, it is harder than any other material, such as iron, cannot be broken by fire, and never heats up; whence it is called *adamas* in Greek, *vis indomita*, "untamed power" in Latin. But while it thus resists iron or fire unabated, it yet becomes weakened by the blood of a goat. Similarly, a patient person cannot be broken or dissolved by the iron or fire of injuries, and yet out of love for the blood of Jesus Christ he will grow soft in compassion; Romans 12: "Be not overcome by evil, but overcome evil with good."



aqua peccati. Unde facit Dominus cum illis sicut faciunt pueri cum captis avibus, qui ne avolarent partem pennarum illarum auferunt. Iste enim penne per quas plures avolarent a voluntate Christi, si illis permetteretur, sunt  
 60 divicie et potencie; et ideo aufert unam per paupertatem et aliam per infirmitatem. Si enim rex Francie abstulisset a rege Anglie aliquod castrum et rex de amissione illius ipsum obsideret et oppugnaret donec ipsum optineret, nonne hoc esset signum quod multum illud castrum diligeret si muros non prosterneret? Per istum regem Francie intelligo diabolum, qui abstulit  
 65 castrum anime a Christo, rege nostro Anglie; set ne Christus illam amittat, ex nimio amore quem habet ad illam non statim muros prosternit corporis per (mortem), set immittendo infirmitates illam lucratur. Et ideo contra infirmitatem non est murmurandum, quia videmus quod puer verberatus, si plorat, provocat magistrum ad duriora; sic est de Christo. Unde Ysidorus in *Solilo-*  
 70 *quio*: “Qui, inquit, in [f. 23v] flagellis murmurat, Deum contra se plus incitat.” Hoc ergo bene consideravit beatus Paulus qui dixit: “Libenter gloriabor in infirmitatibus meis.”

Et adverte causam, ut michi videtur, quare Christus iuste corpus per infirmitates affligit, et specialiter illorum quos diligit. Pono casum  
 75 sicut frequenter contigit in istis magnis villis inter mercatores, sicut London et Coventre, quod sunt duo socii in lucro et amissione bonorum equaliter participant; si ergo alicui deberent aliquod debitum quod solvere non possent, et unus illorum clam vellet recedere et socium in briga relinquere, si tunc maior civitatis hoc perciperet [et] illum detineret donec  
 80 cum socio debitum solveret, nonne esset signum magne fidelitatis et dilectionis erga alium? Revera sic. Cum ergo corpus et anima sint in deliciis socii et in peccatis, videmus quod caro si posset vellet clam inpune recedere et totum debitum anime relinquere, quod esset iniustum. Et ideo maior noster Christus, ex dilectionis affectione quam habet ad animam, capit  
 85 corpus et detinet et infirmitates inmittit et sic partem sibi contingentem de debito solvere cogit. Et ideo dicit Gregorius: “Ante tempus, inquit, solve, ne pro debito astringaris.” Videmus eciam quod aliquando proximus fideiussor punitur pro debito alterius quod manucepit, in tantum quod aliquando pro illo vadia eius accipiuntur, aliquando incarceratur, quod  
 90 nequaquam fieret si verus debitor acquietaret. Revera sic in proposito. Necessitate compulsa anima pro corporis debito punitur vel torquetur, nisi hic corpus debitum solvat pro peccatis, quod facit quando per infirmitates affligitur. Et conveniencius est quod caro ancilla hic parum puniatur quam anima domina in eternum dampnetur. Non igitur murmurare debemus contra  
 95 Christum propter infirmitates per [f. 24] quas Deus quasi temptat nos, quia dicit Sapiens: “Beatus vir qui suffert temptacionem, quoniam cum probatus fuerit,” etc.

Set timeo quod est de aliquibus sicut de nautis qui tempore tranquillo ludunt ad taxillos nec cogitant de periculo, set exorta tempestate clamant

In the fourth place patience is necessary in sickness, which is the fetter of Christ with which he binds those whom he loves. As an anxious mother restrains her child whom she sees nearing water or fire where some danger might threaten, so does the Heavenly Father sometimes tie down a son he loves through some sickness, so that he may be held back from the fire or water of sin. Hence the Lord does to them what boys do to birds they have caught: to prevent them from flying away, they pull out part of their feathers. The feathers with which many people would fly away from Christ's will if they could are wealth and power; and these Christ takes away, the first through poverty, the second through sickness. If the king of France took some castle from the king of England, and the latter besieged him because of this loss and made war on him until he had regained the castle—would it not show that he loves that castle very much if he did not raze its walls? By the king of France I understand the devil, who has taken the castle of our soul from Christ, that is, our king of England; but in order not to lose that soul, Christ, out of the deep love he has for her, does not at once raze the walls of the body in death, but wins her by sending sickness. Therefore, we must not grumble against sickness, for we see that a boy who weeps when he is chastised provokes his teacher to even harder punishment; the same is true of Christ. Whence Isidore says in his *Soliloquy*: “He who grumbles when he is punished stirs God even more against himself.” Blessed Paul had this in mind when he wrote: “Gladly will I glory in my infirmities.”

Listen to the reason why, as I think, Christ justly sends sickness to the body, and especially of those whom he loves. I set the case that has often happened among merchants in these large cities, such as London and Coventry, that two partners share equally in their profit and loss. Now, if they owe someone a debt which they could not pay, and one of them wanted to disappear secretly and leave his partner in the lurch, if in this case the mayor of the city were to notice this and were to detain him until he payed his debt together with his partner—would this not be a sign of great faithfulness and love toward the other merchant? Yes, indeed. Now, since body and soul are partners in delights and sins, we see that the flesh, if it could, would like to steal away without punishment and leave all his debt with the soul. This would be quite unjust. Therefore, our mayor, Christ, out of his love for our soul, takes the body and restrains it and sends it infirmities, and thus he forces it to pay the part of the debt which belongs to it. And therefore says Gregory, “Pay your debt before your time is up, lest you be bound for it.” We also observe that sometimes the nearest person who has given security is punished for someone else's debt for which he had given his pledge, so that for that debt sometimes his security is taken from him and sometimes he is put in jail, which would not happen if the real debtor were paying up. To the point: out of necessity the soul will be punished or tormented for the debt of the body unless the body pays its debt for its sins here, which it does when it is



100 ad Deum et ad sanctos et vota faciunt; set a periculo liberati omnia tra-  
dunt oblivioni. Sic aliqui cessante infirmitate nichil faciunt quod promi-  
serunt. Sicut narratur de quodam Wallico qui in periculo maris promisit  
Beate Virgini unum cereum ita magnum sicut [malum] navis, set inde evaso  
105 dixit ipsam non habere pro eo maiorem candelam quam posset ad lectum illu-  
minare.

Et nota hic quod hec bona facit infirmitas inmissa per Deum: primo  
spem in Deum firmat iuxta illud Iob 13: "Eciam si occiderit me, in ipso  
sperabo." Unde legitur in *Vitas Patrum* quod quidam senex frequenter egrota-  
bat, et contigit ipsum anno uno non egrotare; quapropter prorupit in lacri-  
110 mas dicens: "Dereliquit me Deus nunc et non visitavit me!"

Secundo facit hominem contempnere ista inferiora et appetere celestia;  
sicut puer in scholis verberibus vexatus plus desiderat repatriare quam ille  
qui omnino relinquatur proprie voluntati. Unde Gregorius: "Sancti, inquit,  
temporalem penam lucrum reputant, quia per hanc futuram penam et eternam  
115 evadere non formidant." Unde Aristoteles in *Problematibus*, particula 35,  
problemate 4, querit causam quare corpora sunt frigidiora in estate quam in  
hyeme, cum estas sit naturaliter calida et hyemps frigida; si corpora  
nostra tangantur, quare frigidiora reperiuntur in estate quam in hyeme et e  
contrario? Et respondit dicens quod sudor et humectacio plus infrigidant  
120 corpora quam calefaciunt, set in tali tempore calido maxime eveniunt su-  
dores; vel dicit ipse: ponatur quod sudor non eveniat, fiet tamen exalacio  
calidi insensibiliter [f. 24v] et naturaliter. Commentator autem dicit sic:  
"Illud, inquit, maxime verificatur in me: video enim quod pulices super me  
proiecte in estate fugiunt propter frigiditatem non parvam, set in hyeme  
125 accedunt. Set ut michi videtur, verior solucio est quod in estate poris  
apertis calor exiit quasi congaudens suo consimili, set in yeme per circum-  
stans frigus calor repercutitur ad interiora corporis et ibi manet. Et hec  
est vera causa quare fontes sunt frigidiores in estate quam in hyeme." Re-  
vera sic hic per estatem intelligo prosperitatem, per yemem vero adversi-  
130 tatem. Sicut ergo calor exterior calorem interiorem extrahit ad se, sic  
prosperitas seculi amorem hominis qui ad Deum debet dirigi, set certe in  
yeme adversitatis, hoc est in infirmitate et huiusmodi, calorem caritatis  
detinet et includit in se, quod satis probatur quod infirmitas facit plus  
hominem Deum diligere, mundum contempnere, et celestia eciam appetere  
135 quam facit prosperitas aut sanitas.

Tercio lascivos domesticat. Sicut magister qui discipulum insolentem  
per aures accipit et ferula manum percutit, et tandem verberat ut eum in-  
tencius intelligat, sic Christus magister noster, etc.

3 quatuor] add specialiter O. 8 machinelli] magenelli M.W; magni olli R; mangelelli  
B1.E and others. 11 percutitur] excutitur O. 13 magis(1)] om O. 16 unde in Psalmo]  
psalmista O. 38 etc.] om O. 41 sicut . . . placuit] om O. 42 suum] om O. 43 ei] om

afflicted with infirmities. And it is better that the flesh, the handmaiden,  
be punished here a little than that the soul, its mistress, be damned in  
eternity. Therefore we must not grumble against Christ on account of infirmi-  
ties by which God, as it were, tries us, for the wise man says: "Blessed is the  
man who endures temptation, for when he has been proved," etc.

But I fear that with some people it goes as it does with sailors who in  
calm weather play dice and have no thought of danger, but when a storm comes  
call to God and the saints and offer vows; yet when they are out of danger,  
they forget all about these things. In the same way, some people fail to make  
good their promises when their sickness is over. There is a story about a  
Welshman who, in danger at sea, promised the Blessed Virgin a candle as tall as  
the mast of his ship; but when he had escaped the danger, he said that on his  
account she would not get anything bigger than a bedside candle.

And notice that sickness sent by God has the following good effects.  
First, it strengthens one's hope in God, according to Job 13: "Even if he  
should kill me, I will hope in him." For which we read in *The Lives of the  
Fathers* that a hermit was frequently ill, and that one year it happened that he  
did not fall ill; whereupon he burst out weeping and said: "Now God has forsak-  
141 en me and has not visited me."

Second, it causes man to scorn these worldly values and desire heavenly  
ones, just as a boy in school who is flogged desires more intently to go home  
than he who is totally left to his own will. Whence Gregory says: "The saints  
consider temporal affliction a gain, for through it they hope to go free of  
future and eternal pain." Whence Aristotle in his *Problems*, part 35, problem  
4, asks the reason why bodies are colder in winter than in summer, since summer  
is hot by nature and winter cold; if one touches bodies, why are they found to  
be colder in summer than in winter and vice-versa? And he answers by saying  
that sweat and humidity produce more coolness in our bodies than the latter  
receive heat, and in summertime we sweat very much; and even if there is no  
sweat, yet our bodily heat evaporates insensibly and naturally. Aristotle's  
commentator explains as follows: "This is certainly shown to be true in me, for  
I notice that the fleas that fall on me in summer flee because of the great  
coolness of my body, but in winter they all come. However, I think there is a  
better answer: In summer, when the pores are open, the body heat goes out as if  
it were rejoicing with what is its like, but in winter the body heat is driven  
back into the body by the surrounding cold and stays there. And this is the  
true cause why fountains are colder in summer than in winter." Now, by "sum-  
mer" I understand prosperity and by "winter" adversity. As the external heat  
draws out the body's heat to itself, just so worldly prosperity draws to itself  
man's love which ought to be directed to God; but in the winter of adversity,  
that is, in sickness and such, it retains the fire of love and closes it within  
itself. The truth of this is shown in that sickness makes man love God, scorn  
the world, and desire heaven more than does prosperity or health.

O. 47 sicut] nec M; ut R.W. igne] igni O. 49 maceratur] frangitur C. 54 vidit] videt O. ad(2)] om O. 60 unam] add christus O. 67 mortem] amorem C. 68 plorat] ploret O. 69–70 Soliloquio] add 27 O. 74 specialiter] om G. 76 London et Coventre] om x.y.Jo.; story om B4.; lond' ebor' et huiusmodi Co; london ebor' norwic' coventr' et huiusmodi Li; london colcestr' et huiusmodi Cambridge; london norwic' coventr' et huiusmodi Go2; vlixbone etc. Madrid. All full manuscripts recorded. 82 in] om O. 84 ex] add quadam O. 91 punietur vel] om O. 94 domina] om O. igitur] ergo O. 100 ad(2)] om O. 103 unum] om O. malum] M garbles the phrase: cereum sicut magnum navis. 104 maiorem] om O. 104–105 illuminare] illuminari O. 121 fiet] fiat O. 126 consimili] simili O. 135 facit] add etiam O. 137 et(1)] om O. 138 etc.] om O.

## II.vii DE MEMBRIS PACIENCIE

[C]irca autem membra paciencie sciendum quod ista sunt compassio proximi et pietas, pax cordis et tranquillitas.

De compassione autem et pietate erga proximum dicit Ieronimus: "Deus, inquit, vult quod alterius angustias ut tuas sentire habes; et sicut tibi velles subveniri, sic propter Deum proxim(o) in necessitate subvenias." Ovis naturali instinctu quando consortem suam in fervore solis vel frigiditatis conspicit iacere circa fetum laborantem, umbram sibi facit contra calorem et contra frigus interponit seipsam, ut sic adiuta ad pascua consurgat. Revera sic ex compassione tenetur homo proximo in necessitate compati et pro posse iuvare; sicut [f. 25] Christus fecit, qui tantum compaciebatur humano generi quod tandem ut illud ab omni labe curaret mortuus est, sicut inferius patebit quando agitur de dilectione et compassione Christi erga hominem, et similiter de eius passione. Quia satis concordat cum ista materia, et ideo transeo.

De pace autem cordis, quod est secundum membrum virtutis paciencie, est sciendum secundum Augustinum quod illa est "serenitas mentis, tranquillitas animi, simplicitas cordis, vinculum amoris"; "nec ad hereditatem Christi pervenire poteris qui testamentum pacis nolueris servare." Nam si in Ecclesia militante excommunicantur qui testamentum temporale impediunt, multo magis qui impediunt sive dirimunt testamentum Christi, quod est pax. Ipse enim Christus rector Ecclesie triumphantis discipulis suis illam legavit dicens, Iohannis 14: "Pacem meam do vobis, pacem meam relinquo vobis."

Est autem sciendum quod ad veram pacem servandam necesse est facere sicut quando aliquod castrum in pugnatur ab aliquo magno, cui dominus castri non poterit resistere nisi securius ordinaverit de castro et maxime ab intra: necessarium est ° primo ut consideret utrum in castro sint aliqui

Third, sickness cools down lustful people. As a teacher who takes an insolent student by his ears, lashes his hand with a switch, and finally gives him a flogging so that he may pay more attention, so does Christ our teacher.

10 Prov. 15.1. 16 Ps. 4.2. 26–27 Matt. 5.10. 27–30 Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.48 (PL 23:291), from Classical sources. 37–38 Gen. 3.10. 41 Job 1.21. 42–45 Conflation of Tubach 4810 and 3364 with VP V.14 (PL 73:956–957). 46–49 Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.xiii.2. 52 Rom. 12.21. 70–71 Isidore, *Synonyma* I.29 (PL 83:834). 71–72 2 Cor. 12.9. 96–97 James 1.12. 102–105 Also in Bromyard, "Penitencia," P.VII.75. 107–108 Job 13.15. 108–110 VP VII.xx.2 (PL 73:1045). 113–115 Perhaps Gregory, *Moralia* XXVI.xxi.37 (PL 76:370–371) and elsewhere, quoting Phil. 1.21. 116–122 Aristotle, *Problemata* XXXV.4 (964b–965a).

## II.vii THE MEMBERS OF PATIENCE

Regarding the members of patience we must know that these are compassion and pity with our neighbor, peace and tranquillity of heart.

Of compassion and pity for our neighbor Jerome says: "God wants that you feel another person's worries as if they were your own; and just as you would wish to be helped, so you should help your neighbor in his need for God's sake." When a sheep sees its mate lying in the heat of the sun or in the blast of cold concerned about its offspring, out of its natural instinct it places itself so as to give shade against the heat or shelter against the cold, so that its mate is protected and rises to feed. In the same way, a human being must, out of compassion, have pity on his neighbor in his need and help him as much as possible. Christ acted this way, who had such pity for mankind that in the end he died in order to heal it from all disgrace, as will be shown further on when we deal with Christ's love and compassion for man, and likewise with his Passion. That is quite pertinent to the present topic, so I pass it for now.

About peace of heart, which is the second member of the virtue of patience, we must know that according to Augustine it is "serenity of the mind, tranquillity of the soul, singlemindedness of heart, and the bond of love"; "and no one can come to the inheritance of Christ who will not keep his testament of peace." If in the Militant Church people are excommunicated who block the carrying out of a temporal testament, much more so will this be the case with those who thwart the last will of Christ, which is peace. For he, the ruler of the Triumphant Church, gave it to his disciples when he said, in John 14: "My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you."

But we must know that in order to keep true peace it is necessary to act in the same manner as one acts when a castle is attacked by a powerful lord: the castle's owner cannot resist against him unless he carefully puts his

pacem illius perturbantes; secundo si quos tales invenerit, debet eos extra castrum suum eicere et de illo iusticiam facere; tercio debet castrum suum fortiter munire, ita scilicet quod non habent necesse extra illud ire; quarto debet ipsum firmum et clausum tenere. Revera sic ex parte ista, quia enim vulgariter dicitur: "Bonum castrum bene custodit qui cor suum bene custodit."

Ideo ad veram pacem cordis habendam est necessario primo frequens cordis et consciencie discussio, ut scilicet diligenter consideretur si quid est in corde quod eius pacem perturbat, quod fit quando homo considerat vilitatem peccati et conteritur de eodem. Ideo Ysaie 1 dicitur: "Redite, prevaricatores, ad cor." Secundo debet tale quid eicere per confessionem et iusticiam facere per satisfactionem, quia dicitur in Psalmo: [f. 25v] "Non est pax ossibus meis a facie peccatorum meorum." Tercio debet castrum illud bene munire et instaurare per voluntariam paupertatem, que mundum et eius avariciam contempnit nec querit refectionem nisi in solo Deo et que necessaria sunt, quia Iohannis 14 dicitur: "In mundo pressuram, in me pacem habebitis." Paciencia enim cordis castrum (munit) armis et cibariis <sup>o</sup> quando lapides duros, hoc est <sup>o</sup> angustias et tribulaciones, convertit in cibum; ideo de paciente dicitur: "Saturabitur opprobriis." Quarto necessarium est illud firmum et clausum tenere, quod facit quando sensus hominis restringuntur ab illicitis; sensus enim sunt quasi porte cordis, per quos hostes ingredi possunt. Qui autem pacem perturbant maxime in illo sunt carnales concupiscencie, prout dicitur Iacobi 4: "Unde bella et lites in vobis? Nonne ex concupiscenciis que militant in membris vestris?" Intra igitur "mors per fenestras." Et ideo bene dicitur Luce 4: "Cum fortis armatus," scilicet armis paciencie, "custodit atrium suum," scilicet cor cum sensibus firmiter clausum, "revera in pace sunt omnia."

Set timeo quod multi veram pacem dissimulant addentes falsam pacem, de quibus Ieremia dicitur: "Dicunt pax, pax, et non est pax." Unde tales sunt similes cani feroci qui cauda applaudit homini ut eum subtilius mordeat; similiter lupo famelico qui ludit cum lepore ut strangulat. Unde dicit Beda: "In summa pace, inquit, natus est Christus ut illam summe dilligere ostenderet; in sua enim nativitate pax erat in universa terra testante angelo qui dixit: 'Gloria in excelsis Deo et in terra pax hominibus bone voluntatis.'"

Et ideo caveant pacis perturbatores ne illis eveniat sicut semel contigit de duobus talibus. Narratur enim de duobus vicinis [f. 26] in proximo manentibus et in continua lite per(severa)ntibus, qui nulla ratione possent concordar(i). Imo suo confessori responderunt se cicius in inferno sine fine permansuros quam alter alteri condonaret. Cum igitur cito post una vice simul subito mortui sunt, et iste sacerdos Deum devote rogasset de illorum statu scire, cito ductus est in spiritu per angelum ad quandam locum ubi vidit quandam fornacem sulphure et pice bullientem, a quo surre-

castle in order, and especially its conditions inside. First he must diligently see whether there are any people in the castle who disturb its peace; second, if he finds any, he must expel them from the castle and do justice to them; third, he must fortify his castle, so that there is no need to go outside; and fourth, he must keep it strong and closed. All this applies to us, for the proverb says: "He keeps a good castle who guards his heart well."

Thus, in order to have true peace of heart, the first thing needed is frequent examination of one's heart and conscience, that is, to see diligently if there is anything in one's heart which disturbs its peace. This is done by reflecting on the wickedness of sin and repenting. Therefore Isaiah 1 says: "Return, O sinners, to your heart." Next one must expel any such matter through confession and do justice through satisfaction, for in the Psalm it is said: "There is no peace for my bones in the face of my sins." Third, one must fortify and repair that castle through voluntary poverty, which scorns the world and its greed and seeks no refreshment other than in God and the things that are needed, for John 14 says: "In the world you will have distress, in me, peace." For patience provides the castle of our heart with arms and food when it turns hard stones, that is, anxieties and tribulations, into food; for which it is said that the patient person "feeds on reproaches." And in the fourth place it is necessary to keep our castle firm and closed, which happens when one's senses are withdrawn from illicit things, for our senses are, as it were, the gates of our heart through which our enemies can enter. But those who most disturb its peace inside are fleshly desires, as is said in James 4: "Whence are these wars and strife among us? Are they not from our lusts that war in our members?" For death enters "through the windows." And therefore it is well said in Luke 4: "When a strong man armed," that is, with the arms of patience, "keeps his court," that is, his heart firmly closed with its senses, "in truth all things are in peace."

But I fear that many people simulate true peace and put on false peace, about whom Jeremiah says: "They say, 'Peace, peace,' and there is no peace." Such people are like a fierce dog who wags his tail at a man so that he can bite him more easily; or like a hungry wolf who plays with a rabbit in order to strangle it. Wherefore Bede says: "Christ was born at the moment of greatest peace, to show that he loved it above all else; for at his birth there was peace in the whole world, as the angel testified when he said: 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace to men of good will.'"

Therefore, let the disturbers of peace beware that they may not experience what two such people once did. For there is a story about two neighbors who lived close to each other and were constantly at strife, who could in no way come to an agreement. Even to their confessor they said they would rather stay in hell forever than that one should forgive the other. Soon thereafter they both died together. When their confessor devoutly prayed to God that he might learn about their condition, he was led in the spirit by an angel to a place

xerunt duo homines terribiles cum gladiis ignitis invicem confligentes et seipos in frustra conscindentes, que quidem demon colligens in fornacem reiecit; quo facto post bullicionem cito surrexerunt iterum et sicut dicitur supra secundo et tercio fecerunt. Tunc dixit sibi angelus: "Isti sunt illi duo vicini qui numquam pacem in terris habuerunt, set locum istum cicius elegerunt," etc. Non sic, karissimi, set cum Ecclesia Dei clamemus: "Da pacem, Domine, in diebus nostris." Quia certe si vera pax fuerit inter vos, revera tunc sequitur pro suo fine illa Dei benedictio que dicitur Matthei: "Beati pacifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur."

80 Et certe sicut habetur Ad Galatas: "Si filius et heres per Deum," quasi diceret, qui per veram pacienciam et pacem filii Dei fuerunt, "per ipsum Deum et heredes erunt regni celestis." Illud autem satis care pro nobis emit a Patre et per hanc cartam confirmavit:

85 "Sciant presentes et futuri, omnes qui sunt in celo et in terra ac in inferno, quod ego Christus, Filius Dei Patris et Marie Virginis, verus Deus et homo, pro hereditate mea ° iniuste et prodiciose a meis ablata diuque sub manu adversarii detenta teste toto mundo in stadio pugnavi, adversarium devici, victoriam optinui, et hereditatem meam iuste recuperavi, seisinam in Parasceves cum heredibus meis accepi, habendum et tenendum in longitudo et in latitudine [f. 26v] in eternum secundum quod dispositum est a Patre libere et quiete, annuatim, et continue reddendo Deo Patri cor mundum et animam puram. In cuius rei testimonium hanc presentem cartam sanguine proprio conscripsi, legi, et per totum mundum publicavi, sigillumque divinitatis mee apposui, cum testimonio Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti; nam 95 hii tres unum sunt qui testimonium dant in celo. Scripta, lecta, confirmata, et generi humano tradita feria sexta Parasceves supra montem Calvarie, publice et aperte, in eternum duratura, anno a creacione mundi 5(2)32." Quam nobis concedat Iesus Christus. Amen.

100 Quia ergo illa in parte que de humilitate supra dicta sunt ad virtutem paciencie reduci possunt et e contrario, ideo hec dicta ad presens de ira et paciencia sufficiunt. Et sic terminatur secunda pars principalis istius libelli.

1 paciencie] *add est O.* 4 sentire habes] sentire O; sencias B1.B2; sentire debeas Go; sustineas Et.Co. 5 proximo] proximum C. 13 Quia satis] satis enim O. 14 et] *om O.* 18 poteris . . . nolueris] poterit . . . noluerit M.R; poterint . . . noluerint W. servare] observare O. 20 impediunt sive] *om O.* 22 meam(2)] *om O.* 26 poterit] potest O. 27 est] *add eciam C. ut] add diligenter O.* 29 suum] *om O.* 37 de eodem] *om O.* 44 munit] vincit C. 44-45 cibariis] *add repletum C.* 45 est] *add quando C.* 55 pacem(2)] *om O.* 56 dicitur] *om O.* 65 perseverantibus] permanentibus C. 66 concordari] concordare C. 68 sacerdos] *om O.* devote] devocius O. 72 conscindentes] concidentes M; conscidentes R.W. quidem] quidam O. 86 mea] *add detenta C.* 95 unum] *om O.* 97 5232] 5432 C.

where he saw a cauldron boiling with sulphur and pitch; from it rose two horrible men who fought with each other with fiery swords and cut each other into pieces, which a demon then picked up and threw back into the cauldron; and after being boiled they soon rose again and did a second and third time what has been described. Then the angel said to the priest: "These are the two neighbors who never had peace on earth but rather chose this place," etc. Let us not act this way, dearly beloved, but call out with God's Church: "Give peace, O Lord, in our days!" For surely, if there is true peace among us, that blessing from God will follow in the end which is mentioned in Matthew: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called children of God."

And surely, as we find in Galatians, "if a son, also an heir through God"; as if to say: those who were God's sons through true patience and peace, "will through God also be heirs of the kingdom of heaven." For he bought that kingdom very dearly for us from the Father, and he confirmed it through the following charter:

"Let all present and to come, all who are in heaven, on earth, and in hell, know that I, Christ, Son of God the Father and of the Virgin Mary, true God and man, have fought before the whole world in the arena for my inheritance that was taken from me unjustly and by treason and kept for a long time in the hand of my enemy. I have overcome my enemy, gained the victory, and rightly recovered my heritage; and on Good Friday I have taken possession of it with my heirs, to have and to hold, in length and in breadth, forever, as it has been disposed by my Father, freely and in peace, yearly and always, by giving God the Father a clean heart and a pure soul. In witness thereof I have written this present charter with my own blood, read it and published it through the whole world, and sealed it with the seal of my divinity, with the witness of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, for these three are one, who give witness in heaven. Written, read, confirmed, and given to mankind on Good Friday on Mount Calvary, publicly and openly, to last forever, in the year 5232 after the Creation of the world." May Jesus Christ grant us that. Amen.

Since what has been said above in the part on humility can also be applied to the virtue of patience, and vice-versa, these remarks on wrath and patience will suffice for the moment. And thus ends the second chief part of this book.

16-18 Augustine, *Sermo suppositivus* 97 (PL 39:1931). 22-23 John 14.27. 32-33 Frequently quoted in sermons. See Bernard, *In assumptione Beatae Mariae*, sermo 2, 3 (5:233) and *De diversis*, sermo 82, 2 (6.1:322). 37-38 Isa. 46.8. 40 Ps. 37.4. 43-44 John 16.33. 46 Lam. 3.30. 50-51 James 4.1. 52 Jer. 9.21. 52-54 Luke 11.21. 56 Jer. 6.14. 61-62 Luke 2.14. 64-76 Tubach 2509. Also in Bromyard, "Pax," P.IV.27. For other occurrences taken from *FM* see *Verses*, pp. 43-44. 77 Antiphon used at Vespers, see F. Procter and C. Wordsworth (eds.), *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* (Cambridge, 1879), 1:xi and mcccxxxv. 79 Matt. 5.9. 80-82 Gal. 4.7. 84 Cf. Mary Caroline Spalding, *The Middle English Charters of Christ* (Bryn Mawr, 1914), esp. pp. 95-96.

## PARS III

### De invidia

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#### III.i QUID SIT INVIDIA

[S]equitur iam tercio principaliter ostendere de invidia, que filia diaboli est karissima sua vestigia imitando, scilicet bonum impediendo et malum promovendo. Pater enim terrenus filium sibi similiorem et corpore et moribus plus diligit ceteris. Revera sic diabolus, pater invidie, quos  
5 noverit per invidiam diligentius imitari plus diligit et appreciatur; set post quos hic plus diligit, intollerabilius cruciabit. Unde circa illam maledictam filiam diaboli, scilicet invidiam, de qua dicitur “vos ex patre diabolo estis et eius desideria perficitis,” sic intendo procedere: Primo videre quid sit invidia et quibus comparatur; secundo, que sunt eius membra et quare detestatur.  
10

Est ergo invidia contristacio aliene felicitatis et exultacio alterius ruine et adversitatis. Set revera istud est diabolicum, quia iuxta Apostolum, Romanorum 12, humanum est “gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere cum flentibus.” Set e converso miser talis invidus alienum bonum facit suum [malum]. Et ideo bene comparatur monti Ethne, qui plus nocet sibi [f. 27] ipsi quam alicui alteri. Unde metrice dicitur:

Nil aliud nisi se valet ardens Ethna cremare.  
Sic se, non alios, invidus igne coquit.

Fertur enim in libro *De naturis animalium* quod naturalis inimicitia  
20 est inter draconem et elephantem, et ideo cum simul pugnant, draco cum cauda sua circumvolvitur tibi eius et prosternit, ita quod surgere non potest. Draco iste invidus est qui cum nititur bonos devincere, si a parte antecedente proficere non potest, statim a tergo per caudam<sup>o</sup> detractionis et diffamacionis eum suffocare et prosternere non desistit.

25 Unde, ut michi videtur, bene de talibus exponi potest illud Apocalypsis 16, “Vidi, et ecce de ore draconis tres spiritus immundi exibant ad

## PART III

### Envy

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#### III.i WHAT ENVY IS

We continue, in the third part, to treat of envy, which is the most precious daughter of the devil because it follows his footsteps by hindering good and promoting evil. An earthly father loves that son more than others who is more like him in his body and behavior. Thus also the devil, the father of envy, loves and esteems those more whom he knows to follow him more eagerly in envy. But later on he will torture those more unbearably whom he now loves more. Therefore, with respect to that cursed daughter of the devil, envy, of whom is said “you are from your father, the devil, and do his will,” I intend to proceed as follows: first to see what envy is and what things it can be compared to; and second what its members are and why it must be shunned.

Envy, then, is sadness about someone else’s happiness and glee about someone else’s ruin and adversity. Surely, such an emotion is diabolical, for according to the Apostle, Romans 12, it is human “to rejoice with those who rejoice and to weep with those who weep.” But an envious wretch, in contrast, makes someone else’s good into an evil for himself. Therefore, he can be compared to Mount Etna, which does more harm to itself than to anyone else, as is said in the verse:

Nought else but itself is flaming Etna able to burn.  
Just so the envious man cooks himself, not others, on fire.

The book *On the Nature of Animals* reports that there is natural enmity between the dragon and the elephant; when they fight with each other, the dragon wraps his tail around the elephant’s leg and makes him fall so that he cannot rise again. This dragon is the envious person who, when he wants to bring down good people and cannot succeed from in front, at once tries to strangle them from behind with the tail of backbiting and defamation and thus to make them fall.



modum ranarum, facientes signa (et procedentes) ad reges congregare illos in prelium." Rane enim, sicut scitis, sunt animalia saltancia, horribilia, in paludibus habitancia, contra ventos et tempestates crocitantia. Et bene signant tales invidos, qui quasi continue de loco ad locum saltant explorantes ubi melius venenum suum evomere possunt. Set magis habitant in paludibus quam in aliis locis amenis, eo quod talis invidus plus gaudet de aqua tribulacionis et desolacionis proximi quam de amenitate sue prosperitatis et gaudii. Crocitant eciam naturaliter rane contra tempestates et pluvias. Nam quando invidus tempestatem ruine, diffamacionis, et desolacionis proximi audierit, statim os eius aperitur clamans et crocicans, atque addens mala que poterit. Set adverte quod in figura istarum "exibant tres spiritus inmundi de ore draconis," ad designandum quod tres sunt condiciones pessime in invidio que ad malum proximi continue ex eius ore exeunt.

30 Prima condicio est quod libenter dicet bona de proximo set mala intencione, ut scilicet audientes credant ipsum diligere de quo loquitur, ut sic postea non habeatur suspectus eciam si dicat mala, [f. 27v] set quod hoc facit pro sui correctione, amore, et caritate. Secunda condicio est quod quando mala loqui intendit, hoc modo incipiet: "Revera, inquiet, penitet me quod aliquid contra eum me dicere oportet, videre vel audire, et tamen bene scio quod talia commisit et talia." Tercio condicio est hec, secundum Augustinum, quod primo illum quem intendit diffamare et in fama denigrare, commendabit ut ei cicius credatur. Set istud est vicium secundum eum periculosissimum, eo quod non potest remitti sine debita satisfacione et restitucione fame, quod non potest forte quia frequenter contingit quod illi quibus talia de proximo narrant postea numquam videbunt. Unde de isto vicio Sapientie 2 scribitur: "Invidia diaboli mors intravit in orbem terrarum."

45 Set forte dicis: "Numquam per invidiam diffamacio, bonorum destructio, aut mors hanc terram intravit." Palpate, dico, et videte. Credo enim quod nisi invidia fuisset, non fuisset talis terra in mundo. Nonne vidimus—set absit quod umquam in eternum iterum videamus—, si aliquis bene fuerit cum rege vel alio magno, quod tanta fiet invidia aliorum quod numquam cessabunt malum loqui et dicere quia proditor est, regnum decipiet, et huiusmodi, quousque ad mortem esset adductus? Nonne hoc vidimus? Et quod verum hoc sit, testificare poterimus. Si eciam loquamur de minoribus hominibus, nonne inter illos regnat invidia? Rogo, videte. Volo quod hic sit unus simplex nesciens leges aut brigas fovere, vivens in innocencia et simplicitate, habens unam carucam terre aut acram aut saltem aream edificatam in villa ubi manet, quam desiderat potencior eo quia forte iacet prope domum aut terras eius. Si igitur iste simplex illud sibi vendere aut committere noluerit, rogo quid faciet? Nonne ballivos et hundredos ad(ibat) et eum indictabit quod fur est et homicida aut proditor civitatis aut regni? Per quod sic ad terram iniuste deveniet vel simplicem istum suspendi [f. 28]

Whence it seems to me that one can apply to such people the words of Revelation 16: "I saw, and behold three unclean spirits issued from the dragon's mouth like frogs, working signs and going to the kings of the earth to gather them for battle." Frogs, as you know, are animals that jump, are horrible to look at, live in swamps, and croak against storms and bad weather. They can well symbolize envious people who, as it were, constantly jump from place to place and see where they can spit out their venom best. But they live in swamps rather than in other, pleasant places, because an envious person takes greater pleasure in the turbid water of his neighbor's tribulation and anxiety than in the pleasure of his prosperity and joy. Furthermore, frogs by nature croak at the coming of storms and rain. For when an envious person hears of the storm of his neighbor's ruin, loss of reputation, or anxiety, he at once opens his mouth and cries out, croaks, and adds whatever evil he can. But notice that under the biblical image of these frogs "three unclean spirits issued from the mouth of the dragon," to show that in an envious person there are three very evil characteristics which constantly issue from his mouth to the harm of his neighbor. The first is that he will gladly speak well of his neighbor but with an evil intention, namely that his hearers should think he loves the person of whom he speaks, so that later on he may not sound suspect when he says evil things, but rather as if he were doing this for that person's correction and out of love. The second characteristic is that, when he intends to say bad things, he will begin as follows: "Alas, I am sorry that I must say, see, or hear anything bad about him; but I know for sure that he has done such and such." The third characteristic, according to Augustine, is that he will first praise the person whose reputation he plans to ruin and denigrate, so that he will be more readily believed. But his, according to Augustine, is a most dangerous vice, because it cannot be forgiven without making due satisfaction and restoring the person's good reputation, which the detractor perhaps cannot do because it often happens that he will never again see the people whom he has told such things about his neighbor. Therefore it is written in Wisdom 2 about this vice: "Through the devil's envy death has entered the world."

But perhaps you say, "Never has slander, the destruction of goods, or death through envy entered *this* country." Consider, I say, and look closely. I believe that, if it were not for envy, there would be no country like ours in the world. Do we not see—but God forbid that ever until eternity we should see it again!—that if someone has been in favor with the king or another great lord, the envy of others will grow so much that they will never cease from speaking evil and saying, "He is a traitor, he will deceive the reign," and so forth, until he is led to his death? Do we not see this? And we could testify that this is true. Further, if we are to speak about the humbler classes, does not envy rule among them? Look, I pray. Suppose there is a simple man who does not know the law or how to start a lawsuit, who lives in innocence and



faciet. Sicut talis tyrannus semel cuidam simplici dixit propter terram  
70 <suam: "Voveo, inquit, Deo, terram illam> michi dabis aut vendas aut permu-  
tabis, vel tu facies *a mow on the moone*," hoc est, tu eris suspensus per  
collum, etc.

Set caveant tales, quia de talibus vere dixit Christus: "Vos ex patre  
diabolo estis." Et ideo dicit Augustinus: "Invidia, inquit, cunctas vir-  
75 tutes eradicat et concremat, animamque perdicioni tradit et ipsam diabolo  
associat." Et ideo dicit Gregorius: "Dum invidi augmenta aliene prosperita-  
tis inspiciunt, aput semetipsos anxius afflicti cordis <sui> peste moriun-  
tur."

Et tamen mirum est quia quicquid per invidiam faciunt ad dampnum  
80 proximi °, satis tamen aperte se excusare sciunt, quod non faciunt hoc  
propter invidiam aut malum set propter bonum alterius, sicut se excusavit  
Dionisius Syracusanus templa deorum suorum expoliando. Unde narrat beatus  
Ieronimus in quadam epistola ad Paulinum quod quidam Dionisius nomine  
85 templum deorum intrans, videns statuam quandam extenso brachio manum pro-  
tendentem, cuius digitum anulus aureus ambiebat. Habebat eciam hec statua  
barbam auream, ac clamide aure[a] erat induta. Quod videns Dionisius ille  
tyrannus, primo anulum de manu statue abstulit et super digitum suum po-  
suit. Secundo barbam abrasit et penes se abscondit. Tercio a clamide illam  
exiit et secum asportavit. Cumque super hoc quidam sapiens et fidelis illum  
90 arguisset, hoc modo se excusavit: "Anulum, inquit, accepi eo quod illum  
michi liberaliter optulit, in cuius signum manum cum brachio curialiter sua  
gracia protendit. Barbam abstuli, quia verecundum est filio esse b(a)rbatum  
[et] patrem inberbem. (Erat enim tunc Exculapius, pater eius, inberbis.)  
Clamidem vero asportavi auream, quia nimis ponderosa est in estate et nimis  
95 frigida in yeme, et sic [f. 28v] clamidem meam dedi sibi laneam pro utroque  
tempore satis sibi aptam."

Revera spiritualiter ita est de istis invidis. Si enim sit aliqua domus  
religiosorum de qua annonam optant habere, numquam cessabunt clamare:  
"Rustici illi sunt nimis pingues; oportet quod laxentur." Unde vel mit-  
100 te[n]t suos ribaldos et equos ad morandum, vel ipsimet venient cum maxima  
comitiva ad maneria sua vel domum propriam, et ill(a)m expensis nimium  
excessivis excoriant et depauperant. Si ergo abbas, prior, vel alius prela-  
tus offerat alicui tali dextrarium, palefridum, sive maximam summam pecu-  
nie, ut scilicet ab huiusmodi inceptis desistant, videtur eis quod huiusmo-  
105 di iuste lucrantur, eo quod eis offertur, et dicunt quod ibi nulla est  
invidia. Quod falsum est, quia nisi eorum voluntatem haberent, numquam ex  
<nimia> invidie malicia cessarent tales innocentes destruere. Dicunt eciam  
tales quando vident in bonis Ecclesie <sic> ecclesiasticos habundare: "Ut  
quid, inquit, tanti rustici tanta bona occupant, rege indigente et terra  
110 blado, pecunia, et aliis diviciis carere? Si enim talia haberemus, in

simplemindedness. He owns one carucate of land or an acre or perhaps a built-  
up lot in the village where he lives, which is coveted by someone more powerful  
than he is, perhaps because it lies close to the latter's house or lands. If  
the lower-class citizen does not want to sell or make over his property, what I  
pray will his more powerful neighbor do? Will he not go to the bailiffs or the  
hundred-court and accuse him of being a thief or murderer or traitor to his  
town or the realm? This way he will come unjustly to the land or have that  
lower-class citizen hanged, just as such a tyrant once said to a peasant for  
the sake of the latter's land: "I swear to God," he said, "you will either  
give, sell, or swap that land with me, or else 'grin at the moon,' " that is to  
say, you will at once be hung by your neck.

But let such people beware, for in truth Christ said of them: "You are  
from your father, the devil." And thus Augustine says: "Envy uproots and  
burns all the virtues; it gives the soul over to perdition and makes it a  
companion of the devil." And Gregory says: "When the envious see an increase  
in someone else's wealth, they become tormented in themselves and die from the  
plague in their own heart."

And yet it is a wonder that whatever they do out of envy to their neigh-  
bor's harm, they yet know how to excuse themselves quite openly that they are  
not doing such a thing out of envy or ill-will, but rather for the benefit of  
the other person, just as Dionysius of Syracuse rationalized his plundering the  
temple of his gods. Blessed Jerome tells in a letter to Paulinus that a  
certain Dionysius entered a temple of the gods where he saw a statue stretching  
out its hand from its extended arm, on whose finger was a gold ring. This  
statue also had a gold beard and was clothed in a gold cloak. When the tyrant  
Dionysius saw that, he first took the ring from the statue's hand and put it on  
his own finger. Next he shaved off the beard and hid it on himself. Thirdly  
he took off the cloak and carried it away with him. When a wise and faithful  
man confronted him on this, he rationalized as follows: "I took the ring  
because the statue generously offered it to me, since it courteously and gra-  
ciously stretched out its hand and arm. I took away its beard because it is  
shameful for a son to be bearded while his father is beardless. (For at that  
time Aesculapius, his father, was beardless.) But its gold cloak I carried  
away because it is too heavy in summer and too cold in winter, and thus I gave  
the statue my own cloak of wool, which is very suitable for both seasons."

Thus it goes spiritually with the envious. For if there is any religious  
house from which they want to get an annual rent, they will never stop shout-  
ing: "Those peasants are pretty fat; they ought to be relieved." Hence they  
will either send their menials and horses to stay there or they will come  
themselves to their manors or house with a very large retinue and skin and im-  
poverish it by exorbitant expenses. When the abbot, prior, or another prelate  
then offers one of them a charger or a saddle horse or a large sum of money, so

nulla causa aut necessitate neque terram in desolacione dimitteremus." Set hoc est falsum, quia quicquid faciunt aut dicunt est per invidiam, eo quod fertilius est illis quam sibi.

115 Secundo, si sit aliquis iuuenis mercator in aliqua civitate extraneus, forte de pauperibus extractus, sciolus tamen et providus et in omni prosperitate constitutus, quem intelligo per barbam auream—nonne statim alii de villa oriundi sibi invidiebunt dicentes: "Unde sibi tot divicias congregare? Non potest esse quod bene sit." Et sic ex precogitata invidia ponent talem in officio aliquo per quod, velit nolit, in arragium cadet et sic bona

120 sua perdet et pau- [f. 29] perrimus deveniet. Super quo si arguantur, dicunt quod hoc fecerunt pro salute anime sue, ad deponendum avariciam et superbiam de novo in eo inceptam. Et sic barbam prosperitatis abradere non desistunt. Set caveant, quia maledicti et non excusati sunt huiusmodi barbitonsores, quia nimis prope radunt maxillas.

125 Tercio pono quod sit iuxta aliquem talem aliquis simplex vel pauper, qui habet loco clamidis porcionem terre, ut predictum est, per quam indigentiis suis cooperitur, sicut corpus clamide deaurato. Velit igitur nolit, cum tali magno invido commutabit pro clamide lanea, hoc est, pro precio minori, nisi velit confundi. Et si super hoc arguatur, quare sic pauperem

130 decepit, respondet statim quod pro eo plus fecit quam noverit cogitare, eo quod sibi dedit pro illa terram sibi viciniorem, et per consequens sibi est aprior tam in estate quam in yeme.

Set de istis excusacionibus invidis et falsis dicitur Iohannis 15:

135 "Excusacionem non habent de peccato." Et nota de invidia Saulis contra David postquam prostravit Goliath, Regum 18; similiter de invidia fratrum Ioseph erga eum sine merito, Genesis 37; similiter de invidia Philistinorum erga Sampsonem pro sua fortitudine, Iudi(cum 16); similiter de invidia Babiloniorum contra Danielelem, Danielis 9, et huiusmodi.

140 Sic ergo patet quid est invidia, quia pessima filia diaboli, de prosperitate proximi dolens et de malo gaudens. [Et ideo sic Anglice possum dicere, ut michi videtur:

145 Sithen þis world was ful of onde,  
Trewth and love has leyn in bonde.  
Wherfore, þou Lord þat art aboue,  
Lethe þat bonde and sende vs loue.]

5 diligencius] solicius O. 7 dicitur] om O. 8 perficitis] perficietis O. 14–15 malum] om v; text B1.E and others. 15 ipsi] om O. 16 Unde . . . dicitur] versus O. 23 antecedente] ante O; add et aperte O. caudam] add draconis idest C. 27 et procedentes] ad precedent C. 31 magis] plus O. 36 et] om O. 41 diligere] add alium O. 55 non . . .

that they will desist from their undertaking, it looks to them as if they have earned it by right because it is offered to them, and they claim that there is no envy in this. All of which is false, for unless they have their will, they would never, in the great malice of their envy, refrain from destroying these innocent people. For when churchmen thus appear to have plenty of church goods, they say: "Why do these peasants have so many goods while our king is in need and our country lacks grain, money, and other riches? If we had those possessions, we would not leave king and country desolate in any conflict or need." But this is false, for whatever they do or say is motivated by envy, since these goods are more profitable to others than to themselves.

Second, if there is a young merchant, a stranger in some town, perhaps come from poor stock yet smart and flourishing in prosperity—which I understand by the gold beard—, will not at once other townspeople rise up and become envious of him and say: "How come he can gather so many riches for himself? These things cannot be right!" And thus, in their envious scheming, they will put such a man in some office where, willy-nilly, he will fall into arrears and thereby lose his goods and become poor. When they are accused of this, they say that they have done this for the salvation of his soul, to put down the greed and pride that have recently grown in him. And thus they do not refrain from shaving off the beard of prosperity. But let them beware, for barbers of this type are cursed and not excused, because they shave too close.

Third, let us suppose that next to such an envious person lives a simple or poor man who, instead of the cloak, has a piece of land, as was said earlier, with which he covers his needs just as the body is covered with a golden cloak. Willy-nilly, he will exchange it with the envious person of greater rank for a woolen cloak, that is, for a lower price, lest he be totally ruined. And if the great man is taken to task for thus cheating the poor, he will at once reply that he has done more for him than he could imagine, because for that piece of land he has given him one that is closer and therefore more suitable for him in summer and winter.

But with regard to such envious and false excuses it is said in John 15: "They have no excuse for their sin." And notice the envy of Saul against David after he overcame Goliath, Kings 18; similarly the envy which the brothers of Joseph held against him without cause, Genesis 37; likewise the envy of the Philistines against Samson on account of his strength, Judges 16; and again the envy of the Babylonians against Daniel, Daniel 9, and similar cases.

Thus it is clear what envy is like, the most evil daughter of the devil, which grieves at the prosperity of one's neighbor and rejoices at his harm. And thus I can say in English, as it seems to me:

Since envy spread o'er the world its reign,  
Truth and love in bonds have lain.

mundo] talis terra(*interl*) tante quantitatis(*corr*) non fuisset in mundo R and similarly M.W. 57 fiet] fuit M.W; sit R. 60 testificare] estimare M.R. 63 aut(2)] vel O. 66 adibit] adhibet C. 67 est] *om* O. 68 quod] *add* vel O. 70 suam . . . illam] tuam venio quam C. 72 etc.] immediate O. 77 sui] sue C. 80 proximi] *add* faciunt C. faciunt] *om* O. 81 malum] *add* hoc dicunt aut faciunt O. 85 eciam] *add* et O. 91 sua] sui O. 92 barbatum] *berbatum* C. 96 sibi] *om* O. 101 illam] illum C. 107 nimia] minima C. eciam] enim O. 108 vident] videntur M.W; videtur R. sic] sicut C.M.W. ecclesiasticos] ecclesiasticus O. 109 iniqui] *om* O. 110 carere] carente Et.Go1.Go2.Co and others. haberemus] *add* regem here or after necessitate: B1.B4.L3.Go2 and others. 124 nimis] *add* de O. 131–132 est aprior] apciorem O. 134 Et] pro huiusmodi ergo invidia O. 137 Iudicum 16] iudith 10 C. 140–145 Et . . . loue] text from R. Verse 20, in B3.E.Go2.L1.L2. LC.R.W1.

### III.ii QUIBUS INVIDIA COMPARATUR

[S]ecundo, circa comparacionem invidie est sciendum quod bene comparatur cuidam lapidi nomine beloculus, qui secundum Ysidorum 16 *Ethimologiarum* est similis oculo animalis, qui albus est in circuitu et niger in medio. Set ut michi videtur bene potest dici oculus diaboli. Beel est nomen demonis, sic-  
 5 ut patet Danielis 14 et Luce 11. [f. 29v] Unde convenienter lapis ille signat invidum, quia maxima occasio invidie surgit ab illis que videntur. Set oculus talis est albus in circuitu quando videt in proximo ubique bonum, et tamen in medio niger est, hoc est in corde inde tristatur. Unde  
 10 est oculus valde infirmus qui nichil boni potest videre sine dolore, iuxta illud Ecclesiastici 14: “Nequam est oculus invidi.” De illo ergo lapide beloculo, ut michi videtur, facit sibi diabolus lapidem molarem, quo scilicet utuntur fabri, cuius natura est quod omne quod ei opponitur corrodit et minuit. Revera sic invidus bonum quod videt in proximo studet quomodo pos-  
 15 set corrodere et minuere. Et tamen sicut videmus quod huiusmodi lapides non corrodunt ferrum sine sui lesione, certe sic nec invidus, imo primo nocet sibi ipsi. Set illi qui hunc lapidem vertunt sunt tales pokerelle semper ad malum instigantes dicendo: “Expelle talem vel talem de domo aut civitate. Unde sibi tantum ditari, pro fortitudine aut sciencia tantum laudari? Verecundum valde est tibi ut ipse sic laudes tibi debitas impediatur.” Et tamen,  
 20 ut communiter, tales miseri quicquid de malo erga proximum machinantur, in seipsos retorquetur; Ecclesiastici 27: “Qui statuit lapidem proximo, offendit.”

Secundo comparatur invidia cuidam infirmitati que vocatur *jaundys*, que oritur ex inordinato calore epatis. Unde et in dextro latere ubi epar iacet  
 25 maxime est istius infirmitatis molestia. Revera sic molestia invidorum non est in sinistra parte, per quam adversitas designatur, quia non dolent invidi de adversitate proximi, set de prosperitate, que intelligitur per dex-

Therefore, O Lord, who art above,  
 Loosen those bonds and send us love!

7–8 John 8.44. 13–14 Rom. 12.15. 17–18 *Prov* 16669; *In* 11776. 19–22 Pliny, *Hist. naturalis* VIII.xi.32 and VIII.xii.33. 26–28 Rev. 16.13–14. 52 *Wisd.* 2.24. 61–72 For a tale similar to this moralization, see English *Gesta Romanorum*, pp. 386–387. 73–74 John 8.44. 74–76 Ps.-Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo*, sermo 18 (PL 40:1264). 82–96 *Tubach* 4614. Also in: Bromyard, “Rapina,” R.I.22; Holcot, *In Sapi-entiam*, lect. 176; CUL MS Kk.4.24, fol. 188. The Jerome reference may be to *Ep.* 85, which contains a reference to Dionysius. 134 John 15.22. 134–135 1 Sam. 18.6–9. 135–136 Gen. 37. 136–137 *Judg.* 16. 137–138 Dan. 6.

### III.ii WHAT THINGS ENVY CAN BE COMPARED TO

In the second place, with regard to similitudes for envy, notice that the vice can well be compared to a stone called *beloculus*, which according to Isidore, *Etymologies*, 16, is like the eye of an animal, which is white all around and black in the middle. But I think it may well be called the devil’s eye. For Bel is the name of a demon, as is shown in Daniel 14 and Luke 11. For this reason that stone fittingly symbolizes an envious person, because the greatest occasion for envy arises from things that one sees. Such an eye is white all around because the envious person sees the good everywhere in his neighbor, and yet it is black in the middle because he is thereby saddened in his heart. Hence such an eye is very sick, for it cannot see any good without pain, according to Ecclesiasticus 14: “The eye of the envious is wicked.” From this stone *beloculus*, as it seems to me, the devil makes for himself a grindstone, such as craftsmen use, whose nature it is that it gnaws off and diminishes everything one holds against it. Thus, indeed, the envious person strives to gnaw off and diminish as much as he can the good that he sees in his neighbor. And yet we observe that such stones do not gnaw off iron without hurting themselves. This is also true of an envious person: above anything else he causes harm to himself. But those who turn the grindstone are those *pokerels* who always instigate evil and say, “Drive this man or that from his house or the town. How come he is getting so rich, or is being so much praised for his strength or knowledge? It is shameful for you that he should interfere with praises that belong to you.” Nonetheless, it usually happens that whatever evil these wretches devise against their neighbor will return to themselves; Ecclesiasticus 27: “He who sets a stone for his neighbor will stumble on it.”

Second, envy can be compared to a sickness called jaundice, which arises from the disordered heat of the liver; whence the discomfort of this disease is

tram. Et ideo sunt similes Hely, qui non potuit videre lumen Domini donec extingueretur, etc. [Unde poeta:

30 Invidus alterius rebus marcessit opimis.]

Tercio bene comparatur urso cum pelve excecato. Sic invidus in mente de bono proximi. Unde Ecclesiastici 25: [f. 30] "Excecavit vultum suum sicut ursus." Videmus enim (quod) ursus diebus festivis magis trahitur per vicos, et torquetur verberibus, et a canibus laceratur. Sic invidus videns

35 honorem proximi, per quem intelligo diem festivalem, etc.

Quarto bene comparatur reparatori vasorum, qui dicitur a *tyinker* or a *sprongbolle*, qui transiens per domos et villas hinc et inde (ubi) pulcra vasa aurea, argentea, enea, et lignea aspicit, de illis non curat nec sibi de aliquo placet. Set cum viderit ollam, cacabum, patellam, ciphum, aut

40 discum dilaceratum et confractum, statim gaudet et inde sperat sibi aliquid lucrari. Sic revera invidus mundum perambulans gesta bonorum dissimulat nec sibi placent set dampnat. Set si aliquam fracturam vicii viderit, mox applicando recitat et duplicat; Ecclesiastici 11: "Bonum in malum conver-

45 tens insidiatur et in electis ponit maculam." Absit ergo quod umquam in celum veniat invidus talis, eo quod ibi nimis torque[re]tur de gaudiis sanctorum, set vadat ad infernum, ut ibi discat gaudere de tormentis miserorum, et quod illis proprium est, habeat semper, etc.

2 Ethimologiarum] add capitulo 2 O. 4 Beel] add autem M.W; add id R. 6 ab] de O. 7 videt] vidit O. 8 corde] add sua O. 9 qui] quia O. 27 proximi] add que per sinistram partem intelligitur O. 29 etc.] regum O. 29-30 Unde . . . opimis] text from R. 33 quod] quando C. 34 et(I)] om O. 35 etc.] om O. 36 comparatur] add cuidam O. a] om O. 36-37 or a sprongbolle] vel glodier R.W; vel kessler M. 37 ubi] ibi C. 47 etc.] om O.

### III.iii DE MURMURE ET DETRACTIONE

[T]ercio circa membra invidie est sciendum quod quatuor sunt sibi propria, scilicet murmur et detractio, mendacium et adulacio.

Est ergo murmur oblocucio indebito modo facta contra Deum vel proximum. De quo Ecclesiasticus: "Susurro et bilinguis maledictus." Propter hoc

greatest on the right side, where the liver is situated. Thus the discomfort for envious people is not on the left side (which symbolizes ill fortune), because the envious do not suffer pain from their neighbor's ill fortune but rather from his prosperity (which is understood by the right). Therefore they are like Eli, who was unable to see the light of the Lord before it went out, and so forth. Hence the poet says:

The envious shrink in weight as their neighbors grow fat in riches.

Third, envy can be easily compared to a bear that has been blinded with a basin. Thus is an envious person mentally blinded by his neighbor's good. Whence Ecclesiasticus 25 states: "He has blinded his face like a bear." We see that on feast days a bear is more violently dragged through the villages, tormented with beatings, and torn by the dogs. Thus is the envious person tormented when he witnesses his neighbor's honor, which I understand by the feast day.

Fourth, envy can be compared to the man who repairs household vessels and is called a "tinker" or "bowlfixer." Passing through houses and villages, when he sees here and there vessels of gold, silver, brass, and wood, he pays no attention, nor do they please him at all. But when he sees a jar, cooking pot, bowl, cup, or plate that is cracked or in pieces, he is at once joyful and expects to make some money from it. Thus, an envious person wanders through the world and keeps quiet about the deeds of the good, nor do these please him, but he condemns them. But when he sees some breakage caused by vice, he turns to it right away and tells of it and makes it worse; Ecclesiasticus 11: "He lies in wait and turns good into evil, and on the elect he lays a blot." Far be it, therefore, that such an envious person should ever come to heaven, for there he would be too much tormented by the joys of the saints; but let him go to hell, where he may learn to rejoice over the torments of the wretches and have forever what belongs to them!

2-3 Isidore, *Etym.* XVI.x.9. 5 Dan. 14.2-21; and Luke 11.15-19. 10 Ecclus. 14.8. 21-22 Ecclus. 27.29. 28-29 1 Sam. 3.2-3. 30 Horace, *Ep.* I.ii.57. 32-33 Ecclus. 25.24. 43-44 Ecclus. 11.33.

### III.iii GRUMBLING AND BACKBITING

In the third place, regarding the members of envy we must know that it has four: grumbling, backbiting, lying, and flattery.

Grumbling is railing in an improper way against God or one's neighbor. Of it is said in Ecclesiasticus: "The whisperer and the double-tongued is accur-

5 vicium Maria soror Moysi percussa est lepra, ut patet Exodi 1. Similiter  
 Dathan et Abyron fuerunt a terra absorti, Exodi. Similiter filii Israel ab  
 igneis serpentibus percussi et pro maiori parte deperditi, Numeri 14. Unde Ad  
 Corinthios dicitur: "Neque adinvicem murmuraveritis sicut quidam murmu-  
 10 muraverunt et perierunt." Unde Gregorius: "Regnum, inquit, celorum nullus qui  
 murmurat [f. 30v] accipit, et nemo qui accipit murmurare potest." Hec ille.

Circa autem detractionem est sciendum quod ille detractor dici potest  
 qui alieno crimine delectatur aut continue bonum in malum convertens. Et  
 certe talis impie facit eo quod quantum in ipso est uno flatu tres animas  
 interficit: Primo illum de quo detrahit, quia ipsum scandalizat et diffama-  
 15 mat, et sic quasi spiritualiter occidit; secundo audientem illum, quia  
 facit eum male sentire de proximo et iniuste scandalizare. Unde dicit  
 Bernardus: "Qui, inquit, detrahit aut detrahentem libenter audit, quis  
 horum dampnabilior fuerit, non facile dixerim. Nam secundum Augustinum  
 numquam esset detractor si non esset auditor." Hec ille. Et terci(o) [cer-  
 20 tum] est quod animam propriam falsa de proximo absente detrahendo detractor  
 dampnat. Et ideo, ut michi videtur, tales detractores ac maledicti diffama-  
 tores sunt sicut latrones qui fideles transeuntes spoliunt, de quorum  
 societate unus vel duo passum explorabunt, qui cum audierint aliquos veni-  
 entes faciunt quoddam signum (vel hutando vel in pugno sibilando). Quo  
 25 audito conveniunt omnes socii et fideles capiunt, ligant, spoliunt, et  
 mactant. Revera sic est inter detractores et eorum auditores. Nam aliqui  
 latenter explorabunt quasi in passu facta proximorum, que cum viderint in  
 minimo deviare (a) vero, statim convocant socios et peius quam est narrant.  
 Ipsi vero libenter auscultando prout dicunt accipiunt et sic una cum illis  
 30 bonam famam proximi dilaniant, per quod semetipsos cum illis participes in  
 detractionis crimine efficiuntur. Bene ergo in antiqua lege precipiebatur,  
 scilicet Levitici 19: "Non maledices coram surdo nec coram ceco pones  
 offendiculum." Ad litteram valde enim innaturale et impium esset maledicere  
 surdo, cum ipse [f. 31] non audiat nec possit cavere. Secundum ergo *Glosam*,  
 35 surdo maledicere est absenti detrahere. Homo autem absens minus potest  
 audire detrahentem quam si surdus esset, quia quandoque surdus audit ex  
 alto clamore, set absens non, quia forte distat per decem miliaria vel am-  
 plius, et ideo detrahentem audire non potest quantumcumque clamaverit; et  
 ideo si absenti maledicit, contra legem facit, et per consequens maledictus  
 40 est. Similiter talis detrahens "coram ceco ponit offendiculum," dum alium  
 ipsum audientem qui non habet noticiam persone de quo detrahitur scanda-  
 lizat, et facit malum de quo omnino nescit, set cecus est credere et  
 tenere.

Et ideo Sapiens dicit: "Cum detractoribus ne commiscearis, quia repen-  
 45 te veniet perditio eorum." Quia secundum Augustinum tales bona diminuunt,  
 mala exaggerant, indifferenciam pervertunt, scilicet in malum. Et ideo rogo  
 nonne crudeles dicerentur illi qui viderint fratres canibus lacerari et

sed." On account of this vice Miriam, the sister of Moses, was stricken with  
 leprosy, as can be seen in Exodus 1. Similarly, Dathan and Abiron were swal-  
 lowed by the earth alive, in Exodus. Similarly, the children of Israel were  
 struck by fiery serpents and died for the most part, Numbers 14. Wherefore it  
 is said in the Letter to the Corinthians: "Neither do you murmur, as some of  
 them murmured and were destroyed." And Gregory says: "No one who grumbles  
 receives the kingdom of heaven, and no one who receives it can grumble."

About backbiting we must know that we can call "backbiter" a person who  
 takes pleasure in someone else's sin and constantly turns good into evil. Such  
 a person surely acts very wickedly, because as much as it is in his power he  
 kills three souls with one breath: first the one of whom he speaks ill, because  
 he ruins his reputation and defames him and thereby, as it were, kills him  
 spiritually; second, the one who hears him, because he causes him to think ill  
 of his neighbor and wrongly to be scandalized. Therefore says Bernard: "The  
 person who backbites and the person who willingly listens to him—which of them  
 is more blameworthy is hard to say. For according to Augustine there would  
 never be a backbiter if there were not an audience." And third, a backbiter  
 who says wrong things about his neighbor *in absentia* surely damns his own soul.  
 Therefore, I think that such backbiters and cursed spoilers of good names act  
 like thieves who plan to rob citizens on their way. One or two of them watch  
 the road, and when they hear someone coming they give a sign by hooting or  
 whistling in their fist. When their companions hear this, they all come toge-  
 ther and catch the travelers, bind them, despoil them, and kill them. This  
 applies well to backbiters and their audience. For some people will secretly  
 watch out for their neighbors' deeds, as if they were watching the road, and if  
 they see them get off the true path even a little bit, they call their compan-  
 ions together and tell them worse things than there actually are. But the  
 latter willingly listen and take in whatever they say; and thus together with  
 the backbiters they tear their neighbor's good name to pieces and make them-  
 selves partners in the crime of detraction with them. But in the Old Law, that  
 is, in Leviticus 19, this was forbidden: "You shall not curse the deaf or put  
 an obstacle before the blind." It would be literally quite unnatural and  
 wicked to curse a deaf person since he cannot hear or beware. But according to  
 the *Gloss*, to "curse the deaf" means to speak ill of an absent person. An  
 absent person can hear a backbiter even less than if he were deaf, for some-  
 times a deaf man understands from loud shouting. But not a person that is  
 absent, who may be ten miles away or more and cannot hear his detractor, how-  
 ever much he may shout; and thus his detractor "curses" an absent person and  
 acts against the Law and consequently is cursed himself. Such a backbiter sim-  
 ilarly "puts an obstacle before the blind" as he causes scandal to his lis-  
 tener, who has no knowledge of the person he is speaking ill of and thus  
 commits an evil without knowing it but is "blind" in the way he believes and  
 accepts it.



ipsum non exterrere set potius canibus applaudent? Certe crudelis est audiens detrahentem si ipsum non corripiat cum carnes crudas proximi audierit lacerare, set et si ministrat salciamentum hillaris vultus sine qua pro certo talis morcellus insipidus esset detractoribus; Ecclesiastici 28: "Sepi aures tuas spinis et noli audire linguam nequam."

50 Fatui ergo detractores et diffamatores miserrimi facere deberent sicut facit formica, de qua Proverbiorum 6 dicitur: "Vade ad formicam et disce sapienciam." Cuius natura talis est, quod si cadaver mortuum (invenerit) ex una parte corruptum et ex (alia) integrum, a corrupto recedit et ad integrum se convertit, quasi putredinem fugiens et mundiciam diligens. Revera sic debemus nos. Si enim proximum viderimus ex una parte integrum, hoc est in bona vita, et ex alia [f. 31v] corruptum, hoc est cum aliquo defectu  
60 notabili, semper ad meliorem partem trahere debemus et non nimis leviter mala indicare; Ecclesiastici 19: "Iustus inclinat faciem suam et fingit se non videre quasi ignoranter." Set semper detractor ad malam partem se inclinat. Et sunt similes vespertiloni, cuius natura est quod quando videt lampadem aut cereum accensum, semper querit lumen extinguere. Revera sic  
65 detractor lumen bone fame in proximo, etc.; Proverbiorum 24: "Abominatio hominum detractor."

Dicunt etiam philosophi quod sub lingua canis nascitur quedam vermis, que cum creverit et se movere ceperit, mox dolore alienatur canis a sensu et rapidus devenit. Et hoc totum est ex acutissimo veneno illius vermis.  
70 Unde aperto ore currit protensa lingua salivam venenosam emittens. Per quod quicquid momorderit, inficit, in tantum quod alii canes non audent illi appropinquare, set ipso viso fugiunt. Revera sic movente verme malicie sub lingua detractoris insanus devenit, hoc est non sanus, quia illa que in proximo sane deberet interpretari protensa lingua venenum infundit malicie,  
75 per quod quantum in illo est proximum occidit. Et ideo iuxta concilium beati Ieronimi tali est resistendum et in nullo est sibi dare auditum nisi dis(plicencie). Dicit enim Ieronimus: "Sicut, inquit, sagitta emissa in (duram) materiam revertitur ad mittentem, sic detractio emissa ad hominem solidum et bonum, statim revertitur ad detractorem." Nam quando detractor  
80 videt quod verba displicunt auditori, illico conticescit et quasi confusus recedit; Proverbiorum 25: "Ventus aquilo dissipat pluvias, et facies tristis linguam detrahentem."

Unde narratur de quodam detractore qui morte preventus simulavit se velle confiteri set non fecit [f. 32] et mortuus est. Contigit postea quod  
85 quidam sibi notus ipsum vidit in forma horribili valde, linguam habentem igneam ab ore usque ad terram dependentem, quam continue corrosit et expuit et iterum resumpsit et expuit, et tercio et quarto. Quod cum alius quesisset, "Quid est hoc?" respondit: "Quia, inquit, in detractionibus dum vixi applaudebam, sic crucior," quia per quod peccat homo, per istud torquetur,  
90 etc.

Therefore the Wise Man says: "Do not mingle with backbiters, for their destruction will come suddenly." For according to Augustine, such people diminish what is good, blow up what is evil, and turn into evil what is indifferent. Shall those, I ask, not be called cruel who when they see their brothers being torn by dogs do not drive the dogs away but rather cheer them on? Just so a person is cruel who listens to a backbiter and does not correct him when he hears him tear at the raw flesh of his neighbor, but in addition offers him the sauce of a smiling face, without which surely such a bite would have no taste for the backbiters; Ecclesiasticus 28: "Hedge your ears with thorns and do not listen to an evil tongue."

Thus, these foolish backbiters and most wretched destroyers of a good name should do as the ant does, of which Proverbs 6 says: "Go to the ant and learn wisdom." When it finds a dead body that is partly decayed and partly whole, it naturally turns away from what is decayed and goes to what is whole, as if it were fleeing from decay and looking for purity. We should do the same; when we notice that our neighbor is partly whole, that is, living a good life, and partly decayed, that is, tainted with some fault that is noteworthy though perhaps unknown to him, we should direct our attention to his better part and not point to his faults too lightly; Ecclesiasticus 19: "The just man turns away his face and pretends he does not see, as if he ignored it." But a backbiter always turns to the part that is spoilt. Such people are like a bat: when it sees a lighted lamp or candle, it naturally tries to extinguish the light. Thus the backbiter tries to blow out the light of good reputation in his neighbor; Proverbs 24: "The detractor is the abomination of men."

The philosophers say a certain worm develops under the tongue of a dog, which when it grows and begins to move, causes the dog almost to lose its mind out of pain and become rabid. And all this happens through the powerful poison of that worm. Then the dog runs about with open mouth, his tongue hanging out, and drips poisonous saliva. Whatever he bites, he infects with this poison, so that other dogs do not dare come near him but run away as soon as they see him. Similarly, when the worm of malice moves underneath the tongue of a backbiter, he becomes insane, that is, not reasonable, because with his tongue hanging out he pours his malicious poison into the acts of his neighbor which he should interpret reasonably and thus, in as much as he can, kills his neighbor. Therefore, according to the advice of blessed Jerome, such a person must be resisted, and one must show him no willingness to listen but only a sign of displeasure. For Jerome says: "As an arrow shot against a hard substance flies back at the archer, thus backbiting that is directed to a solid and good person comes at once back to the backbiter." For when a backbiter notices that his words displease his hearer, he shuts up and draws back in confusion; Proverbs 25: "The north wind drives away the rain, and a sad face a backbiting tongue."

A story is told about a backbiter who, prevented by death, pretended that



1 sunt] considero O. 2 scilicet] que sunt O. 4 maledictus] *add* multos enim turbant pacem habere volentes O. 12 aut] ac O. 19 tercio] tertium C. 22 qui . . . spoliant] fideles transeuntes spoliare intendentes O. 24 vel . . . sibilando] ut cum pugno sibilando vel per signum vocando C. 28 a] at C.M.W. 31 crimine] crimini O. Bene ergo] cum igitur O. 32 coram(1)] *om* O. 38 et ideo] *om* O. 39 si] sibi O. maledicit] *add* et O. 43 tenere] *corr to* intendere R. 46 indifferenciam] indifferencia y.L3. Et *and some others.* pervertunt] pervertant O. 50 si] sibi O. salciamentum] falsam (*for salsam?*) O. 55 invenerit] fuerit C. 56 alia] una parte C. 60 notabili] *add* forte inconsiderato O. 65 etc.] *om* O. 67 quedam] quidam O. 68 que] qui O. mox] *add* ex O. 71 illi] illum O. 72 movente] *add* se O. 74 infundit] infudit O. 76 est(2)] *om* O. 77 displicencie] discipline C. 78 duram] duratam C. 89 per istud] inde O. 90 etc.] *om* O.

### III.iv DE MENDACIO

Circa autem mendacium est sciendum quod propter tria ut communiter homines menciuntur, scilicet vel ut noceant, vel ut gaudeant, vel ut utile faciant. Primum enim est semper mortale, quod faci(u)nt fidem negantes contra precepta Dei directe se erigentes, sicut dicere quod simplex fornicacio non est peccatum et huiusmodi. Et similiter quando quis mendaciter persequitur hominem ad mortem, vel lucrando per iuramentum intend(it) alium decipere, sicut faciunt aliquando mercatores. Secundum est ex libidine, iocosum scilicet, quando quis mentitur ut (provocet audientes) ad risum. Et sic aliquando est mortale, aliquando veniale. Tertium est pro utilitate futura, ut si(quis) intendens alium interficere et querat a te, "Vidistine talem?" et dixeris, "Non novi," vel huiusmodi, tantum sub intencione vitam illius conservandi et similiter pro pudicia et castitate servanda et huiusmodi. Dicunt aliqui quod tale mendacium semper est veniale nisi ex accidente aliud in mente evenerit quod ore non profert, quia sic potest esse mortale, set semper pro indifferente illud est mortale per quod homo diffamatur iniuriose et maxime si tale mendacium affirmatur cum periurio.

Et hic adverte quod scienter menciens cum periurio primo obligat se diabolo, et quando cum manu librum tangit vel rem sacram, tunc per illam manum retinet eum diabolus donec ad penitentiam redeat; et in tantum quod cum cibum capit, de manu diaboli capit; similiter si se signet aut huiusmodi faciat, totum de manu diaboli est. Unde Proverbiorum 6: "Defixisti [f.

he wanted to confess, but he did not do so and died. Later it happened that someone who had known him saw him in a frightening shape with a very long tongue of fire hanging from his mouth down to the earth, which he constantly gnawed off and spat out and took back again and spat out, and thus a third and fourth time. When the other man asked him what this meant, he replied: "Because I approved with pleasure of speaking ill while I was alive, I am being thus tortured"; for by what a man sins, by that he is punished.

4 Ecclus. 28.15. 5 Num. 12.10. 6 Num. 16.1-33. 6-7 Num. 21.5-7. 8-9 1 Cor. 10.10. 9-10 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 19, 4 (PL 76:1156). 13-14 Cf. Bernard, *De diversis*, sermo 17, 4 (6.1:153). 17-19 Bernard, *De consideratione* II.xiii.22 (3:430). 19 Cf. Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* IX.ii.6, but without "Augustinus." 32-33 Lev. 19.14. 32-43 Cf. Peraldus, loc. cit. 44-45 Prov. 24.21-22. 52 Ecclus. 28.28. 54-55 Prov. 6.6. 61-62 Ecclus. 19.24. 65-66 Prov. 24.9. 67-72 Pliny, *Hist. nat.* XXIX.32. 77-79 Cf. Jerome, *Ep. 52, Ad Nepotianum*, 14 (CSEL 54:438). 81-82 Prov. 25.23. 83-90 Tubach 4907. Add: Bromyard, "Detraccio," D.VI.29; Grisdale, pp. 39ff.; BL MS Royal 7.D.i, fol. 122. 89 Wisd. 11.17.

### III.iv LYING

About lying we must know that men commonly lie for three reasons, namely in order to do harm, or for enjoyment, or for a useful purpose. The first is always a mortal sin. This is done by people who speak against the faith and directly deny God's commandments, as when they say that fornication is not a sin and the like; likewise when someone by lying sends a man to his death, or when in business he intends to deceive someone by his oaths, as merchants sometimes do. The second kind of lying is for fun, as when one lies in order to provoke his audience to laughter. Sometimes this is a mortal sin, sometimes venial. The third kind is for some future good purpose, such as: if someone plans to kill another man and he asks you, "Have you seen him?" and you say, "I don't know him" or something like it, with the intention to save his life, and similarly in order to preserve modesty and chastity and for other such motivations. Some people say that such a lie is always venial, except if something else comes into one's mind which the mouth does not pronounce, for then it can be a mortal sin. But such a lie, instead of morally neutral, is always a mortal sin if a person is thereby defamed, and especially if such a lie is affirmed with an oath.

And one should notice here that a person who knowingly lies with perjury first of all commits himself to the devil; and when he touches the Book or some sacred object with his hand, by this hand the devil holds him until he returns to penance, to the extent that when he takes food, he takes it from the devil's

32v] apud extraneum manum tuam, illaqueatus es verbis oris tui, et similiter captus propriis sermonibus." Et secundo abnegat bona que continentur in libro vel fiunt in Ecclesia, sicut missas, oraciones, et cetera bona.

- 25 Tercio, quantum in se est, nititur Deum adducere ad falsum testificandum, quia secundum Augustinum iurare est Deum testem adducere, et quantum in illo est, magis gravat Deum et ledit inponendo sibi malum culpe quam Iudei Christum occidendo et inponendo malum pene. Et ideo Christus conquerendo alloquitur talem secundum illud Psalmi: "Existimasti inique quod ero tui similis, arguam te et statuam contra [te] faciem tuam." Et quarto, talis omni die in omni ecclesia ab omni sacerdote et clerico officium dicente excommunicatur, cum dicunt illud Psalmi: "Maledicti qui declinant a mandatis tuis." Set ista sunt mandata Dei, scilicet: "Non assumes nomen Dei tui in vanum," et istud: "Non falsum testimonium dices"; set periurans directe et proterve contra ista duo facit; ergo, etc.

- Unde peiores sunt diabolo, qui omnia mala permissus audent facere per Deum, tamen non audent iurare. Peiores etiam dici possunt quam Iudas, qui Christum vendidit pro triginta denariis. Set hodie tales ipsum vendunt pro tribus obolis et minus. Unde dicunt quidam si super [hoc] arguantur: "Non possum aliter merces meas vendere, nec alii volunt mihi credere, nisi iurem." Set caveant tales, quia menciuntur aperte.

- Et ecce quid accidit Londoniis. Narravit quidam Lombardus nomine Hubertus de Lorgo, qui sepultus est Londoniis inter Fratres Predicatores, quod habuit quandam armigerum, qui in omni verbo ita horribiliter iuravit per Christi membra, sicut per cor, oculos, dentes, et vulnera simul omnia combinando, quod horror erat audire. Qui tandem infirmatus vidit in extasi quandam dominam pulcherrimam cameram intrantem et puerum dulcissimum crudelissime vulneratum in ulnis portantem. Cui ille: "Karissima domina, inquit, [f. 33] est iste filius tuus?" Et illa lugubri voce, "Ita, inquit, filius meus est." Et ipse: "Quis, inquit, eum sic tractavit, maxima pena esset dignus sic innocentem vulnerare." Quo audito ipsa quasi irruens in eum dixit: "Tu, inquit, maledicte, es ille qui sic filium meum per iuramenta tua [etiam] quamplura falsa dilacerasti. Et ipse tamen erit iudex tuus qui dixit tibi, 'Fiat tibi sicut petisti.'" Et hiis dictis disparuit illa. Et
- 50 ille ad se reversus clamavit et assistentibus rem gestam narravit. Et addidit dicens: "Ego, inquit, ibo ad demones." Et hiis dictis protinus expiravit.

Et tamen adverte quod iura aliquando permittunt hominem iurare, sicut patet in hiis versibus:

- 60 Lex et fama, fides, reverencia, cautio dampni,  
Defectus veri tibi dant iurare licenter.

hand; likewise, if he crosses himself or does something of this sort, it all is done from the devil's hand. Therefore it is said in Proverbs 6: "You have engaged fast your hand to a stranger; you are ensnared with the words of your mouth and caught with your own words." In the second place, he denies all the good that is contained in the Book or that is done in the Church, such as Masses, prayers, and other good things. In the third place, he tries to bring God to a false testimony inasmuch as he can, for according to Augustine, to swear is to bring God as a witness; and inasmuch as lies in him, he burdens and hurts God by laying sin on him even more than the Jews did by killing Christ and laying punishment on him. And therefore Christ laments and addresses such a person in the words of the Psalm: "You have thought unjustly that I should be like you; I will reprove you and set myself against your face." And in the fourth place, the perjurer is excommunicated every day, in every church, by every priest and cleric who recites the Office, when they say the words of the Psalm: "Cursed are those who turn from your commandments." These are God's commandments: "Do not use God's name in vain," and: "Do not give false witness." But a perjurer acts directly and impudently against these two; therefore, etc.

Hence perjurers are worse than the devil, who with God's permission dares commit every evil but does not dare to swear. They may further be said to be worse than Judas, who sold Christ for thirty denarii. But nowadays perjurers sell him for three oboli and less. Whence some say, if they are accused of this: "I cannot sell my wares otherwise; people won't believe me unless I swear." But let such perjurers beware, for they lie openly.

Lo, what happened in London. A certain Lombard by the name of Hubert de Lorgo, who is buried among the Dominicans in London, reported that he had a squire who, whenever he spoke, swore terrible oaths by Christ's members, such as his heart, eyes, teeth, and all wounds together, that it was awful to hear him. At last, when he was ill, he saw in a vision a most beautiful lady enter his room, carrying in her arms the sweetest child, who was most cruelly wounded. "Dearest lady," he said, "is this your son?" And she answered with somber voice: "Yes, this is my son." And he replied: "Whoever has mistreated him thus would be worthy of the greatest punishment, wounding an innocent child this way." When she heard this, she turned to him sharply and said: "You, wretch, are the one who have thus torn my child through your oaths, which often were even false. And now he will be your judge who has said to you, 'May it happen to you as you have said.'" And with these words she disappeared, whereas the squire, returning to his senses, cried out and told those present what had happened. And then he added: "I shall go to the devils." And with these words he expired at once.

You should note, however, that the law does allow a person to swear on certain occasions, as is stated in these verses:

Primo per legem possumus iurare, hoc est dictu, lex aliquando permittit iurare, sicut patet Deuteronomii 6: "Per nomen illius iurabis," supple: si iurare contingat. Et alibi: "Iurabis autem est est, non non, quia quod  
65 amplius est, a malo est." Et tamen secundum Augustinum, licet licitum sit iurare, omne iuramentum est periculosum; et ideo semper cavendum et timendum ne forte trahat ad periurium, quia quacumque de causa iuraverit homo, ipse quasi funem in colle ponit et se periculo astringit. Hec ille. Secundo, pro fama iuratur conservanda vel purganda; Ecclesiastici 41: "Curam  
70 habe de bono nomine," etc. Tercio, fides permittit iuramentum, ut astruantur simplices fidem stabiliter credendam. Similiter ut melius servetur status Ecclesie. Sic iurant religiosi et votum faciunt, (ut patet 14, questione 2 *Super prudentia*). Quarto, propter Dei reverenciam et honorem, ut quando fit in iuramento fidelis protestacio divine maiestatis. Unde  
75 dicitur vulgariter: "Qui bene iurat, bene credit." Quinto, caucio dampni, ut scilicet res tua indemnis servetur vel amissa recuperetur, quia secundum Apostolum Ad Hebreos 6: "Omnis [f. 33v] contraversie eorum finis est iuramentum." Sexto, defectus veri, ne veritas periclitatur, etc.

3 faciunt] faciant C. 6 intendit] intendendo C. 8 provocet audientes] proni ad audientem C. 9 est(1)] om O. 10 siquis] sicut C. 12 conservandi] servare O. 18 et quando] om O. tunc] et O. 20 signet] signat O. 23 abnegat] add omnia O. que] qui O. 32 dicunt] dicit C. 34 tui] om O. 40 alii] aliter O. 47 et puerum] puerumque O. 53 quamplura] quampluries O. 54 petisti] dixisti O. 65–66 licet . . . ideo] cum omne iuramentum sit periculosum licitum est iurare est tamen O. 68 ipse] om O. 70 permittit] permittat C. 71 servetur] conservetur O. 72–73 ut . . . prudentia] etc C. *Instead of* 14 questione 2, O read q.t. 76,ut] om O. 78 defectus] add verbi O. ne] scilicet O. etc.] om O.

### III.v DE ADULACIONE

Circa adulacionem quarto et ultimo est sciendum quod de ea sic ait Bernardus: "Pessimus, inquit, vulpis est occultus detractor, set non minus blandus adulator." Et ideo dicit Ieronimus: "Adulatores, inquit, tamquam inimicos cave, quorum sermones sunt super oleum molles, set ipsi sunt  
5 iacula." Cuius condiciones describens quidam dicit: "Adulator, inquit,

God's Law itself, and your good name,  
Our faith, too, and God's honor,  
The threat of harm, endangered truth—  
These give you leave to swear.

First, we may swear on account of the Law, that is to say, the Law allows us to swear on certain occasions, as is clear from Deuteronomy 6: "You shall swear by his name," add: if it is necessary to do so. And elsewhere: "You shall swear yes, yes, no, no; what is over and above these, is of evil." Yet according to Augustine: even if it is permissible to swear, every oath is dangerous; hence one must always beware and fear lest one fall into perjury, because for whatever reason a man swears, he ties a rope around his neck and binds himself to danger. Second, one may swear in order to preserve or purge one's good name; Ecclesiasticus 41: "Take care of a good name," etc. Third, faith allows giving an oath in order to strengthen the simple in their faith. Likewise, in order to better preserve the order of the Church; in this way, the religious swear and make a vow, as is shown in Causa 14, question 2, *Super prudentia*. Fourth, one may swear in order to render God worship and honor, as when in an oath one faithfully acknowledges God's majesty. Hence it is commonly said: "He who swears well, believes well." Fifth, one may swear in order to prevent harm, that is, in order to keep what belongs to you unharmed or to recover something that has been lost, for according to the Apostle's Letter to the Hebrews 6: "An oath is the end of all their controversy." And sixth, one may swear because of the lack of true words, that is to say, when truth is in danger.

21–23 Prov. 6.1–2. 26 Augustine, *Sermo 180* III.3 (PL 38:973). 29–30 Ps. 49.21. 32–33 Ps. 118.21. 33–34 Exod. 20.7 and 20.16. 42–57 Tubach 5103. Add: Brinton, *Sermons* 43, 80, and 81; Bromyard, "Iuramentum," I.XII.29; English *Gesta Romanorum* pp. 409ff.; the sermons of Robert Ripon, British Library, MS Harley 4894, fol. 100; Chartham, fol. 271; *Dives and Pauper*, III.11; BL MS Harley 2247, fol. 69v; Bodl. MS Greaves 54, fol. 94v. 60–61 Also in *Spec. laicorum*, p. 90. Englished in Grimestone, No. 94. 63 Deut. 6.13. 64–65 Cf. Matt. 5.34–37. 65–68 Cf. *Sermo 180* III.3 (PL 38:973) or *De sermone Domini in monte* I.xvii.51 (CC 35: 56–59). 69–70 Ecclus. 41.15. 72–73 Gratian II.14.2.1 (1:734). 77–78 Heb. 6.16.

### III.v FLATTERY

In the fourth and last place, concerning flattery, we must know that Bernard writes: "A hidden backbiter is a most wicked fox, but a bland flatterer is not any less evil." And therefore Jerome says: "Beware of flatterers as if they were your enemies. Their words are smoother than oil, but they are darts." Someone else describes the nature of a flatterer as follows: "He

fortiter laudat quicquid laudaveri(s), mutat sententiam si tu mutaveris, (in risu) solvitur in quos te solveris, pluit lacrimas cum ipse plueris." Hec ille. Unde, quod dolendum est, sic adulatio et dolus regnant hiis diebus quod "in omnem terram exivit sonus eorum et in omnes fines terre verba eorum." Unde Gregorius in *Registro*: "Nullus, inquit, tibi melior potest esse ad concilium quam qui te fideliter et non tua diligit." Set quia iam secundum omnem cursum amoris non diligo te propter te set propter tua, ° certe:

Rara fides ideo quia multi multa locuntur.

- 15 Tales ergo hodie diliguntur a magnis dominis eo quod semper loquuntur eis placencia, iuxta illud Ysaie 3: "Loquimini nobis placencia," etc. Set contra hoc dicitur Ysaie 5: "Ve qui dicitis bonum malum" et e contrario, "ponentes tenebras lucem et amarum dulce" et e contrario. Ve ergo adulatoribus qui dicunt perverso, "Bonus es," et iniusto, "Iustus es." Nec mirum si sint maledicti, quia sunt similes pessimis Iudeis qui latronem Baraban Christo pretulerunt. Ve etiam secundo illis ponentibus tenebras lucem, idest pessimum peccatum factum optimum. Ve etiam tercio illis ponentibus dulce amarum, idest veritatem convertendo in falsitatem. Set caveant tales qui nimis credunt huiusmodi adulatoribus, ne illis eveniat sicut evenit
- 25 Roboam filio Salomonis, qui spreto concilio senum et sapientum fecit secundum concilium iuvenum adulancium et perdidit decem tribus [f. 34] et quasi totum regnum suum, ut patet 3 Regum 12. Nam plus nocet, secundum *Glosam*, lingua adulatoris quam gladius persecutoris: tantum vult dicere quod multi sunt invincibiles persecucione et tamen vincuntur modica adulacione. Et
- 30 causa est quia adulatio multa facit que Deus facere non potest, scilicet quod malus sit bonus et falsus fidelis, et quod peccatum sit bonum, et quod falsitas sit veritas, et huiusmodi. Que omnia facit adulatio, prout supra dicit Ysaias. Et ideo Salomon, qui fuit sapientissimus, sprevit Deum verum et coluit ydola uxorum suarum, 3 Regum 11.
- 35 Unde, ut michi videtur, deus ille quem colunt adultores potest sic depingi, videlicet cum capite et cauda mureligi et corpore draconis. Et certe bene. Nam sicut catus nulli rei tantum blanditur tam capite quam cauda sicut muri, non quia amat set ut decipiat, similiter nullum corpus est ita venenosum sicut corpus draconis, eo quod eius anelitus tantum aerem
- 40 inficit per quod homo interficitur, sic adulator habet mel in ore et fel in ° corde, (sicut habetur in istis metris:

Multis annis iam transactis  
Rara fides est in factis.

praises eagerly whatever you praise, changes his mind when you change yours, bursts out laughing when you do, and sheds tears when you weep." Therefore, flattery and guile reign so much nowadays—which is frightful—that "their sound has gone forth into all the earth, and their words to the ends of the whole world." Hence Gregory says in his *Register*: "No one can give you better advice than a person who loves you, not your possessions." But since, in the common ways of love, I do not love you for your sake but for the sake of your possessions, surely,

Trust is rare, for many men speak many things.

For such people are nowadays beloved by great lords, because they always say what pleases them, according to Isaiah 3: "Speak unto us pleasant things," and so forth. But against this it is said in Isaiah 5: "Woe to you that call evil good," and vice-versa, "you that put darkness for light and bitter for sweet," and vice-versa. Woe therefore to flatterers who say to a wicked person, "you are good," and to an unjust one, "you are just." No wonder that they are cursed, for they are like the evil Jews who preferred the thief Barabbas to Christ. Woe also to those who "put darkness for light," that is, a wicked sin for a good deed. And woe thirdly to those who "put sweet for bitter," that is, who turn truth into falsehood. But let those people beware who trust such flatterers overmuch, that it may not go with them as it did with Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, who scorned the advice of the elders and the wise and acted on the counsel of young flatterers: he lost ten tribes and nearly his entire kingdom, as is stated in 3 Kings 12. For according to the *Gloss*, a flatterer's tongue does more harm than the sword of the persecutor, which means that many are invincible in persecution and yet are overcome with a little flattery. The reason is that flattery achieves many things that God cannot do, namely, that a bad person be good, a false one trustworthy, a sin a virtue, falsehood truth, and the like. Flattery does all this, as Isaiah said above. And because of this vice Solomon, who was most wise, scorned the true God and worshipped the idols of his wives, in 3 Kings 11.

Therefore I think the god whom flatterers worship can be depicted as follows: with the head and tail of a cat and the body of a dragon. This fits very well, because just as a cat allures no one else with its head and tail so much as a mouse—not because it loves it but wants to deceive it—; and just as no body is as poisonous as that of the dragon, because its breath infects the air that it kills a man—just so does a flatterer have honey in his mouth and gall in his heart, as one finds in these verses:

For many years that have gone by  
Rarely can trust be put in deeds;

45 Mel in ore, verba lactis,  
Fel in corde, fraus in factis.)

Unde bene sibi convenit dicta pictura, eo quod primo ore decipit et cauda, hoc est in posterum, mordet, et tandem sui flatu hominem totaliter occidit quantum in eo est, et hoc aliquando spiritualiter et aliquando corpora-liter.

50 Et ideo, non obstante illa pictura, videtur michi quod sic depingi posset ipsemet ad modum vage meretricis cuilibet equaliter applaudentis cum dulci poculo in una manu et speculum in alia. Nam sicut meretrix est mulier vaga iuxta Sapientem, “non consistens dom(i) pedibus,” sic certe adulator vagabundus discurrit de loco ad locum sine quiete querens quem melius poterit decipere cum dulci poculo in manu, hoc est cum factis, signis, et verbis in exteriori apparatu sanctissimus. Set adverte quod non incongrue tenet spe- [f. 34v] culum in manu, vultus hominum ostendens, quia certe sicut tot gestus, tot vultus hominis apparent gaudii aut desolacionis in speculo quando ponitur ante faciem eius. Set quando ponitur speculum a tergo vel a latere, nichil apparet. Revera sic adulator in presencia hominum gaudet cum gaudente et flet cum flente, set in absencia nichil quasi curat de eo. Set utinam multi illorum nichil facerent a tergo, sicut speculum nichil representat a tergo; set quod peius est, ibi detrahunt, menciuntur, derident, et cachinnant.

65 Et ideo huiusmodi adulator bene potest comparari cuidam animali dicto Gamaleon, de quo Ysidorus *Ethimologiarum* libro 12 dicit quod est quoddam animal vivens in aere, cuius color variatur ad variacionem obiectorum quibus applicatur. Revera sic adulator: quando applicatur ad bonos, quantum potest sibi nititur assimilari, et similiter ad malos quando illis applicatur, iuxta illud Ad Corinthios: [“Nos revelata facie specularantes in eandem ymaginem transformamur,” scilicet] gaudentes cum gaudentibus et e contrario. Et ideo sunt similes ventilogio, qui ad flatum cuiuslibet venti se convertit et quasi cum capite blanditur.

75 Sic ergo patet de invidia et eius membris, de qua sic ait Gregorius: “Invidia, inquit, est arbor cuius radix est superbia, truncus malivolencia, rami rancor et odium, folia adulacio, detractio, et mendacium, flores pallor et macies, fructus dolor et gaudium, hoc est dolor de proximi prosperitate et gaudium de eius adversitate.”

2 Pessimus] pessima O. 6 laudaveris] laudaverit C.M.W. 7 in risus] risu C. 13 tua] add et C. 15–16 semper . . . placencia] nolunt a sanctis et fidelibus super delicta argui O. 16 etc.] add videte vobis errores hoc est dicunt tales permitte nos errare O. 26 et(1)] om O. 31 et(2)] om O. sit(2)] om O. et quod] om O. 32 sit] om O. 40 habet] est O. in(2)] add cauda idest in C. 41–45 sicut . . . factis] etc C. Text from M. 47 sui] suo O. 53 domi] domum C. 61 et] om O. 62 illorum] eorum O. 64 et] om O.

Honey in mouth and words of milk,  
But gall in heart and fraud in deeds.

For this reason, the aforementioned picture fits the flatterer very well, for he first deceives with his face and bites with his tail, that is, from behind, and at last he kills a man entirely with his breath in as much as he can, and this in part spiritually, in part bodily.

And thus, without denying the first picture, I think a flatterer can further be depicted as a wandering whore who plays up to everyone with a sweet cup in one hand and a mirror in the other. For as a whore, according to the Wise Man, is a wandering woman “who cannot stay at home,” thus certainly the flatterer runs restlessly from place to place and seeks whom he can best deceive, with a sweet cup in his hand, that is, with deeds, signs, and words in his appearance that make him look like a saint. But notice that not unfittingly she holds a mirror in her hand, which shows the faces of men; because when a mirror is held before a man’s face, so many features and faces of men appear in it, whether of joy or of sorrow, but when it is held behind or on the side, nothing appears in it. In the same way, when a flatterer is in one’s presence, he rejoices with the rejoicing and weeps with the weeping, but when he is away, he does not give a hoot. But would that flatterers would do nothing from behind, as a mirror shows no image from behind—but alas, many of them speak ill from behind, lie, laugh, and deride.

Such a flatterer can therefore be compared to an animal called chameleon. In book 12 of the *Etymologies* Isidore says that this is an animal which lives in the air, whose color changes after the color of the things which it is next to. Thus the flatterer, when he is with good people, tries to make himself like them as much as he can, and similarly with wicked people when he is in their company, according to Corinthians: “Beholding with open face, we are transformed into the same image,” that is to say, we rejoice with those who rejoice, and vice-versa. Such people are like the weathervane which turns with every breeze and, so to speak, flatters with its head.

This, then, is the nature of envy and its members, of which Gregory speaks as follows: “Envy is a tree, whose root is pride, its trunk ill-will, its branches rancor and hatred, its leaves flattery, backbiting and lies, its blossoms pallor and emaciation, and its fruit grief and joy,” that is to say, grief at one’s neighbor’s good fortune and joy at his ill luck.

2–3 Bernard, *Super Cantica* LXIII.ii.4 (2:163). 3–5 Cf. Ps.-Jerome, *Ep. 148, Ad Celsantiam* 17 (PL 22:1212). 5–7 The thought occurs in Jerome, *Ep. 22 24* (CSEL 54:176); the same wording in Holcot, *Moralitates* 43. 9–10 Rom. 10.18. 10–11 Gregory, *Registrum* I.33 (CC 140:41). 14 *Disticha Catonis* I.xiii.2. 16 Isa. 30.10. 17 Isa. 5.20. 25–27 1 Kings 12.6–24. 33–34 1 Kings 11.1–10. 42–45 *Prov* 15.497; *In* 11, 396. Englished in Grimestone, No. 60. See also *RL XIV*, p. 346. 50–52 Cf. Holcot, *Moralitates* 43. See Liebeschütz, p. 54 and pl. 19. 53 *Prov* 7.11. 61 Cf. Rom. 12.15. 66–68 Isidore, *Etym.* XII.ii.18. 70–71 2 Cor. 3.18.

## III.vi DE CARITATE

[N]unc ad virtutem caritatis est advertendum, que in omnibus pessime invidie cum suis sequacibus se obicit et contrariatur. Nam quantum invidia ista in malis, tantum ista caritas in bonis delectatur. Et ideo pugil fortissimus contra illam et hostes antiquos, quos constanter aggreditur, 5 pugnat, prosternit, et devincit. Unde de illa sic [f. 35] intendo procedere: primo ostendere quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo in quibus consistit et firme stabilitur; tercio que illam impediunt unde elongatur; quarto quomodo requiritur et recuperatur.

Circa primum est sciendum quod secundum Iohannis 14 dicitur: "Deus 10 caritas est." Ex quo ergo Deus caritas est sequitur quod nullum vicium permittitur cum ea. Et hoc est quod illam describens Apostolus Ad Corinthios 13 dicit: "Caritas, inquit, paciens est," scilicet contra vicium iracundie; "benigna est," contra vicium invidie sibi opponens; "non inflatur," contra superbiam, que quasi vesica turgescit; "non est ambiciosa," contra cupiditatem, que semper [circa] terrena animum ambit et anhelat; "non irritatur," 15 contra accidiam, que bonam occupationem pervertit; "non querit que sua sunt," contra gulam, hoc est, que ventri placent et abstinentie displicent; "non cogitat malum," contra luxuriam, que secundum Ieronimum cum cor hominis apprehendit, nichil aliud quam lasciviam cogitare permittit; "non 20 gaudet super iniquitate proximi," contra detractores, periuros, adulatores, et huiusmodi; "set gaudet veritati," ne scilicet periclitetur per falsitatem, etc. Secundum autem Augustinum caritas est dulce vinculum quo solo Deus ligatur, cuius dulcedo tanta est quod si eius minima gutta in infernum caderet, tota eius amaritudo in dulcedinem verteretur. Et ideo Hugo *De* 25 *laude caritatis* dicit quod qui caritatem habuerit, non tantum diabolum vincere potest—qui nichil tantum timet sicut illam, quia neque ieiunia neque vigiliis neque elemosinas; et hoc quia illam in celo servare contempsit—set etiam ipsum Deum, in quo omnia et per quem omnia. Unde ait Hugo: "O, inquit, caritas, maximam vim habes; tu enim sola Deum trahere potuisti 30 ad terras. O, inquit, quam forte est istud vinculum tuum, quo et Deus ligari potuit et homo ligatus tuis vinculis vincula iniquitatis dirupit." Hec ille. [Unde et apud poetas pro virtute caritatis fuit hoc solempne proverbium, scilicet, "Amor vincit omnia, quia vicit Pana." Pana autem apud illos fingebatur deus omnium vel deus tocus, quem tamen dicunt ipsi captum 35 et devictum amore cuiusdam puelle pulcherime nomine Siringe, ad modum quo nos dicimus Christum Filium Dei devictum amore nature humane.

Certum est ergo quod inter omnes virtutes ista est maioris potestatis et efficacie, et hoc probatur per talem poesim. Narrant autem poete quod in 40 Lerna palude erat quidam serpens qui solo flatu omnem infecit aerem, unde homines transeuntes intoxicabantur. Cum autem quidam pastor quodam serto coronatus illesus pertransisset et hoc alius pastor didicisset quod virtute

## III.vi CHARITY

Now we turn to the virtue of charity, which in every respect opposes wicked envy with its followers and goes against it. For as much as envy delights in evil, so much does charity delight in good. And thus it is a most valiant fighter against envy and our ancient foes, whom it continually confronts, combats, overthrows, and defeats. About this virtue I shall proceed as follows: first I shall show what it is and how it is defined; second, what it consists in and is firmly established by; third, what things hinder it and drive it away; and fourth, how it is regained and recovered.

Concerning the first point we should know that according to John 14, "God is love." Since God is charity, it follows that no vice may exist with it. Therefore, when the Apostle describes it in Corinthians 13, he says that "Charity is patient," namely against the vice of wrath; "it is benign," opposing itself to the vice of envy; "it is not puffed up," against pride, which swells like a bladder; "it is not ambitious," against greed, which always makes the mind circle around and thirst for earthly goods; "it does not become irritated," against sloth, which undoes one's activity in good deeds; "it does not seek its own," against gluttony, which seeks what pleases the stomach and displeases abstinence; "it does not think evil," against lechery, which according to Jerome, when it grips man's heart, does not let it think of anything else but lust; "it does not rejoice in its neighbor's wickedness," against backbiters, perjurers, flatterers, and the like; "but it rejoices in truth," so that it may not be put in jeopardy by falsehood, and so on. According to Augustine, charity is a sweet bond by which alone God is bound, and its sweetness is so great that if the smallest drop of it fell into hell, all its bitterness would be turned into sweetness. Therefore, Hugh, in describing the virtue in his book *The Praise of Charity*, declares that he who has charity can overcome not only the devil—who fears nothing, not fasting or waking or almsgiving, so much as charity, and this because he scorned to practice it in heaven—but even God himself, in whom and through whom all things have their being. Therefore Hugh says: "O charity, you hold the greatest power, for you alone could draw God to earth. Oh, how strong is your bond by which God could be bound, and man, when he was bound with your bonds, broke the bonds of evil." For which reason the poets of old had this solemn proverb about the virtue of love: "Love conquers all, for it has conquered Pan." For among them Pan was thought to be the god of all things or the god of everything; yet they say that he was captured and overcome by love for a most beautiful girl named Syrinx, just as we say that Christ, the Son of God, was overcome by love for human nature.

Therefore it is certain that among all the virtues charity has the most power and effectiveness, and this is proven by the following fable. The poets tell us that in the swamp of Lerna there was once a serpent who with its breath



eius serti sic evasisset, rapuit sertum ab eo et statim alius mortuus est. Quod cum audisset Mercurius, deus eloquencie, a raptore certum abstulit et ad pastorem mortuum accessit, in cuius ore flores sigillatim de illo posuit, unde tandem virtute unius a morte surrexit. Revera spiritualiter loquendo: In ista palude fallacis mundi est iste serpens antiquus, ex cuius flatu et malicia omnes fere transeuntes inficiuntur. Quod considerans vir iustus sertum sibi facit de floribus mellifluis bonarum virtutum, quarum virtute a malicia diaboli illesus pertransit. Si ergo a casu contigerit per alium inimicum sertum hoc auferri, per quod spiritualiter quasi morimur, revera hoc audito statim venit Mercurius, idest Christus, qui deus est omnis eloquencie, sapiencie, et sciencie, et dictum sertum bonarum virtutum reducit, et diversis floribus illius per os cordis illud reficit, quia modo floribus humilitatis, modo floribus pietatis, modo floribus castitatis, et sic de singulis. Unde si ad plenum virtute istorum non revixerit, tandem apponit florem caritatis, ex cuius contactu, si bene de illo gustaverit, mox ad vitam revertitur.] Ex quibus omnibus sequitur quod illa sit maioris [f. 35v] virtutis et potencie omnium aliarum virtutum et mater et domina iuxta illud Apostoli Ad Corinthios 13: "Nunc autem manent fides, spes, et caritas, tria hec; maior autem horum est caritas," etc.

5–6 procedere] *add* scilicet O. 9 dicitur] *om* O. 10 Deus] *add* ipse O. 11 describens] describit O. 22 etc.] hec ille O. autem] *om* O. 25 dicit] illam describens intendit O. 57 Ex . . . illa] eo quod ipsa O. 60 etc.] *om* O.

### III.vii IN QUIBUS CARITAS CONSISTIT: DILECTIO DEI

[C]irca secundum est sciendum quod caritas consistit et stabilitur in dilectione Dei et proximi, ita ut Deus ipse diligatur propter se et propter nostram necessitatem, et proximus propter amorem suum, "sicut te ipsum. In hiis enim duobus," iuxta illud Matthei 22, "universa lex pendet et prophete," quia unum sine alio veraciter diligere non potest. Et ideo qui implet ista mandata, certe implet totam sacram Scripturam et omnes leges Dei. [Probacio: Si enim primo veraciter Deum diligis, tunc non habebis deos alienos, non assumes nomen Dei in vanum, non violabis Sabbatum, etc. Si autem diligis proximum, tunc non committes homicidium, furtum, falsum testimonium, nec concupisces uxorem proximi, nec aliquo modo mecaberis.

alone infected the air so that men who passed by were poisoned. But when a shepherd who wore some wreath on his head passed by without getting hurt, another shepherd understood that he had escaped the danger by virtue of that wreath, and he took the wreath from him and the first shepherd died at once. When Mercury, the god of eloquence, heard this, he took the wreath from the thief, went to the dead shepherd, and put flowers from it into his mouth, one by one, until he at last rose from death by the virtue of a single flower. In spiritual terms: In the swamp of this deceitful world lives the ancient serpent by whose breath and malice nearly all who pass by are infected. A just man who reflected on this made for himself a wreath of honey-sweet flowers of good virtues, by whose virtue he passed without being hurt by the devil's malice. But if it perchance happens that this wreath is taken away by another enemy, so that we as it were die spiritually, indeed Mercury comes as soon as he hears of it, that is, Christ, who is God of all eloquence, wisdom, and knowledge, and brings the wreath of good virtues back and heals him with its different flowers through the mouth of his heart, now with flowers of humility, now of piety, now of chastity, and thus with all separate virtues. When he then has not yet fully revived through their virtue, he finally gives him the flower of charity; as soon as he receives that, if he tastes of it well, he returns to life. From this it follows that charity has greater virtue and power than all the other virtues and is their mother and mistress, according to the Apostle in Corinthians 13: "But now remain faith, hope, and charity, these three; but charity is the greatest of them," and so on.

9–10 1 John 4.8. 12–22 1 Cor. 13.4–6. 29–31 Hugh of Saint Victor, *De laude caritatis* (PL 176:974). 32–35 Cf. Virgil, *Eclogues* X.69, and Servius's commentary on *Eclogue* II.31 (pp. 23–24). 38–45 See the discussion in the Introduction, pp. 18–19. 59–60 1 Cor. 13.13.

### III.vii THE LOVE OF GOD

Concerning the second point, we must know that charity consists and is established in the love of God and the love of our neighbor, so that God is loved for his own sake and for our need, and our neighbor for the sake of God's love, "as yourself. For in these two," according to Matthew 22, "depends the whole law and the prophets," because one of them cannot be truly loved without the other. And thus, he who fulfills these commandments certainly fulfills all of Holy Scripture and all the laws of God. This can be proven as follows: if you first truly love God, you will have no other gods, you will not take God's name in vain, you will not violate the Sabbath, and so forth. And if you love your neighbor, you will not commit murder or theft, give false witness, covet

Sequitur ergo: qui implet ista mandata, implet totam Scripturam et omnes leges Dei.]

15 Primo ergo circa dilectionem et caritatem erga Deum est sciendum quod ipsa specialiter stabilitur et consistit in duobus et magis laudabilis ostenditur, scilicet primo quando a nobis tanquam pater amando pre ceteris humilius honoratur, secundo quando eius voluntas quoad precepta diligencius a nobis observatur. Circa ergo dilectionem et caritatem quam Domino facimus, ipsum humilius laudando, est sciendum quod ipsa consistit in tribus, videlicet si ipsum laudando et honorando diligamus toto corde, tota anima, 20 et tota mente. Istud enim precipitur Matthei (22): "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde," etc.

Nam primo ex toto corde ipsum diligere debemus secundum beatum Augustinum tripliciter: primo ut toto intellectu sine errore, secundo ut supra eum nichil diligamus, neque mundum neque ea que in mundo sunt, iuxta illud 25 Augustini: "Deus, inquit, meus, cor meum creatum est a te, et ideo non habet requiem nisi (in) te"; tercio ut per eius dilectionem omnia temporalia evacuemu(s). Unde Bernardus: "Deum ex toto corde diligere est ut a propria concupiscencia sit homo abstractus et illectus." Unde dicit Ciprianus: "Nichil ita securum sicut ille qui nichil preter Christum appetit possidere." [f. 36] Unde legitur in *Vita beati Ignasii* quod tantum in corde dilexit Deum quod cum captus esset ab infidelibus et flagellatus ut Christum Iesum negaret, quem semper in ore et corde habuit, cum igitur sibi dixissent: "Desine Christum Iesum nominare, aut variis penis interibis," respondit: "Non possum aliquo modo silere quod in corde meo gesto conscriptum." Cumque illum flagellassent usque ad mortem, ait unus: "Videamus si 35 verum sit quod vivens dixit." Et ecce, aperientes cor suum invenerunt in medio cordis litteris aureis hec verba conscripta: "Iesus est amor meus."

Secundo diligendus est Christus ex tota anima. Et hoc propter tria: primo ut per fidem sibi adhereamus; secundo ut eius voluntati in minimo non resistamus; tercio ut per illam dilectionem omnis mundana delectatio et 40 diabolica prudencia evitetur. Et certe, si sic illum diligamus, neque mundi blandicias neque diaboli malicias timere oportet. Unde legitur in *Vita sancti Goderici* quod cum esset solus iacens infirmus, astitit ei diabolus clam ignitam hastam super eum vibrans, ex cuius ore quasi ignis de fornace exibat, duosque cubitos inter oculos in latitudine habebat, et dixit illi: 45 "Ecce, ego demonum princeps te medium secaturus adveni; meis usque huc satellitibus illusisti, set modo michi non illudes." Ad quam vocem vir Dei viriliter surrexit qui ante per quindecim dies surgere non valebat per se, et ait: "In nomine Iesu, fuge, tu demon maledicte! Quid frustra contra me 50 furis? Defensorem enim habeo Dominum Iesum Christum, quem ex tota anima per verum amorem et caritatem continue amplector. Et ideo omnes minas tuas contempno." Quo audito occurrit minister eius tremebundus et aspexit quomo-

your neighbor's wife, or commit adultery in any fashion. Therefore it follows that he who fulfills these commandments fulfills all of Scripture and all the laws of God.

First, then, about love and charity toward God, we must know that this virtue consists and is established especially in two things and is shown to be most praiseworthy, namely when God is humbly honored by us and loved before all other things as our father, and when his will, shown in the commandments, is followed by us with all eagerness. The love and charity we give to God by praising him in humility consists, we must know, in three things: to love him with praise and honor with our whole heart, our whole soul, and our whole mind. This we are commanded to do in Matthew 22: "You shall love the Lord your God with your whole heart," etc.

First, then, we must love God with our whole heart. According to Blessed Augustine, we do this in three things: first, with our whole intellect without error; second, by not loving anything more than him, not the world or the things that are in the world, according to Augustine's words: "My God, my heart has been created by you, and thus it has no rest other than in you"; and third, by despising all earthly things for his love. Whence Bernard says: "To love God with our whole heart is to be withdrawn and detached from self-will." And Cyprian writes: "Nothing is as safe as the man who desires to possess nothing beside Christ." Thus we read in *The Life of Blessed Ignatius* that this saint loved God so much in his heart that when he was captured by the infidels and scourged so that he should deny Jesus Christ, he had his name always in his mouth and heart. When they said to him: "Stop naming Christ Jesus, or else you will die with many pains," he replied: "I can in no way hide in silence what I carry written in my heart." After they had scourged him to death, one of them said: "Let us see if it was true what he said when he was alive." And lo, as they opened his heart, they found written in it with golden letters these words: "Jesus is my love."

Second, Christ must be loved with our whole soul. And this for three reasons: first, that we may adhere to him in faith; second, that we may not oppose his will in the least; and third, that through this love all worldly pleasure and the devil's shrewdness may lose their strength. For surely, if we love him in this way, we need not fear either the attractiveness of the world or the evil intentions of the devil. *The Life of Saint Godric* reports that when the saint lay alone in his sickness, the devil stood by him secretly and shook a fiery lance above him; from his mouth came fire as if from a furnace, and his eyes were set two cubits apart; and he said to him: "I, the prince of the devils, have come to cut you in half; until now you have tricked my helpers, but me you shall not trick now." At this voice the man of God stood up manly, who for a fortnight was unable to rise by himself, and said: "In Jesus' name, be gone, cursed demon! Why do you rage against me in vain? I have as my

do hoc certamen inter eos duravit a prima hora diei usque ad horam terciam.  
Et ter per illud nomen [f. 36v] Iesum [diabolum] superavit. Unde in omni  
55 tribulacione nostra Iesum in anima habeamus et ab illis liberabimur.

Tercio diligendus est Deus ex tota mente, et hoc triplici ratione:  
primo scilicet ut sensus nostri ad eum vadant; secundo, ut illum oblivioni  
nullatenus tradamus; et tercio, ° ne ab eius amore retrahamur. Et revera,  
60 si sic ubicumque et quacumque morte preventi fuerimus, ipsum inveniemus,  
sicut contigit de quodam milite devoto ad Christum querendum peregre pro-  
fecto. Qui cum omnia loca ubi Christus in terra conversatus est visitasset,  
venit tandem ad locum ubi Christus celos ascendit, ibique cum lacrimis in  
huiusmodi prorupit verba: "O, inquit, dulcissime Iesu, tu scis quomodo in  
75 terris te quesivi toto corde, tota anima, et tota mente [te] pre ceteris  
diligens et concupiscens, nec scio locum ubi fuisti et non fui. Quia ergo  
iam nescio locum alium in terris ubi te ulterius querere possum, hic rogo  
me suscipere digneris." Et hiis dictis cadens in terra obdormivit in Domi-  
no. Cum ergo et eius cor quidam aperuissent, ecce scripta invenerunt litte-  
ris aureis in medio cordis hec verba: "Quem quesivi hic inveni, Iesum  
70 amorem meum."

Hiis igitur tribus modis illum diligere pre ceteris debemus et tenemur  
ex precepto evangelii, et primo toto corde considerando quomodo (per)misit  
cor suum pro nobis perforari, secundo in anima considerando quomodo suam  
animam pro suis amicis Deo Patri commendavit, tercio in mente considerando  
75 quomodo sua mentali intencione omnes salvare peroptavit.

[Loue God þat loued the,  
þat for þe tholed deth on tree  
And broght þe oute of helle.  
Loue hym with hert, sowle, and þoght  
80 þat þe now has wel derre boght  
þen any tonge con telle.]

Et de ista dilectione pertinen(te) ad laudem et honorem sibi debitum nota  
supra, de honore Deo debito, etc.

Secundo dilectio nostra et caritas erga Deum consistit in suorum  
85 observacione mandatorum, iuxta illud Iohannis 14: "Si quis diligit me,  
sermonem meum servabit," hoc est, precepta mea. Quorum primum est: Non  
adorabis Deum [f. 37] alienum, hoc est neque solem neque lunam neque ali-  
quam creaturam pro Deo, set ipsum solum Deum qui regnat in celis debes  
honore, quia ut dicitur Deuteronomii 6: "Deus tuus unus est." Et istum  
90 solum tenemur honorare sicut satis dicitur supra, particula prima, de  
honore divino et humilitate erga eum, etc. Secundum preceptum est: Non  
accipias nomen Dei tui in vanum, scilicet iurando et periurando, de quo

protector the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom I cling steadfastly with my whole soul  
through true love and charity. And thus I scorn all your threats." Hearing  
this, his servant ran to him trembling and saw how this struggle between them  
lasted from the first to the third hour of the day. And the saint overcame the  
devil through the name of Jesus three times. Therefore, in every tribulation  
we should have Jesus in our soul, and we will be freed from it.

Third, God must be loved with our whole mind, and this for three reasons:  
first, that all our senses may be directed to him; second, that we may never  
forget him; and third, that we may not be drawn away from his love. If we are  
in such a state, wherever and in whatever form we meet death, we shall find  
God, as it happened to a devout knight who had gone on a pilgrimage in search  
of Christ. He had visited all the places where Christ had walked on earth and  
finally came to the spot where Christ ascended into heaven. There he burst out  
with tears in these words: "O sweetest Jesus, you know how I have sought you  
on earth with my whole heart, soul, and mind, loving you and wanting you before  
anything else; nor do I know any place where you have been and I have not, and  
thus I know of no other place on earth where I can seek you further. I ask you  
then that you will take me to you here." And when he had said this, he fell to  
the ground and died in the Lord. But when they opened his heart, they found  
these words in golden letters in the middle of his heart: "Whom I have loved I  
have found, Jesus my love."

We must therefore love him above all in these three ways and are held to  
do so by the commandment of the Gospel: first, considering with our whole heart  
how he let his heart be pierced for us; second, considering in our soul how he  
commended his soul to God the Father for his friends; and third, considering in  
our mind how he desired in his mind to save all men.

Love God, him who has first loved thee,  
Who suffered death upon the tree,  
And brought thee out of hell.  
Love him with heart and soul and thought,  
Who thee with greater price has bought  
Than any tonge can tell.

Regarding this love that is part of the praise and honor due to God, notice the  
earlier discussion of the worship that we owe to God, etc.

Second, our love and charity for God consists in keeping his commandments,  
according to John 14: "If anyone loves me, he will keep my word," that is, my  
commandments. The first of them is: "You shall not worship a strange god,"  
that is, neither sun nor moon nor any creature in God's place, but only God  
himself who reigns in heaven, for as it is said in Deuteronomy 6: "Your God is  
one." And we are held to honor him alone, as is well shown above, in the first

nota supra, capitulo de mendacio et periurio. Tercium preceptum est: Memento quod diem Sabbati sanctifices, hoc est, ab omni opere servili cessabis, 95 quasi diceret: non arabis, non metes, et cetera huiusmodi. Et non tantum hoc, set ab opere vilissimi peccati pre ceteris cessabis et Deo vacabis. De quo nota post, particula quinta de accidia. Quartum est: Honora patrem et matrem, pro quo nota particula prima, capitulo de honore parentum. Quintum 100 est: Non occides, pro quo nota supra, particula secunda de ira. Sextum est: Non furtum facies, pro quo nota supra, particula tertia, capitulo primo. Septimum est: Non falsum testimonium dices, pro quo nota supra particula tertia de periurio. Octavum est: Non concupisces rem proximi tui, pro quo nota particula quarta de cupiditate et avaricia. Nonum et decimum sunt hec: 105 Non concupisces uxorem proximi tui et Non mechaberis, pro quibus nota particula septima de luxuria et particula de avaricia. Unde iuxta concilium evangeliste, "Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata."

Circa tamen ipsa est sciendum secundum Augustinum *De decem cordis* quod decalogus est psalterium decem cordarum; quas cordas cum tetigeris manu, idest opere compleveris, effectum per illa mox consideres. Tacta prima per 110 quam unus Deus colitur, secunda de accipiendo nomen Dei in vanum, tertia de Sabati observacione, quarta de honore parentum, quinta scilicet "non mechaberis," sexta "non occides," septima "non furtum facies," octava de falso testimonio, nona de concupiscencia rerum proximi, decima de [f. 37v] concupiscencia uxoris proximi, et cadit bestia supersticionis, heretici erroris, 115 mundani amoris, impietatis, libidinis, crudelitatis, rapacitatis, falsitatis, cupiditatis, adulterium voluptatis. "Citharista ergo," dicit Augustinus, "et venator, tange cordas et occidis bestias, et non singulas, set greges interficis bestiarum. Nam multa capita sub capitibus istis in singulis cordis occides, et sic cantum novum cum amore et non timore cantabis." 120 Hec ibi.

Unde pro istis preceptis servandis fac doctrinam Christi, Exodi 25: "Inspice, inquit, et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi monstratum est." Ad litteram autem exemplar istorum preceptorum ostensum est. Primo erat in monte Syna Moysi et in tabulis lapideis conscriptum et non in ligneis cum 125 cera molli, ad designandum quod firmiter starent et observarentur et non nimis de facili evellerentur. Set advertite: Videmus enim quod aliquando datur scriptori exemplar, ut illa que in illo continentur in aliud volumen seu pergamenum transferat nichil addendo vel minuendo—quia ut communiter scriptores non sunt scioli ad libros corrigendos, addendo vel minuendo nisi 130 errant. Et tamen hiis non obstantibus scriptor falsus quando conducitur secundum numerum linearum aut punctorum que sunt in exemplari, adhuc tamen aliquando transiliit, quia sperat quod sua falsitas non statim deprehendatur. Set postquam sibi fuerit satisfactum, non curat tunc nisi parum, quamvis eius falsitas denudetur. Unde contingit frequenter quod talis

part on the honor we owe to God and our humility before him, and so forth. The second commandment is: "You shall not take God's name in vain," that is, by swearing and committing perjury; on this, see above in the chapter on lying and perjury. The third commandment is: "Remember to hallow the Sabbath," that is, to cease from all servile work, as if he were saying: you shall not plow or reap, and so forth. And not only this, but you must cease from the wicked work of sin and devote yourself to God. On this see further below, in part 5, on sloth. The fourth commandment is: "Honor your father and mother," on which see above, part 1, the chapter dealing with the honor due to our parents. The fifth is: "You shall not kill"; see above, part 2, on wrath. The sixth is: "You shall not steal"; see above, part 3, chapter 1. The seventh is: "You shall not give false witness"; see above, part 3, on perjury. The eighth is: "You shall not covet your neighbor's good"; see part 4, on covetousness and avarice. And the ninth and tenth commandments are: "You shall not covet your neighbor's wife" and "You shall not commit adultery"; see part 7 on lechery and the part on avarice. Thus, after the advice of the evangelist: "If you wish to enter into life, keep the commandments."

About the commandments we should know that according to Augustine, *On the Ten Strings*, the decalogue is an instrument of ten strings; when you touch these strings with your hand, that is, carry them out in deed, you will soon notice their effect. By touching the first, one God is worshipped; the second is about taking God's name in vain; the third about keeping the Sabbath; the fourth about honoring our parents; the fifth, "you shall not commit adultery"; the sixth, "you shall not kill"; the seventh, "you shall not steal"; the eighth, about giving false witness; the ninth, about coveting your neighbor's goods; and the tenth, about coveting your neighbor's wife. And thus falls the beast of superstition, of heretical error, of worldly love, impiety, lust, cruelty, rapaciousness, falsehood, covetousness, adultery, and carnal desire. "You, stringplayer and hunter," says Augustine, "touch these strings, and you kill the beasts, not one by one but whole flocks. For with single strings you will kill many that go together under these headings; and thus you will sing a new song with love and without fear."

In order to keep these commandments, follow Christ's teaching; Exodus 25: "Look and do according to the exemplar that was shown to you." An exemplar of these commandments has been literally shown. The first was shown to Moses on Mount Sinai, and it was written on stone tablets, not on wooden ones with soft wax, to indicate that they should stand firmly and be kept and not be easily erased. But notice: We see that sometimes an exemplar is given to a scribe so that he may transfer its contents into another volume or piece of parchment, without adding or subtracting anything—for scribes are usually not sufficiently learned to correct books by adding or subtracting anything without making mistakes. And yet, in spite of this, a faulty scribe, when he is guided by the

- 135 scriptor non est dignus mercede, set pocius dignus pena, quia pergamenum omnino est perditum in quo scripsit. Et ideo, qui prudens est diligenter examinat opus scriptum antequam sibi reddat mercedem, ne in aliquo defraudetur. Spiritualiter loquendo: Omnes Christiani dicuntur scriptores [f. 38] et debent mandata divina transcribere in tabulis cordis, secundum illud
- 140 Exodi 34: "Scribe in tabulis verba federis." Sumus ergo omnes scriptores Domini iuxta illud Ysaie 44: "Hec scribet in manu sua Domino." Exemplar autem fidelissimum tradidit nobis Deus Pater, quia Filium suum incarnatum. In illo ergo legere debemus scribenda ut non addamus neque minuiamus. Deuteronomii: "Non addetis ad verbum quod ego loquor vobis, nec auferetis (ex eo," etc.) Sic enim scribitur Iohannis 13: "Exemplum dedi vobis, ut quemadmodum ego feci," etc. Set timeo quod multi sunt falsi scriptores, quibus merces promittitur si bene scribant, set tamen credunt decipere, unde mirabiliter transiliunt. Nam forte satis bene scribunt primam lineam istius exemplaris, que est de Deo vero, et transiliunt secundam, que est de periu-  
 150 rio. Scribunt enim forte lineam de furto et omittunt aliam, scilicet de adulterio, et sic de aliis. Unde propter falsitatem eorum non sunt digni premio set pena dignissimi, quia perdunt volumen in quo scribunt, scilicet cor suum, ita quod nulli usui est aptum, et forsitan hoc facere audent, quia non statim opus eorum per diligentem amorem et ferventem caritatem non  
 155 examinatur. Set consulo quod caveant. Non enim vult Deus defraudari. Et ideo omnia que scripta sunt in exemplari, diligenter et fideliter transumant, quia Exodi 2 dicitur: "Moyses et Aaron fecerunt omnia signa que scripta sunt." Et Apocalipsis ultimo dicitur: "Si quis diminuerit de verbis legis huius, auferat Deus partem eius de (libro) vite."  
 160 Unde hec precepta continentur in hiis versibus:

Unum crede Deum. Ne iures falsa per ipsum.  
 Sabbata sanctifices. Tibi sint in honore parentes.  
 Non occisor eris, fur, mechus, testis iniquus.  
 Non violas nuptam nec rem cupias alienam.

- 165 [Take no God but oon in heuen.  
 Neme nouzth his name in ydel steuen.  
 Loke ryzt wel þyn halyday.  
 þy fadur and moder þow worshyp ay.  
 Loke þou be no monseleere.  
 170 Of fals wytnes noo berere.  
 þou shalt do no lecherye,  
 Ni no þefthe of felonye.  
 þin neyȝborus godes þou ne wyll.  
 Ny wyf ne douȝter for to spylle.]

number of lines or points in his exemplar, still sometimes skips material; he hopes that his fault will not be detected, and once he has been paid, he cares but little if his fault is found out. Thus it happens often that such a scribe is not worth his pay but rather deserves punishment, for the parchment on which he has written is completely wasted. Therefore, if you are smart, you examine carefully what has been written before you pay him, so that you do not get cheated. In spiritual terms: All Christians are said to be scribes who must transcribe God's commandments on the tablets of their hearts, according to Exodus 34: "Write the words of the covenant upon tablets." For we all are scribes of the Lord, after Isaiah 44: "He shall write with his hand, To the Lord." Now, God the Father has given us a very faithful exemplar, his Son in human flesh. In him we must read what we ought to write, without adding or subtracting anything; Deuteronomy: "You shall not add to the word I speak to you, neither shall you take away from it," etc. For it is written in John 13: "I have given you an example, so that as I have done," etc. But I fear that many are faulty scribes, to whom a reward is promised if they copy well, but they still try to cheat and skip in the most breathtaking way. For perhaps they write out the first line of their exemplar quite well, the one about the true God, but then they skip the second, about committing perjury. They write perhaps the line about theft, but omit the next one, about adultery. And so with the others. Therefore, because of their cheating they do not deserve a reward but very much a punishment, because they ruin the codex in which they write, that is, their heart, so that it is of no further use; and perhaps they dare to do so because their work is not at once examined through eager love of God and fervent charity. But I advise them to beware. God will not be cheated. They should therefore copy all that is written in their exemplar carefully and faithfully, for in Exodus 2 it is said: "Moses and Aaron did all the signs that have been written." And at the end of Revelation is said: "If anyone should take away from the words of this law, may God take away his part from the book of life."

Hence these commandments are contained in the following verses:

Believe in God alone, take not his name in vain.  
 Observe the holy day, give honor to your parents.  
 Commit not murder, theft, adult'ry, or false witness.  
 And do not ever lust for others' wife or goods.

Take no God . . .

3-4 Matt. 22.39-40. 20-21 Matt. 22.37. 22ff. See *Glossa* on Rom. 13.9 (PL 191:1508). The expansions "sine errore," etc., are likewise scholastic commonplaces, apparently deriving from Alcuin, *Sermo 108* 4 (PL 39:1960); see, for instance, Innocent



2 et(1)] *add* dilectione O. 4 22] *add* tota idest C. 20 et] *om* O. 22] 13 C. 26 in] a C. 27 *evacuemus*] *evacuemur* C. 30 *beati*] *sancti* O. 32 *igitur*] *ergo* C. 35 *Cumque*] *cum* O. 41 *evitetur*] *enervetur* O. 46 *secaturus*] *secturus* O. *usque huc*] *hucusque* O. 57 *ut*] *add* omnes O. *tercio*] *add* ut C. 62 *milite*] *add* anglico et O. 64 et] *om* O. 67–68 *terra* . . . *Domino*] *terram* *expiravit* O. 68 *quidam*] *om* O. 71 *igitur*] *ergo* O. 72 *permisit*] *promisit* O. 74 *animam*] *om* O. 76–81 *Loue* . . . *telle*] *text from R. Verse 21, in B3.E.Go1.Go2. Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.* 82 *pertinente*] *pertinens* C. 83 *supra*] *add* particula prima O. *etc.*] *capitulo* O. 86 *mea*] *om* O. 88 *debes*] *om* O. 89 *istum*] *illum* O. 90 *dicitur*] *docetur* O. 93 *supra*] *add* particula ista O. 98 *nota*] *add* supra O. *de* . . . *parentum*] 10 O. 103 *avaricia*] *add* *capitulo* O. 104 et] *om* O. 105 et . . . *avaricia*] *satis* O. 109 *idest*] *et* O. 109–116 *Tacta* . . . *voluptatis*] *this material may have originally been written in two columns, to read tacta prima* . . . *colitur et cadit bestia supersticionis, etc.; thus in L1.Go2.* 118 *istis*] *hiis* O. 127 *illa*] *ea* O. 129 *addendo*] *add* *scilicet* O. 130 *errant*] *errent* O. 137 *reddit*] *reddat* O. 138–139 *Omnes* . . . *debent*] *christiani debent esse scriptores et O.* 142 *suum*] *add* *unigenitum* O. 144–145 *ex eo etc.*] *etc ex eo* C. 150 *forte*] *forsan* O. 154 *amorem*] *add* *ad deum* O. 159 *libro*] *ligno* C. 164 *violas*] *alii* O. 165–174 *Take* . . . *spylle*] *text from R. Verse 22, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Jo.L2.L3.LC.R.V.W1.*

### III.viii DE DILECTIONE PROXIMI

[f. 38v] [C]irca autem dilectionem et caritatem quas erga proximum habemus sciendum quod ipsa consistit, primo in naturali fraternitate, ipsum caritatiue edocendo et a malis defe(nd)endo; secundo in temporalis necessitate, ipsum pro posse tantum in indigenciis supportando. Set adverte:

- 5 Qu(ando) precipitur Matthei 22: “Diligens proximum tuum sicut teipsum,” non intendit ibi precipere proximum sic diligere quod in omnibus substanciis uxori, filiis, et similibus sit equalis. Non, certe, set siquis habundaverit in diviciis, in scienciis, et viribus, et proximus sibi in fortuna fuerit similis, tunc sicut de sua gaudeat et de contrario doleat, et supportando faciat sicut vellet sibi fieri, quia iuxta Apostolum Romanorum 12: “gaudere cum gaudentibus et flere,” etc. Secundum Ysidorum autem, *Ethimologiarum* 17, capitulo 5, vitis dicitur quia per vices se nectunt vicinisque arboribus crepitando religentur. E[s]t enim vitis arbor in se debilis set natura flexibilis, que quasi quibusdam brachiis quicquid (com)prehendit
- 15 stringit. Revera sic et nos flexibiles esse debemus per mutuam caritatem affligentes amplectentes et in indigenciis supportantes, quia satis in natura sumus debiles, ut seipsum unusquisque tantum iuvat sine proximi auxilio.

- 20 Et ideo in vinculo pacis colligari debemus, ut iuxta Apostolum Romanorum 5: “Unanimes uno ore honorificemus Deum,” et ideo iuxta illud Ephesiorum 4: “Sollicite servare (uni)tatem spiritus.” Hoc autem est signum speciale quod Deum fideliter diligamus, si proximum nostrum qui est eius ymago

III, *Sermo de uno martyre* (PL 217:616–617). 25–26 Augustine, *Confessiones* I.i.1 (CC 27:1). 27–28 Cf. Bernard, *Super Cantica* XX.v.7 (1:119). 30–37 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, p. 157. 42–54 See the two lives of Saint Godric edited by J. Stevenson, *Surtees Society* 20 (1847), pp. 199–200. 60–70 Tubach 2497. Add: BL MS Royal 7.D.i, fol. 78v; *Tabula exemplorum*, No. 311; J. G. Bougerol, “Les sermons dans les *Studia* des Mendicants,” in *Le Scuole degli Ordini Mendicanti (secoli XIII–XIV)*, Atti del XVII Covegno di Studi, Todi . . . 1976 (Todi, 1978), pp. 277–78. In some MSS of *FM* this knight is an Englishman (cf. O!); in one of the earliest versions of the story he is French (Etienne de Bourbon). The motif of “letters in his heart” perhaps entered the story by conflation with the similar story about Saint Ignatius above. The letters are absent in earlier versions, or else replaced by a cross. 85–86 John 14.23. 90–91 *FM* I.ix. 93 *FM* III.iv. 97 *FM* V.i–iv. 98 *FM* I.ix. 99 *FM* II, passim. 100 *FM* III.i.53ff. 101–102 *FM* III.iv. 103 *FM* IV, passim. 105 *FM* VII and IV, passim. 106 Matt. 19.17. 107–120 Augustine, *Sermo* 9 13 (CC 41:132–134). See also *Glossa* on Rom. 13.7–10 (PL 191:1509). 122 Exod. 25.40. 140 Cf. Exod. 34.27–28. 141 Isa. 44.5. 144–145 Deut. 4.2. 145–146 John 13.15. 157–158 Cf. Exod. 4.10–31. 158–159 Rev. 22.19. 161–164 *In* 19669 and 9121.

### III.viii LOVE OF OUR NEIGHBOR

Regarding the love and charity we have toward our neighbor, we must know that it lies, first, in natural brotherhood, by which we teach our neighbor in charity and defend him from evil; and second, in help of his temporal needs, by which we support him in his needs as much as we can. But notice that when Matthew 22 commands us to “love your neighbor as yourself,” Scripture does not intend to command that we should love our neighbor so that in respect to all our belongings he be the equal to our wife, children, and the like. Certainly not. But if someone has plenty of wealth or knowledge or strength, and his neighbor is in a similar fortunate state, then he should rejoice as if those riches were his own; and if it is otherwise, he should commiserate with him and by supporting him do what he would wish to have done to himself, for according to the Apostle in Romans 12 we should “rejoice with those who rejoice and weep,” etc. According to Isidore, *Etymologies*, 17, chapter 5, the vine is so called because they support each other mutually and fasten themselves onto neighboring trees by climbing on them. For the vine is a treelike plant that is weak by itself but flexible and binds, as it were with arms, whatever it encircles. Thus should we also be flexible and embrace each other in mutual charity and support each other in our needs; for by nature we are indeed too weak for each one to help himself without the help of his neighbor.

Therefore, we must be bound in the bond of peace, so that after the Apostle’s words in Romans 5, “we shall praise God together with one mouth”; and according to Ephesians 4, “careful to keep the unity of the Spirit.” That is a



integre diligamus. Est enim proximus noster frater spiritualis, quia eundem patrem habemus, Deum, et eandem matrem, Ecclesiam; Matthaei 23: "Unus est pater vester." Si ergo Christus sit pater omnium nostrum, certum est quod omnes eius filii sumus; si autem filii, certe et heredes regni celorum. Si ergo summe diligeres fratrem tuum carnal(em) qui tecum divideret hereditatem, et si plures haberes fratres, et omnes de [f. 39] hereditate tecum participarent, unde quanto plures tanto minor erit porcio tua, et tamen omnes bene diligeres—nonne multo magis teneris diligere fratres tuos spirituales, idest proximos, qui tecum hereditatem celestem non dividunt set unusquisque capiet totam, quia participacio secundum Bernardum in idipsum est?

Debes ergo ipsum diligere et nullo modo offendere nec opere nec verbo. Constat enim quod nullo modo velles quod sinistra dicerentur de te nec in absentia tua nec in presencia, licet essent vera. Quare ergo vis talia de proximo audire et seminare, cum tamen secundum legem nature precipitur: Hoc facias aliis quod tibi vis fieri? "Set hoc est preceptum meum," dicit Christus, "ut diligatis invicem." Et adverte: Posito quod abstuleris a proximo bona temporalia, rogo quis te absolvet sine restitutione? Revera, si unde haberes, nullus vivens. Set defamare proximum est gravius dampnum quam auferre temporalia, quia iuxta Sapientem: "Melius est nomen bonum quam divicie multe." Ergo nemo potest eum absolvere nisi famam restituat. Set hoc non potest aliqua ratione, nam tu primus diffamator proximum diffamando alia apposuisti que prius non fuerunt, et auditor alteri narrans plura, et tercius plurima, et sic in infinitum. Quomodo ad illa revocanda, ad quod teneris, devenires? Quasi diceret, nullo modo. Cave ergo et dilige proximum in Deum, nec aliquem, sive sit pauper sive quantumcumque simplex, in contemptum habebis. Non enim fecit Deus ab inicio unum hominem aureum, de cuius genere sunt omnes nobiles et divites, et alium luteum, de quo omnes ignobiles et pauperes. Set secundum Gregorium omnes homines natura genuit equales, set culpa, dicit ipse, hominem homini prefecit. Quare ergo unu(s) se reputat superiorem aliis? Exemplis enim racionabilibus ostenditur omnem hominem esse eiusdem condicionis. Videmus quod de eodem grano et est [f. 39v] furfur et farina delicatissima, ex eadem radice spina pungens et rosa demulcens, ex eadem arbore fructus dulcis et putridus. Forte dicis michi: "Quomodo possem diligere meum inimicum qui tot mala michi fecit? Bene volo diligere meum amicum." Respondeo quod quantum teneris diligere amicum in Deum, tantum teneris diligere inimicum propter Deum. Ipsemet Deus precipit per evangelistam: "Diligite eos qui persecuntur vos." Et alibi: "Orate pro persequentibus et calumpniantibus vos. Si ergo (di)c(it) ipse Christus) tantum diligitis eos qui vos diligunt, quam mercedem habebitis? Nonne (dicit ipse) publicani hoc faciunt?" Quasi diceret, sic. "Diligite ergo (dicit ipse) inimicos vestros, benefacite hiis qui od(er)unt vos"; et certe, [si] sic, celum lucratus es.

special sign that we love God faithfully: when we love our neighbor fully, who is God's image. For our neighbor is our spiritual brother, since we have the same father, God, and the same mother, the Church; Matthew 23: "Your father is one." If therefore Christ is the father of us all, it is certain that we all are his children; but if children, then surely also heirs of the kingdom of heaven. Now, if you love your brother in the flesh very much, who will share your inheritance with you, and if, in case you have several brothers and they all take their share of your inheritance, so that the more brothers there are, the smaller your own portion will be, yet you love all of them well—should you then not love your spiritual brothers even more, that is, your neighbors, who will not divide the heavenly inheritance with you but each one will receive all of it, for according to Bernard "sharing" there will be full possession?

Thus you must love him and not offend him in any way in deed or word. You certainly would not want that people said anything harmful about you, whether you are absent or not, even if it were true. Why, then, do you want to hear such things about your neighbor and spread them, while the law of nature tells you to do to others as you want it done to yourself? "But this is my commandment," says Christ, "that you love one another." And notice: Let us assume you took some worldly goods from your neighbor. I ask you: who would absolve you without your making restitution? Indeed, no one alive, if you have the means. But ruining your neighbor's good name is a greater harm than taking his worldly goods, for according to the Wise Man, "a good name is better than many riches." Therefore, no one can absolve him unless he brings back his good name. But this cannot be done in any way; for when you began to defame your neighbor, you added things that were not there in the first place, and the person who hears you has added more when he told this to someone else, and the third even more, and so *ad infinitum*. How will you manage to revoke all these things, as you are required to do? There is no way. Therefore, beware and love your neighbor in God and hold no one in contempt, even if he is poor or somewhat simple. For God did not, in the beginning, make one man of gold, from whom all noblemen and rich people are descended, and another from clay, from whom the lower classes and the poor have sprung. Rather, according to Gregory, nature created all men equal, whereas it is sin, as he says, that has put one man before another. Why then does one person think he is superior to the others? That all human beings are of the same condition can also be shown by natural examples that speak to our reason. For we see that from one and the same grain come bran and the finest flour, from one and the same root the prickly thorn and the sweet-smelling rose, and from one and the same tree sweet and rotten fruit. But perhaps you tell me: "How could I love my enemy who has done me so many evils? My friend I will love well!" I answer that as much as you are held to love your friend in God, so much are you held to love your enemy for God's sake. God himself has commanded through the evangelist: "Love those who persecute you." And elsewhere: "Pray for those who persecute and

Et nota: malus proximus sive inimicus tuus est quasi virga Dei per quam castigat electos et bonos, quam virgam, nisi se correxerit, comburet in igne inferni, et tunc letabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam, sicut puer letatur cum pater suus comburet virgam de qua fuit punitus et solebat  
 70 verberari. Et tamen propter preceptum oportet ipsum inimicum hic diligere. Non debes imputare equo set equitanti, non baculo set percucienti malum quod habes. Sic nec imputabis inimico malum quod per eum habes et pateris, set diabolo, cuius instrumentum est malus homo et cuius mandato malum tibi fit; Psalmista: "Inmisit per angelos malos," scilicet malum quod habes, et  
 75 non per hominem. Et adverte: Quantumcumque fuerit proximus malus, si tamen voluerit bonus effici, bonus potest esse et sanctus. Exemplum de beato Paulo, de beata Magdalena, et huiusmodi; et tamen isti sunt sancti qui propter Deum postea corpora sua tradiderunt penis et morti. Sic certe potest et proximus quantumcumque malus; Luce 15: "Maius gaudium est in celo  
 80 de [uno] peccatore [f. 40] penitentiam agente quam de nonaginta novem iustis," quia "ubi habundavit," ut dicit Apostolus Ad Romanos, "iniquitas, superhabundavit et gracia."

Et ideo proximus est omnino diligendus in natura sua, sicut in corpore et anima. Nam sicut diligit ipse Deus, Sapientie 11: "Diligis omnia que fecisti et nichil odisti eorum que creasti." Set mores si sint boni, diligendi sunt; sin autem, nequaquam. Unde Augustinus: "Debemus, inquit, in proximo diligere illud quod natura plantavit et non quod viciu[m] deformavit."

Unde narratur de tribus sociis ad mensam cuiusdam magni positis, quibus in fine prandii tria poma apponebantur, sicut largitur in yeme  
 90 fructus *pur deynte*, quorum singula aliquantulum in una parte putrida erant. Unus ergo istorum trium pomum suum accepit et comedit totaliter, scilicet corruptum cum integro. Et cito post tantam sensit abhominacionem quod illud oport(ui)t expuere. Unde gulosus reputabatur. Quod videns alius de pomu suo noluit gustare; unde ineducatus dicebatur. Set tercius accepit pomum suum  
 95 et separavit corruptum ab integro, et quod bonum erat et sanum gustavit, reliquum reiecit; unde iste curialis dicebatur. Revera sic istis diebus aliqui sic fatue diligunt [quod] quicquid fecerint illi quos diligunt, sive bene sive male, in nullo displicet. Et certe tales sumunt corruptum cum integro. Set certe ille amor non valet, quia cum venerint ad propriam  
 100 conscienciam in fine, velint nolint, propter abhominacionem corrupti facti oportet totum illum amorem expellere. Alii autem sunt qui tantum alios detestantur quod quicquid [fecerint], sive bene sive male, omnia displicent. Et ille totum pomum, idest totam vitam proximi, abicit. Et hic nulla dilectio apparet set odium apertissimum. Set certe sunt alii qu(i) quicquid  
 105 vident in proximo de bono accipi- [f. 40v] unt et gaudent, malum vero abiciunt et detestantur. Et certe isti tantum caritative et ordinate diligunt; Ieremie 15: "Si separaveris preciosum a vili, quasi os meum eris."

slander you. If you therefore love only those that love you," says Christ, "what reward will you have? Do not (he says) the publicans do so also?" as if he were saying, yes indeed. "Therefore love your enemies (he says), do good to those that hate you," and certainly, if you do that, you have earned heaven.

Notice that an evil neighbor or your enemy is like a rod with which God chastises his elect and good people; if the rod does not amend itself, God will burn it in the fire of hell, and then the just man will rejoice when he sees vengeance, as a child rejoices when his father burns the rod with which he used to be punished and beaten. Nonetheless, at the present point we must love our enemy, for the sake of God's commandment. You must not blame the evil you suffer on the horse but the rider, not on the stick but on him who strikes you. Likewise, do not blame your enemy for the evil you receive and suffer through him, but rather the devil, whose tool a wicked person is and by whose order evil comes to you; the Psalmist says: "He sent by evil angels," namely the evil you suffer, and not by man. And notice that however bad your neighbor may have been, if he wanted to become good, he could be good and saintly. We have the proof in Blessed Paul, Blessed Magdalene, and others; these are saints who later in life for God's sake gave their bodies over to pains and death. Your neighbor could do the same, however evil he is; Luke 15: "There is greater joy in heaven over one sinner who does penance than over ninety-nine just"; for as the Apostle says in Romans 6: "Where sin abounded, grace did abound more."

Therefore, our neighbor is to be loved in his entire being, that is, in his body and his soul. For thus does God himself love him; Wisdom 11: "You love all things that you have made, and you hate none of those that you have made." But our neighbor's actions we should love if they are good; if not, then we should not love them. As Augustine declares: "We must love in our neighbor what nature has planted there, not what vice has deformed."

There is a story about three companions who were invited to the table of a nobleman. At the end of the meal they were offered three apples, as in winter fruit is served for dessert. Each one was partially spoiled. Then one of the three companions took his apple and ate it all up, the spoiled part with the whole. Soon thereafter he felt such a revulsion that he had to spit it out. For that he was considered a glutton. The second chap, when he saw this, did not want to taste his apple at all; and for that he was reckoned unmannered. But the third took his apple and cut the spoiled part from what was whole; the latter he ate, the rest he threw away; and for that he was said to be a gentleman. In similar fashion, some people nowadays love so foolishly that whatever those whom they love do, be it good, be it evil, it never displeases them at all. Certainly, such people take the spoiled part with the whole. But such love is no good, for when they gain the proper insight in the end, because of their revulsion to the spoiled part they willy-nilly must give up that love altogether. Others there are who detest other people so much that whatever

Secunda dilectio et caritas erga proximum in (necessariorum) supporta-  
 110 cione est, qua scilicet iuxta beatum Gregorium afflictis et indigentibus  
 compati[mur] et pro posse iuvamus. Et si queras que est illa, respondeo  
 quod modo mortuos sepelire, modo infirmos pascere et curare, sicut fecit  
 sanctus Thobias; modo eciam pauperes hospitare, sicut fecit beata Martha;  
 modo nudos vestire, sicut fecit beatus Martinus, et cetera huiusmodi. Et  
 ista dicuntur opera misericordie. Unde Iohannis [canonica], capitulo 3:  
 115 "Qui habuerit substanciam huius mundi et vid[er]it fratrem necessitatem  
 habere et clauserit viscera sua ab eo, quomodo caritas Dei manet in illo?"  
 Quasi diceret, nullo modo. Ergo oppositum: Qui subvenit proximo indigen-  
 ti, modo dando, modo accomodando, modo remittendo, certe perfecta [caritas]  
 120 manet in illo, sicut habetur secundum Iohannem (canonica) ubi supra: "Deus  
 caritas est, et qui manet in caritate, in Deo manet et Deus in eo."

Est igitur hic advertendum quod, ut michi videtur, pro operibus mise-  
 ricordie septem genera hominum per septem genera messium non incongrue  
 possunt significar(i). Nam per triticum, de quo panis suavior fit, desig-  
 nantur contemplativi, qui intendunt interiori dulcedini devocionis, de quo  
 125 Luce (10): "Porro unum est necessarium;" et in exteriori dulcissime infor-  
 ma(cioni proximo), modo docendo ad bonum, ° modo reducendo a malo, et  
 cetera huiusmodi. Secundo dico quod per siliginem, de quo fit panis paupe-  
 rum, intelliguntur illi qui exercent se in illo opere misericordie quibus dicitur:  
 "Esurivi et dedistis michi," etc. Per ordeum, de quo fit potus, intel-  
 130 liguntur illi ° quibus dicitur: "Sitivi et dedistis michi bibere." Per  
 pias, que habent formam rotundam et levem, intelli- [f. 41] guntur illi  
 quibus dicitur: "Hospes eram, et collegistis me." Tales indifferentem cir-  
 cumquaque hospites recipiunt. Per avenas, de quibus fit gruellus infirmo-  
 rum, intelliguntur illi quibus dicitur: "Infirmus fui," etc. Set per ves-  
 135 cas, Anglice *vacches*, intelliguntur illi quibus dicitur: "In carcere fui."  
 Nam sicut istud granum [est] intollerabilius ad gustandum, sic carcer ad  
 sustinendum. Et ideo omnibus istis dicitur in ultimo die illud Matthei:  
 "Venite, benedicti patris mei, percipite [regnum]," etc.

Set timeo quod plures qui dictis modis caritatis et dileccionis inten-  
 140 dere deberent, caritatem simulant, qui non de se set sua, sicut multi  
 iuvenes desponsant bona vetularum et non corpora. Unde menciuntur amici  
 mendaces dicentes quod ex caritate diligunt, quia non diligunt nisi sicut  
 canis ossa propter carnem, qui consumptis carnibus dimittit in luto nec  
 plus curat de illis. Sic certe filii mendaces diligunt bona et non corpora.  
 145 Et ideo certe tales induunt in morte formam inimici, nam expoliant quos  
 (dixerunt se) dilexisse in vita omnibus bonis suis, iuxta illud:

Finita vita fini(t) amicus ita.

they have done, be it good, be it evil, it displeases them altogether. And  
 these throw the entire apple away, that is, their neighbor's entire life. In  
 this there is no love but only open hatred. But truly, there are still others  
 who accept and rejoice in whatever good they find in their neighbor, but what  
 there is evil they reject and detest. These alone love with true and well-  
 ordered charity; Jeremiah 15: "If you will separate the precious from the  
 vile, you will be as my mouth."

The second kind of love and charity toward our neighbor consists in sup-  
 porting him in the things he needs. Through this charity, according to blessed  
 Gregory, we have pity on the afflicted and needy and help them as much as we  
 can. And if you ask what such charity is, I answer: now it is to bury the  
 dead, now to feed and care for the sick, as the saintly Tobit did; now to give  
 the poor shelter, as did Blessed Martha; now to clothe the naked, as did  
 Blessed Martin; and other such works. These are called the deeds of mercy.  
 Whence John says in chapter 3 of his Epistle: "He who has the substance of  
 this world and sees his brother in need and shuts up his bowels from him, how  
 does the love of God abide in him?" as if he were saying: in no way. There-  
 fore, on the contrary, he who helps his needy neighbor, whether by giving or  
 putting him at ease or forgiving him, surely in such a person is perfect  
 charity, according to Blessed John in the Epistle quoted above: "God is love,  
 and he who abides in love, abides in God, and God in him."

We should notice here that, as it seems to me, in order to illustrate the  
 deeds of mercy we may fittingly liken seven kinds of people to seven kinds of  
 harvests. Wheat, from which sweet bread is made, symbolizes the contemplative,  
 who strive after the inner sweetness of devotion, of which Luke 10 says: "But  
 one thing is necessary"; and they are intent on giving their neighbor the  
 sweetest kind of guidance, now by teaching him the way toward the good, now  
 leading him back from evil, and so forth. Second I say that rye, from which  
 the bread of the poor is made, symbolizes those who practice that work of mercy  
 indicated in the words: "I was hungry and you have given me," etc. Barley,  
 from which a beverage is made, symbolizes those to whom is said: "I was  
 thirsty and you gave me to drink." Peas, which are round and light, symbolize  
 those to whom is said: "I was a stranger and you have taken me in." Such  
 people entertain guests without discrimination. Oats, from which gruel for the  
 sick is made, symbolize those to whom is said: "I was sick," and so on. But  
 vetches, in English *vacches*, symbolize those to whom is said: "I was in  
 prison." For just as this grain is unbearable to the taste, so is the prison  
 unbearable to live in. And thus, to all of these the words of Matthew will be  
 said on the last day: "Come, you blessed of my Father, possess the kingdom."

But I fear that many people who ought to practice these manners of charity  
 and love simulate charity by not loving people but their possessions, just as

Et ideo est de talibus sicut de pomerio fructuoso, quia tempore fructus diligenter custoditur et frequenter visitatur, set ablatis fructibus sine custodia relinquitur. Revera sic est de ficta caritate. Dum enim aliquis talis mundanus fictus amicus ab aliquo desiderat dilectionem, simulat, blanditur, adulatur. Set habito optento, (dicunt illud Anglicum:

Now ich haue þat I wyle,  
Goddus grame on þy byle.)

155 Set certe, illa non est perfecta caritas, set ista, de quo Proverbiorum 16 dicitur: "In omni tempore diligit qui amicus est."

Et ideo quicquid facit homo sine caritate, "nichil prodest," secundum Apostolum, Corinthiorum 13. Nam sicut campana sine flabello non placet audientibus, et sicut [f. 41v] corpus nudum sine vestimento quantumcumque honestum vile apparet, et sicut lampas clarissima sine oleo et igne non lucet, et sicut sompnus sine requie corpus attenuat et debilitat—sic omnia opera coram Deo sine caritate vilia sunt et nichil prosunt; Corinthiorum 13: "Si tradidero corpus meum ita ut ardeam, vel distribuero omnem substantiam in cibos pauperum, caritatem autem non habuero, nichil michi prodest."

165 Et ideo est de multis sicut de pueris parvis qui in estate et temporibus amenis modo suo faciunt sibi molendinos de lignis in aquis, set quia supervacua sunt, ideo nichil molant nisi ventum et aquam. Similiter faciunt sibi fornaces de pulvere et argillo et ibi cum sole dequoquant panes, similiter in furno eiusdem materie pandoxant, et tamen in posterum omnia dissipant, quia nichil eis prodest neque ad comedendum neque ad bibendum. Unde vacuo ventre domum redeuntes omnia diei opera irrita sunt et cassa. Revera sic hodie multi ad modum molendini, in quo voluntur et revolvuntur in curis secularibus laborantes, et hoc a mane usque ad vesperam, hoc est a principio vite usque ad senectutem vel ad mortem. Set quia omnia fiunt sine caritate, nichil prodest ad vitam.

1 quas] quam O. 3 defendendo] deferendo C. 4–5 Quando] quoniam C. 14 comprehendit] apprehendit C. 16 in] om O. 20 Unanimes] add vero O. 21 unitatem] veritatem C. 26 heredes] add scilicet O. 27 carnalem] carnaliter C. 29 erit] foret O. 38 aliis] alii O. 40 absolveret] absolverit C. 45 alia] aliqua O. et] add ille O. 46 plurima] plura O. ad] add omnia O. 53 unus] unum C. 54 et] om O. 58 meum] om O. 60 precipit] precepit O. 61 dicit] dixit C. 64 oderunt] odiunt C. 67 virgam] add in fine O. 69 cum] quando O. 71 non(2)] nec O. 73 Quantumcumque] add enim O. 76 bonus effici] om O. 79 Maius] plus O. 81 iustis] bonis O. ut] om O. Ad] om O. 85 creasti] fecisti O. 87 illud] om O. 90 in] ex O. 93 oportuit] oportet C. 96 dicebatur] add tantum O. istis] hiis O. 104 qui] quod C. 108 necessarium] intimorum C. 116 habere] patientem O. 119 canonica] capitulo C. 121 igitur] ergo O.

many young men marry the goods of older women and not their bodies. Wherefore worldly friends lie when they say that they love "out of charity," for they love only as a dog loves bones just for the meat on them; when he has eaten the meat, he leaves the bones in the dirt and no longer cares for them. Thus do deceitful children love their parents' goods but not their persons. And when death comes, they change into an enemy, for they take away all the goods from those they said they loved during their life, after the proverb:

End of life, end of friend.

Therefore it is with them as it is with an orchard: when the fruit is ripening, it is carefully guarded and frequently inspected, but when the fruit has been harvested, it is left without guard. Just so does it go with feigned charity. For when such a worldly false friend wants to be loved by someone, he pretends and coaxes and flatters. But after they have gained their desire, they say that English proverb:

Now that I have got my will,  
May God's curse fall on thy bill.

But surely this is not perfect charity; rather, that of which Proverbs 16 says: "He who is a friend loves at all times."

And thus, whatever a person does without charity "is of no avail," according to the Apostle in Corinthians 13. For just as a bell without a clapper gives no pleasure to those who hear it, and just as a naked body without clothes, however attractive, appears shameful, and just as a polished lamp without oil and fire does not give light, and just as sleep without rest wears and weakens the body—just so are all works without charity vile before God and of no use; Corinthians 13: "If I give my body to be burned, or distribute all my goods to feed the poor, but have no charity, it profits me nothing." And thus it goes with many people as it does with small boys who, in fair summertime, after their fashion build themselves wooden water-mills, but as these are empty, they grind nothing but wind and water. Likewise they build themselves stoves of dirt and clay and cook food in the sun, and similarly they bake bread in ovens of the same material; yet in the end they throw it all away, for it is no good for eating or drinking. Then they go home with an empty stomach and all their day's work has been in vain and lost. Many people nowadays likewise turn and turn like water-mills when they work hard in secular pursuits, from morning till evening, that is, from the beginning of their lives till their old age or death. But as they do everything without charity, it is of no use to them for eternal life.

123 significari] significare C. W; assignare M. 124 quo] add dicitur O. 125 10] 4 C.R. 125–126 informacioni proximo] informatum primo C; informacione proximo W. 126 bonum] add secundo *interl* C. 129 et . . . michi] *om* O. 130 illi] add de C. Si-tivi . . . bibere] nudus fui et cooperuistis me O. 137 ultimo die] ultimis diebus O. 139 timeo] add michi O. 140 de se] desiderant hominem *M corr.* 145 expoliant] spoliant O. 146 dixerunt se] dilexerunt sic C. 147 finit] finitur C. 148 quia] quod O. 152–154 dicunt . . . byle] etc C. *Text from R. Verse 23, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.* 155 illa] ista O. 158 flagello M; batillo R. 172 quo] qua M; aqua *corr* R. 174 fiunt] faciunt O.

### III.ix QUE CARITATEM IMPEDIUNT

[E]x predictis ergo patet quid sit caritas et in quibus consistit. Iam ergo dicendum est que illam impediunt. Et revera breviter respondetur quod mundi cupiditas et avaricia, que includitur in corde hominis per ista duo, meum et tuum. Dicunt enim isti reges et principes, “Illud regnum est meum, non tuum.” Econtra dicit alius, “Hoc falsum est. Imo est meum, non tuum.” Et sicut est de istis, sic est de residuo populo in aliis. Unde hec est causa quare caritas impeditur, elongatur, et destruitur. Unde tot clades et bella, [f. 42] tot pugne et pericula, tot casus et infortunia, tot ambiciones superbie, tot falsitates invidie, tot crudelitates malicie, non tantum inter regna verum eciam in civitatibus, villis, domibus, et super omnia in cordibus hominum oriuntur. Et ideo, ut michi videtur, non tantum verificatur modo illud Osee, capitulo 4: “Non est veritas, non est misericordia, non est sciencia Dei in terra,” etc., “set maledictum, mendacium, homicidium, furtum, adulterium, et cetera inundaverunt super terram, et sanguis sanguinem tetigit,” set eciam illud Ieremie 5: “Renuerunt accipere disciplinam”; et sequitur: “Pauperes sunt et stulti,” supple mundani, “ignorantes viam Domini et iudicium Dei sui. Ibo ergo ad optimates et loquar eis, et ecce ipsi magis fregerunt iugum et vincula rumpunt. Idcirco percussit eos leo de silva, et lupus ad vesperam vastabit illos.” Hec ille.

Iam ergo palpate et videte si non verificetur propheta hec hiis diebus. Et timeo quod sic. Qui enim magis peccatores quam potentes? Qui magis malefactores quam scientes, scilicet quam viri ecclesiastici qui sciunt viam Domini et iudicium Dei? Ubi rogo superbia, ubi avaricia, ubi luxuria, ubi rapine, homicidia, blasphemie, et huiusmodi? Nonne in scientibus et potentibus? Isti ergo fregerunt iugum Domini et legem [Dei], scilicet fidelitatis, religionis, et ordinis contra ordinationem et voluntatem Dei. Ruperunt eciam vincula, scilicet caritatis Dei et proximi, Deum non timentes nec hominem reverentes. Et ideo certe tandem percuciet eos leo, de quo Petri 5: “Adversarius vester tamquam leo rugiens circuit querens quem devoret.” Et non tantum hoc, set “lupus [ad vesperam vastabit illos,” ille

5 Matt. 22.39. 11 Rom. 12.15. 11–15 Isidore, *Etym.* XVII.v.2. 20 Cf. Rom. 15.6. 21 Eph. 4.3. 24–25 Matt. 23.9. 26 Rom. 8.17. 38–39 John 15.12. 43–44 Prov. 22.1. 51–52 Gregory, *Moralia* XXVI.xxvi.46 (PL 76:376). 60–64 Cf. Matt. 5.44–47. 74 Ps. 77.49. 79–81 Luke 15.7. 81–82 Cf. Rom. 5.20. 84–85 Wisd. 11.25. 86–87 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps. 100* 5 (CC 39:1410). 88–96 Tubach 318 (only *FM*). 107 Jer. 15.19. 109–110 Cf. Gregory, *Moralia* X.vi.8 (PL 75:922–923). 112 Cf. Tob. 1–2; and Luke 10.40. 113 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, pp. 741–742. 115–116 1 John 3.17. 119–120 1 John 4.16. 125 Luke 10.42. 129–138 Matt. 25.34–36. 147 *Prov* 22027, line 2. 156 Prov. 17.17. 157 1 Cor. 13.3. 163 1 Cor. 13.3.

### III.ix OBSTACLES TO CHARITY

From what has been said, then, it is clear what charity is and consists in. Now we have to speak of what hinders it. And that, in brief, is worldly cupidity and avarice, which is enclosed in man’s heart by the two words “mine” and “thine.” For our kings and princes say, “This realm is mine and not yours,” and another contradicts: “Wrong. It is mine, not yours.” And as it goes with them, so it goes with the rest of the people in other matters. For this reason charity is hindered, driven far away, and destroyed. Hence so many disasters and wars arise, so many fights and dangers, so many falls and misfortunes, so much proud ambition, envious falsehood, and malicious cruelty, not only between realms but also in cities, towns, houses, and above all in the hearts of men. Therefore it seems to me that now not only the word of Hosea 4 has come true: “There is no truth, there is no mercy, there is no knowledge of God in the land,” etc., “but cursing, lying, killing, theft, adultery, and other evils have overflowed the earth, and blood has touched blood,” but also the word of Jeremiah 5: “They have refused to receive correction”; and what follows: “These are poor and foolish,” add: worldly people, “who do not know the way of the Lord and the judgment of their God. I will go therefore to the great men and will speak to them, and behold these have altogether broken the yoke and have burst the bonds. Wherefore a lion out of the wood has slain them, and a wolf in the evening will spoil them.”

Look and see if this prophecy has not come true in our days. I fear it has. For who are greater sinners than our political leaders? Who are greater evildoers than our learned men, that is, our churchmen who know the way of the Lord and the judgment of God? Where, I ask, is pride, avarice, lechery, extortion, manslaughter, blasphemy, and the like? Is it not among those who have knowledge and power? They “have broken the yoke” of the Lord and the law of God, namely that of faithfulness, religion, and order, against God’s disposition and will. They have also “broken the bonds,” namely of the love of God and their neighbor, by not fearing God or having respect for man. And therefore, certainly the lion will at last strike them of whom Peter 5 says: “Your

scilicet lupus] rapax [diabolus] ad vesperam mortis rapiet eos ad infernum iuxta illud Job 21: "Ducunt in [f. 42v] bonis dies suos et in puncto ad inferna descendunt."

35 Unde michi videtur quod vita talium mundanorum bene comparatur line(e), cuius extrema sunt duo puncta, scilicet nasci et mori. Quicquid ergo acceperit homo inter puncta, ut dicunt philosophi, divisibile est, set cum ad punctum venerit, non est ulterius divisio, quia tantum unitas manet. Revera sic in proposito. Quamcumque horam acceperis de vita peccatoris, 40 quanta est iudicari et dividi bene potest, eo quod quanta; tunc enim sic in alia potest dividi et ab illa separari; ad vitam bonam potest eciam penetrare et satisfacere, et huiusmodi. Set certe, cum pervenerit ad punctum, idest ad mortem, non est ulterius divisio, ut patet.

45 Ex dictis ergo patet quod avaricia et cupiditas impediunt caritatem, de quibus diffusius tractatur particula 4, capitulo 1, ubi agitur de avaricia. Et ideo hic pertranseo.

50 Si quis ergo cupit invenire amorem fidelem unde sibi coronam cum floribus preciosissimis et mellifluis sibi parare voluerit, vadat ad cor suum, et si [ibi] ista quatuor invenerit sine fictione vel falsitate, certe illum lucratus est, scilicet: si diligat Deum super omnia et animam habeat sine peccato postea; si tercio proximum diligat amicum in Deum, et quarto inimicum propter Deum.

[Loue God ouer alle þyng,  
Sethen þy-selfe withouten synnyng.  
Sethen þi frend as kynde þe teches.  
55 After þy fo withouten wreche.]

Et certe sic faciens inveniet quadrifolium istius veri amoris. [Set timeo quod dicere possum:

60 Trewe loue among men þat most is of lette  
In hattes, in hodes, in porses is sette.  
Trewe loue in herbers spryngeth in May,  
Bote trewe loue of herte went is away.]

3 ista duo] istas duas vectes O. 6 populo] populi O. 9 falsitates] add et O. crudelitates] add et O. 12 4] corr from 3 C; 3 O. 31 ad(2)] in O. 34–35 linee] lineo C. 39–40 in alia] malicia O. 44 particula] parte O. 46 cum] tanquam O. 49 habeat] om O. 50 diligat] om O. 52–55 Loue . . . wreche] text from R. Verse 24, in B3.E.Go1.Go2. Jo.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 56 istius] illud O. 56–61 Set . . . away] text from R. Verse 25, in B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L1.L2. LC.R.Sp.V.W1.

enemy goes about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour." And not only this, but "the wolf in the evening will spoil them," namely that rapacious wolf, the devil, will in the evening of death carry them off to hell, according to Job 21: "They spend their days in wealth, and in a moment they go down to hell."

For this reason it seems to me that the life of such worldlings can well be compared to a line, whose ends are two points, namely birth and death. Whatever space one takes between these points is divisible, as the philosophers say, but when one comes to the point, no further division is possible, because then only a unity remains. This applies to the present topic. Whatever hour you take in the life of a sinner, and however long it is, it can be judged and divided because of its extension, for then wickedness can be divided and separated from it, and the sinner can convert to the good life and make satisfaction, and the like. But certainly once the sinner arrives at the endpoint, that is, at his death, no further division is possible, as is obvious.

From what has been said, it is clear that charity is blocked by avarice and cupidity. These are dealt with more extensively in part 4, chapter 1, on avarice. Therefore I pass on now.

Whoever wishes to find a true love from which he may want to make himself a wreath as of precious and honey-sweet flowers, let him go to his own heart, and if he there finds the following four without pretense or falsehood, he has gained that wreath: if he loves God above all and afterwards keeps his soul without sin; thirdly, if he loves his neighbor and friend in God, and fourthly his enemy for the sake of God.

Love God above all other things,  
Yourself next without sin,  
And next your friend as nature wants,  
Your en'my then without sting.

And if he does so, he will certainly find the quatrefoil of true love. But I fear that I can say:

True love among men, which most is forsaken,  
To hats and hoods and purses is taken.  
True love in arbors blossoms in May,  
But true love of heart has all gone away.

12–15 Hos. 4.1–2. 15–19 Jer. 5.3–6. 29–30 1 Pet. 5.8. 30 Jer. 5.6. 32–33 Job 21.13. 44–45 FM IV.



## III.x DE PASSIONE CHRISTI

[R]estat ergo iam quarto et ultimo videre quomodo hec caritas sic elongata et quasi deper(d)ita poterit inveniri et recuperari. Revera hoc modo: Si (enim) homo diligenter attenderet et penes se iugiter deliberaret qualem caritatem Christus nobis ostendit, non tantum in sua benedicta incarnatione  
 5 verum etiam in sua crudeli passione, a qua nichil audibile, nichil visibile vel intelligibile vel terribile illum trahere potuit, quin pro nobis mortem [f. 43] subire vellet ut nos ab eterna morte et diaboli potestate liberaret. Voluit ergo Christus permaximam caritatem qua non esset maior nobis ostendere, quando animam suam pro nostra redemptione Deo Patri optulit et  
 10 corpus suum morti humilissime et sine culpa exposuit, iuxta illud Iohannis 15: "Maiorem (hac) dilectionem nemo habet ut animam suam ponat quis pro amicis suis." Igitur, si hanc caritatem tam mente quam corde discutere velimus, revera si veri filii [Dei] fuerimus, caritatem sic elongatam naturaliter reperiemus. Dicitur vulgariter: "Ego diligentes me diligo." Set  
 15 Christus prius dilexit nos, ut dicitur Apocalipsis 1, "et lavit nos a peccatis nostris in sanguine suo." Ista ergo passio quam pro nobis sustinuit ad perfectam caritatem reducet. De qua sic intendo procedere, scilicet primo quare sanguinem suum fudit; secundo quo die passus est, et quomodo, et ubi; tercio qua hora, qua etate, et quo tempore; quarto de quibus  
 20 accusabatur et quociens illusus; quinto de misterio et virtute crucis sue. Circa primum est sciendum quod primo sanguinem suum fudit ut esset peccatoribus in auxilium et remedium contra hostes spirituales et peccata temporalia carnalia. Unde notandum quod maximum remedium est eius sanguinis effusio eo quod inducit peccatorem ad dolorem contritionis, ad pudorem  
 25 confessionis, et ad laborem satisfactionis. In cuius signum legimus quod in Christi passione petre scisse sunt, idest dura corda in contricione; aperta que monumenta, in confessione; et tercio multa corpora sanctorum surrexerunt, in satisfactione; de quibus post, parte 5, dicitur. Et nota quod in sua passione maximum bellum pro genere humano contra  
 30 eius hostes assumpsit, quod quidem bellum bene figura- [f. 43v] batur in bello quod accepit David contra gigantem Goliath Philisteum, ut patet Regum 17. Nam ille David, qui manu fortis interpretatur, bene designat Christum, athletam fortissimum, qui crucem pro baculo accepit, ut illum Goliath gigantem, idest diabolum, devinceret. Qui quidem baculus crucis figuram habuit  
 35 bellatoris baculi, qui bipennis dicitur eo quod in summitate habet duo cornua, de quo Abacuch 3 dicitur: "Et cornua in manibus eius." Set advertete: Sicut enim videmus inter homines quod quando unus nobilis alium intendit debellare, non expectat insultus adversarii, set ut celebrior habeatur victor[ia] locum eius requirit quem debellare disponit, revera sic Christus  
 40 pugil noster sciens habitaculum demonum inimicorum nostrorum esse in aere

## III.x ON CHRIST'S PASSION

In the fourth and last place it remains to see how this charity, when it has been driven away and is almost completely lost, may be found again and recovered. Verily thus: if man would diligently consider and intently weigh within him what love Christ has shown us, not only in his blessed incarnation but also in his cruel Passion, from which nothing could hold him back that he might hear or see or understand or fear so that he would not want to suffer death for us in order to free us from eternal death and the power of the devil. For Christ wanted to show his exceedingly great love, than which there is none greater, when he offered his soul to God the Father for our redemption and gave his body most humbly and without guilt over to death, after the word of John 15: "Greater love than this no man has, that a man lay down his life for his friends." Therefore, if we were to reflect on this love intently with our mind and heart, if indeed we are true children of God, we shall naturally find that love again that has been driven away. There is a common saying: "I love those that love me." But Christ has loved us first, as is said in Revelation 1, "and has washed us from our sins in his blood." This Passion, then, which he suffered for us will lead us back to perfect love. I will treat of it as follows: first, why he shed his blood; second, on what day, how, and where he suffered; third, at what hour, what age, and what time; fourth, by whom he was accused and how much he was taunted; and fifth, of the mystery and power of his cross.

Concerning the first point we should know that he shed his blood in the first place that it might be a help to sinners and a remedy against our spiritual enemies and fleshly sins. Notice that shedding his blood is a very strong remedy because it leads the sinner to the sorrow of contrition, to the shame of confession, and to the labor of satisfaction. In token of which we read that at Christ's Passion the rocks, that is, hardened hearts, were cleft in contrition; the graves were opened, in confession; and finally many bodies of saints arose, in satisfaction. Of these things we shall speak later, in part 5.

Notice also that in his Passion he undertook a great war for mankind against its enemies, which is prefigured in the war that David took upon himself against the Philistine giant Goliath, as is recorded in Kings 17. David, whose name means "strong of hand," stands for Christ, the very strong champion, who took upon himself the cross as a staff so that he might overcome that giant Goliath, that is, the devil. The staff of the cross looks like the staff of a warrior that is called *bipennis*, a double-edged battle-ax, because it has two points at its end; Habakkuk 3 says of it: "And horns in his hands." But notice: among men, when one nobleman plans to fight another, he does not wait for his enemy's attacks but, in order to gain victory more quickly, marches to his opponent's place; thus our champion, Christ, knowing that our

caliginoso, ideo ut illos tamquam in loco proprio eos et aereas potestates debellaret, voluit super crucem per quam illos devicit in aere elevari.

Que quidem victoria bellicosa pro nostra reparacione contra diabolum a Christo facta bene figuratur Hester 10 in sompno Mardochei, ubi dicitur  
 45 quod “fons parvus crevit in flumen magnum,” ubi etiam dicitur quod Mardocheus vidit super illum fontem duos magnos dracones simul pugnare, et draco draconem superabat. Unde postea sompnum exponens ait quod illi dracones fuerunt Aman et Mardocheus. O beatum sompnum nostre reparacionis et auxili-  
 50 lii! Spiritualiter autem loquendo fons ille parvus sanguis Christi erat, adhuc infra carnem et cutem inclusus; set certe crevit in flumen magnum quando lancea eius aperiebat latus et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua, et non tantum hoc set quando per manus, pedes, et totum corpus eius sanguis efflu[x]it et ebullivit. Super isto ergo fonte pugnaverunt duo dracones,  
 55 [f. 44] idest duplex amor Christi, qui ex una parte ad propriam vitam, ex alia vero ad nostram salutem [se] extendit, quorum unus amor erat naturalis et alius gratuitus. Amor autem naturalis, quem scilicet Christus ad vitam propriam habuit, magnus fuit, et merito. Nam sapiens quisque tantum amat rem quantum valet; set eius vita fuit optima; necessario ergo illam diligere oportebat. Set certe amor gratuitus quem habuit ad animas nostras fuit  
 60 fortis valde et durus. Et ideo [isti] duo amores tam vehementer pugnant in Christi passione quod, quando inter se collidebant, sudorem sanguinis expresserunt. Et tamen amor gratuitus amorem naturalem tandem superavit, in tantum quod cicius mori elegit pro genere humano quam proprio corpori parcere. Unde Bernardus: “Numquam, inquit, dedisset se pro me nisi secundum  
 65 aliquid plus dilexisset me quam se.” Et tamen nota quod in ista pugna nulla fuit in Christo contrarietas culpam inducens, quia utrumque amorem sive voluntatem voluntati Patris subiecit, dicens illud Matthei: “Non mea voluntas set tua fiat.” Et factum est ita. Nam Aman, qui fuit secundus a rege, idest Christus Filius Dei, qui est secunda persona in Trinitate, suspensus  
 70 est in patibulo. Mardocheus vero, per quem intelligo naturam humanam vel hominem qui eterno suspendio fuerat adiudicatus, in gratiam regis susceptus est, idest Patris omnipotentis, et factus secundus a rege quando natura nostra Filio Dei unita sedit autem a dextris Dei tanto excellencior angelis effectus, etc.

75 Igitur inspecta erga nos tam ferventissima caritate, iustum est et quiddam naturale ipsum ex toto corde reamare, dicente beato Augustino: “Respice, inquit, vulnera pendentis, sanguinem morientis, cicatrices resurgentis, precium tradentis, commercium redimentis. Et [f. 44v] hec quantum valeant pensate et in statera caritatis appendite, ut totus sit ipse nobis  
 80 fixus in corde qui totus pro nobis fuit fixus in cruce.” Hec ille. Et [ad] hanc caritatem (semper amandam) licet exclamare cum Apostolo: “Et qui non amat Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, anathema sit,” etc.

enemies the devils have their dwelling place in this dark air, and wanting to fight them and the powers of the air so to speak in their own camp, wished to be raised into the air on the cross on which he would defeat them.

That victory in battle, won over the devil for our redemption by Christ, is prefigured in the dream of Mordecai, Esther 10, where it is said that “a small wellspring grew into a large river,” and that Mordecai saw two large dragons fight together at the wellspring, and one dragon overcame the other. When he later explained his dream, he said that these dragons were Haman and Mordecai. O blessed dream about our redemption and help! For spiritually speaking, that small wellspring was the blood of Christ, still shut in between flesh and skin; but it certainly grew into a large river when the spear opened his side and immediately there came out blood and water, and not only this, but his blood flowed and welled out through his hands and feet and whole body. At that fountain two dragons were fighting, that is, the twofold love of Christ, which on one hand longed for his own life, but on the other for our salvation; the former love belonged to nature, the latter to grace. His natural love, that is, the love Christ had for his own life, was great, and justly so, for any wise person loves an object as much as it is worth, and Christ’s life was of the greatest value, therefore he had to love it of necessity. But certainly the love of grace which he had for our souls was very strong and firm. And thus these two loves fought so violently during Christ’s Passion that, when they clashed, they drove forth a sweat of blood. Yet finally the love of grace overcame the love of nature, so that Christ chose rather to die for mankind than to spare his own body. Whence Bernard says: “He would never have given himself for me, had he not, in some way, loved me more than himself.” But notice that in this battle within Christ there was no conflict that would bring guilt with it, for he submitted both loves or wills to the will of his Father, saying the words in Matthew: “Not my will but yours be done.” And so it was done. For Haman, who was second to the king—that is, Christ, the Son of God, who is the second person in the Blessed Trinity—was hanged on the gallows. Mordecai, by whom I understand human nature or man who had been sentenced to eternal death, was received into the grace of the king, that is, of the Almighty Father, and made second to the king, when our nature, united with the Son of God, sits at God’s right hand, raised higher than the angels.

Therefore, when we see such burning love for us, it is right and only natural for us to love him back from our whole heart; as Blessed Augustine says: “Behold his wounds as he hangs on the cross, his blood as he is dying, his scars as he rises from death, the price he is paying, and his bargain as he redeems us. Weigh how much these are worth and place them in the scales of love, so that he may be wholly enclosed in our heart who for us was wholly put on the cross.” To love this love always, one may cry out with the Apostle: “If any man does not love our Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema,” etc.

Secundo, Christus passus est et sanguinem eius fudit pro nobis, ut nos  
ad eius amorem et caritatem alliceret. Exemplum: Aliquando enim datur cani  
85 venatico sanguis alicuius prede ad lambendum, ut levius alliciat ad se-  
quendum. Revera sic nobis sanguis Christi; Psalmista: "Intinguatur pes  
tuus," idest affectio tua, "in sanguine," scilicet Christi, "ut sic illum  
per caritatem avidius sequaris.

Absit ergo quod sibi ingrati simus, sicut fuit quidam amico [suo], de  
90 quo hic narratur. Unde narrat Virgilius *Eneydos*, et similiter commentator  
super Alexandrum Magnum, libro 5 et 6, de Enea quomodo in amore cuiusdam  
puelle nimium exarsit in tantum ut seipsum pro ipsa depauperando humiliaret  
[atque] eam ditando exaltaret. Quod et factum est. Accidit ergo quadam die  
quod [cum] de quodam bello pro ea rediret vulneribus sauciatus, vix semivi-  
95 vus evasit. Accessit ergo ad eam tamquam ad t(u)ciora refugia confidenter,  
eo quod tantum illam pre ceteris dilexisset et seipsum depauperando eam  
exaltasset. Set ipsa tanquam ingrata portas seravit et aditum constanter  
sibi negavit. Quo facto secundum (Ovidium) *Methamorphoseos* ei sic scripsit  
infortunium suum allegans:

100 Cerne cicatrices veteris vestigia pugne.  
Quesivi proprio sanguine quicquid habes.

[Beholde myne woundes, how sore I am dy3th,  
For all þe wele þat þou hast I wan hit in fy3t.  
I am sore woundet, behold on my skyn.

105 Leue lyf, for my loue let me comen in.]

Spiritualiter loquendo iste miles Eneas Christus est, qui istam puellam,  
scilicet animam humanam, in tantum dilexit quod [ut] ipsam exaltaret et  
ditaret, nostram naturam assumens pau- [f. 45] per devenit atque (pro) ea  
contra hostem humani generis bellum fortissimum aggressus est. Ubi tam  
110 horribiliter sauciatus [est] quod, ut dicitur Ysaia: "A planta pedis usque  
ad verticem capitis non est in e(o) sanitas." A quo conflictu vix vivus  
evadens ad portam anime (pro) qua tanta passus est secur[i]us accessit ut  
ipsa pre ceteris amore et compassione mota ipsum in tali necessitate conso-  
laretur et refocillaret. Pulsat ergo ut ingressum habeat, prout dicitur  
115 Apocalipsis 3: "Ecce sto ad ostium et pulso." Quid plura? Revera fortissime  
ibi clamat illud Cantorum: "Aperi michi, soror mea, amica mea, columba  
mea." Set certe, ut timeo, tanquam ingrata et tanti beneficii immemor  
portas anime, que sunt amor, compassio, et huiusmodi affectiones bone,  
obser(ando) fortiter claudit, dum scilicet peccando sic ingrata illum  
120 excludit. Set certe hoc non obstante ipse tamquam gratissimus et fidelissimus  
cessare pulsando non desistit et clamare, ["Beholde myn woundes," etc.]

Christ suffered and shed his blood for us secondly that he may draw us to  
his love and charity. As an example: a hunting dog is sometimes given the  
blood of some prey to lick so that he may be more easily drawn to the chase.  
In the same manner we are given the blood of Christ; as the Psalmist has it:  
"That your foot may be dipped," that is, your affect, "in the blood" of Christ,  
that you may follow him more eagerly in love.

Far be it, then, that we be ungrateful to him, as someone once was un-  
grateful to his friend, of whom the following story is told. Virgil reports in  
the *Aeneid*, and likewise the commentator on Alexander the Great, books 5 and 6,  
how Aeneas burned so much with love for a girl that he would humble himself by  
becoming poor for her sake and exalt her with rich gifts. And this he did.  
Some day it happened that, as he returned greatly wounded from fighting a  
battle for her, he came back hardly alive. He went to her confidently as to a  
safe refuge, because he had loved her more than anyone else and had exalted her  
by becoming poor. But in her ingratitude she shut her doors and steadfastly  
denied him entrance. Upon this he wrote to her his mishap in the words of  
Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and told her:

Behold my wounds, which traces are of ancient fight.  
Whate'er thou hast, I gained it with my blood.

Behold my wounds, my painful plight.  
All the wealth you own I won in fight.  
I am sorely wounded, behold my skin.  
Dear life, for my love let me now come in.

Spiritually speaking, this knight Aeneas is Christ, who loved this girl, man's  
soul, so much that in order to make her rich and noble he took on him our  
nature and became poor and entered a fierce war for her sake against the enemy  
of mankind. In it he was so terribly wounded that, as Isaiah says, "From the  
sole of his foot to the top of his head there is no soundness in him." As he  
issued from this war hardly alive, he confidently approached the door of the  
soul for whom he had suffered so much, so that she, moved above all else by  
love and compassion, might comfort and refresh him in his need. Then he knocks  
that he may be let in, as is said in Revelation 3: "See, I stand at the gate  
and knock." What else? Indeed, there he calls out loudly the words of Canticles:  
"Open, my sister, my friend, my turtledove." But alas, I fear that,  
ungrateful and forgetful as she is of all his favors, she firmly shuts the  
doors of the soul, which are love, compassion, and similar good sentiments;  
this the soul does when she ungratefully locks him out by committing sin. Yet  
nonetheless, as a most gracious and faithful knight he does not cease to knock  
and to cry: "Behold, my wounds," and so forth. O, human soul, blush then, and

O igitur, anima humana, erubescere, et iuxta Psalmistam: "Aperite portas iusticie," idest anime affectiones erga Deum et eius beneficia, que tam fortiter per peccatum sunt serate, et hoc per claves contricionis, confessionis, caritatis, et amoris. Et certe, si sic, tunc introibit rex glorie  
 125 dicens istud Psalmi: "Hec requies mea in seculum seculi, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam."

Tercio passus est et sanguinem suum fudit, ut profugos et exules ad terram pacis revocaret. Quod bene figuratum erat Numeri 35, ubi dicitur:  
 130 "Debuerat enim profugus usque ad mortem pontificis in urbe residere," et sequitur: "Exules et profugi ante mortem pontificis nullo modo in urbes suas reverti non poterant," set prout scribitur Iosue 10: "Tunc revertetur homicida et ingredietur civitatem et domum suam de qua [f. 45v] fugerat." Spiritualiter autem loquendo homicida erat primus parens, qui se et nos  
 135 usque ad mortem vulneravit, qui tunc fugit de civitate et domo sua quando paradisum reliquit veniens in hanc vallem miserie. Set in morte Christi summi pontificis audacter redire potuit omni timore sublato. Et causa est quia timor gladii post ipsum evaginati ipsum ad fugam impulit; Genesis 3: "Eiecit Adam et collocavit [ante] paradisum voluptatis Cherubyn et flammeum  
 140 gladium." Set per mortem Christi ablatus est timor talis, quia sanguis habet flammam extinguere. Et sicut dicitur naturaliter sanguis calidus habet aciem gladii hebetare, et ideo sanguis Christi in morte recenter effusus gladium flammeum reddit inutilem; Psalmista: "De gladio maligno eripe me." Sublato igitur omni timore ad patriam celeriter revertendum est;  
 145 Ieremias: "Revertere, virgo Israel, revertere ad civitates tuas."

Quarto sanguinem suum fudit, ut nos a morbo culpe lavaret. Docuit enim sicut bonus medicus et formam talem reliquit, ut quantumcumque spirituali infirmitate detinemur, sanguinem minuere et ita sanari. Christus enim minutus ad nostrum exemplum fuit, tamen non eo modo quo solent homines,  
 150 scilicet tantum in brachio, verum etiam in toto corpore, quia ut dicitur Ysaia: "A planta pedis usque ad verticem," etc. Et certe suum benedictum corpus satis erat calidum dum ad columpnam tam fortiter erat cesum; similiter firmiter ligatum, quia cum clavis fortissimis manibus et pedibus cruci firmiter affixum; similiter profunde percussum, quia cum lancea in latere  
 155 usque ad cor perforatum. Et defuit sibi omne solacium quod solet minutis exhiberi. Nobiles enim et religiosi in locis amenis et secretis minuuntur, et tunc laucius illis ministratur. Set revera ipse palam coram omnibus in monte [f. 46] Calvarie exponebatur et felle acetoque potabatur, ut sic nos pro eius amore et propria salute sanguinem nostrum spiritualiter minuamus,  
 160 hoc est, ut ab operibus illicitis ad que per carnalitem sanguinis nostri movemur abstinemus, quia ut dicit Bernardus: "Probus miles non senciet sua cum benigni ducis intuebitur vulnera." Similis ergo factus est Christus pellicano, qui proprios pullos cum irascitur interficit, set post compas-

according to the Psalmist, "Open the gates of justice," that is to say, the soul's affections for God and his favors, which are so firmly shut through sin, and do so with the keys of contrition, confession, love, and charity. When you do this, the King of Glory will surely enter and speak the words of the Psalm: "This is my rest for ever and ever; here will I dwell, for I have chosen it."

In the third place, Christ suffered and shed his blood so that he might call back the fugitives and exiles to the land of peace. This was fittingly prefigured in Numbers 35, where it is said: "The fugitive ought to have stayed in the city until the death of the high priest," and afterwards: "The banished and fugitives before the death of the high priest may by no means return into their own cities," but as it is written in Joshua 10: "Then shall the manslayer return and go into his own city and house from where he had fled." Spiritually speaking, the "manslayer" was our first parent, who wounded himself and us to the death; he fled from "his own city and house" when he left paradise and came to this valley of misery. But after Christ our high priest's death he could bravely return, leaving all fear behind. The reason for this is that fear of the sword that was drawn out of its sheath behind him compelled him to flee; Genesis 3: "He cast out Adam and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubim and a flaming sword." But this fear has been taken away through Christ's death, because blood has the power to quench fire. And as warm blood is said to have the natural power to dull the sharpness of a sword, thus Christ's blood, when it was newly shed in his death, rendered the flaming sword useless; as the Psalmist says: "From the malicious sword deliver me." Therefore we should swiftly return to our home leaving all fear behind us; Jeremiah: "Return, O virgin of Israel, return to your cities."

In the fourth place, Christ shed his blood so that he might wash us from the sickness of guilt. For he taught as a true physician and left the prescription that, however much we are in the grips of a spiritual illness, we are to be bled and thus healed. For Christ was bled as an example for us, yet not in the same way that other men practice, that is, in the arm alone, but rather in his entire body, for as is said in Isaiah: "From the sole of his foot to the top," etc. And his blessed body was certainly well heated when he was fiercely scourged at the column; likewise, it was tightly bound, because it was tightly nailed to the cross by its hands and feet; and likewise, a deep incision was made, because it was pierced in its side with a spear to his very heart. But the consolation which is wont to be shown to people who are bled, he went totally without. Noblemen and religious are bled in pleasant and secret surroundings and receive better food and drink. But Christ was openly put to show before all men on Mount Calvary and was given gall and vinegar to drink, so that we should let our blood spiritually in the same way for his love and our own salvation, that is, we should abstain from sinful deeds to which we are moved by the fleshly nature of our blood; for as Bernard says: "A brave

sione motus corpus suum usque ad cor rostro perforat, ex cuius sanguine  
 165 aspersi reviviscunt. Revera sic peccatores spiritualiter mortuos Dei offensionem per compassionem tamen motus, quia non vult mortem peccatoris, effundendo sanguinem cordis sui benedicti ad vitam gratie reconciliavit. Unde Augustinus ad Severinum: "Fortis, inquit, ut mors dilectio, que ipsam mortem mori fecit (in morte) Redemptoris." Et sequitur: "Agnoscat (inquit  
 170 Augustinus) homo quantum valeat et quantum debeat. Et dum precium suum recogitat, servilis esse omnino desistat. Reus itaque est (dicit ipse) non parvi precii set etiam sanguinis dulcissimi Christi, qui animam maculat et violat sic Christi sanguine emundatam." Hec ille.

Set timeo michi quod est de multis sicut de filio frenetico, qui  
 175 quanto plus pia mater eius infirmitatem deplorat, tanto magis ipse in risum et cachinnaciones prorumpit nichil matri compaciendo. Revera sic Christo pro peccatoribus lacrimas fundente et sanguinem [minuente], ipsi non tantum sicut ingrati sue passionis obliti, verum etiam tamquam frenetici ipsum derident et blasphemant, membratim cum iuramentis horribilibus ipsum dividentes et ei pro sua passione, quam tantum pro nobis sustinuit, improperantes. Unde ipse per Psalmistam [ait]: "Retribuebant michi mala pro bonis et odium pro dilectione mea." Contra quos nota satis supra, capitulo 3. [f. 46v] Non sic, karissimi, set cum universis creaturis passioni sue compati debemus. Sol enim sibi compaciens in sua morte radios suos retraxit, terra  
 180 mota est, petre scisse sunt, monumenta aperiebantur, et ob compassionem [corpora] sanctorum surrexerunt, ut patet Matthei.

Narrat autem Ovidius in epistolis suis quod iuvenis quidam nomine Achoncius amorem cuiusdam virginis habere volens, quam cum de amore frequenter rogasset ipsam difficilem reperit supra modum. Quod ipse moleste  
 190 ferens istam cautelam excogitavit. Accepit unum pomum pulcherrimum et in illo quoddam obligatorium scripsit de nuptiis cum ea contrahendis, cogitans et sperans quod si ipsa obligatorium illud perlegeret, quod ex tunc teneretur sponsalia secum contrahere, vi scilicet illius lecture. Fuit ergo forma scripture talis:

195 Iuro tibi sane per mistica sacra Dyane  
 Me tibi nupturam sponsam comitemque futuram.

[Anglice sic:

By dedes of Dayne I swere to the  
 Her-aftur to take and wedde the.]

200 Istud ergo pomum in quodam loco ubi ipsa continue conversabatur, scilicet in templo Dyane dei sui, proiecit, ut ibi eam nullo modo lateret, set

soldier does not feel his wounds when he sees those of his generous leader." Thus Christ became like the pelican, who kills his own offspring when he gets angry, but afterwards, moved by compassion, he pierces his own body to his heart with his beak, and his offspring, sprinkled with his blood, come to life again. In the same way, by shedding the blood of his blessed heart Christ has brought sinners back to the life of grace after they had spiritually died by offending God, because he was moved in his compassion since he "does not want the death of the sinner." Therefore Augustine says to Severinus: "Love is as strong as death, for it made death itself die in the death of the Redeemer." And Augustine says further: "Let man know what he is worth and how much he owes; and when he thinks of his value, let him altogether stop being a slave. For he is guilty, not of a little money, but of the sweet blood of Christ when he stains his soul and violates it after it has thus been washed in the blood of Christ."

But I fear that with many people it goes as it does with a deranged child: the more his loving mother worries about his illness, the more he laughs and roars without any feeling for his mother. In the same way, when Christ sheds his tears and is bled for the sake of sinners, the latter not merely forget his Passion like ungrateful people, but like deranged persons laugh at him and blaspheme by tearing him to pieces with their horrible oaths and by taunting him for the Passion he suffered for us. Whence he says through the Psalmist: "They repaid me evil for good and hatred for my love." Notice what has been said above in chapter 3 against such people. We must not act thus, beloved, but instead have compassion with his suffering, together with all creation. For at his death the sun had compassion and withdrew its rays, the earth quaked, rocks were split, tombs opened up, and the bodies of the saints rose, as is reported in Matthew.

In his *Letters* Ovid tells us that a young man called Acontius was in love with a maiden; though he had asked her often for her love, he found her to be unusually difficult. In his frustration he came up with the following trick. He took a very beautiful apple and wrote in it a marriage vow, thinking and hoping that if she read out the vow aloud, she would thereby be held to marry him, that is, by virtue of her reading it. The writing therefore was as follows:

I swear to you, by the holy rites of Diana,  
 That I will be your wedded spouse and your wife.

In English:

By dedes . . .



inventam scripturam perlegeret. Quod et factum est. Scriptura ergo perlecta, statim habuit conscienciam quod cum illo contrahere necessario oporteret. Nichilominus tamen omnino non consensit. Set tandem febribus afflicta  
 205 celitus sibi litteris missis ad consensum compulsata est et dicto iuveni nupsit. Moraliter virgo anima humana est; amator Pater celestis, de quo Sapiencie 11 dicitur: "Parcis omnibus, Domine, quoniam tua sunt omnia qui amas animas." Multis ergo modis cogitavit amator iste quomodo amorem istius virginis, scilicet anime humane, ad se posset allicere, nunc per beneficia,  
 210 nunc per promissa, in veteri lege, eciam et in statu legis nature. Tandem hac cautela usus est: Cum ipsam expertus esset tam multipliciter repugnantem, accepit enim pomum pulcherrimum, [f. 47] ° scilicet Christum filium eius incarnatum, in cuius corpore obligatorium quoddam scripsit quando corpus suum benedictum plagis multiplicibus quasi magnis parvisque litteris  
 215 manifestis sculpi et perscribi permisit. Et certe hec scriptura in se continet quoddam obligatorium de nuptiis contrahendis inter Deum et animam tam magnum et efficax quod impossibile est illud legere quod in hoc pomo dicto modo perscribitur, quin statim ad eius dilectionem assenciat et maximam conscienciam habeat nisi veraciter diligat illum qui tot signa sibi  
 220 dilectionis ostendit. Proverbiorum 12: "Est qui promittit et quasi gladio pungitur consciencia." Rogo quid potuit fecisse ut amorem tuum alli(ceret)? Nonne tam corpus quam animam pro te exposuit? Secundum enim quosdam anima humana sita est in sanguine, et ideo secundum Ieronimum totum sanguinem suum fudit Christus ut animam pariter pro nobis dedisse ostenderet.  
 225 Secundum alios situatur anima in cerebro, et ideo in capite multipliciter passus est. Secundum vero alios in corde, et ideo per medium cordis voluit lanceari. Unde Ieronimus: "Dedi dilectam animam," ad vere dilectionis insinuationem ut nos ipsum eatenus diligamus, quia ipse prius dilexit nos et animam suam tradidit pro nobis. Set quia plerique quamvis dicta consciencia cum  
 230 ipso contrahere deberemus resistimus tamen opere illud implere, ideo certe ut frequenter compellit nos per febres mundane tribulacionis vexari, per quod quasi necessitatur illum amare. Ad hoc enim habemus figuram Luce 4 de Christo veniente in domum Symonis, ubi socrus Symonis tenebatur magnis febribus, quibus cum [f. 47v] Christus imperasset et eam dimisissent,  
 235 surrexit continuo et ministrabat illis. Christus autem multis hominibus tribulaciones mittit, per quas melius erudientur Christum invocare, et illis transactis sibi ardentius per amorem ministrare. Patet ergo quomodo istud pomum, scilicet Christus Filius Dei incarnatus, fuit multiplicibus plagis ascriptus quasi cum quodam obligatorio, ut cum eo contrahamus et  
 240 firmiter diligamus. Quod quidem pomum in tot locis repositum est ut nos omnino latere non potest, nam in omni ecclesia fidelium representatur ut ab omnibus legi potest. Dicitur ergo Danielis 5: "Qui legerit hanc scripturam et eius interpretationem manifestam michi fecerit, purpura vestietur."

This apple he threw in a place where she always stayed, namely the temple of Diana, her god [*sic*], so that she could in no way overlook it but should find the writing and read it. And so it happened. But when she had read out the writing, she understood at once that she must of necessity marry him. Nonetheless, she did not agree at all. But in the end, after being attacked by fever and having received letters from heaven, she was compelled to consent and married the young man. Morally interpreted, that maiden is the soul of man; her lover, our heavenly Father, of whom is said in Wisdom 11: "You spare all, O Lord, because all things are yours, who love souls." This lover thought of many ways how he might draw the love of this maiden, that is, the soul, to himself—now by gifts, now by promises, both in the Old Law and in the state of natural law. In the end he used this trick: Since he found that she rejected him so much, he took a very beautiful apple, namely Christ his Son made flesh, in whose body he wrote a promise when he allowed his blessed body to be carved and inscribed with many wounds as with so many large and small clear letters. This inscription indeed contains a promise of marriage between God and the soul, a promise so great and powerful that it is impossible to read what is thus written in this apple without consenting at once to his love and realizing fully that one must love him who has shown so many signs of love. Proverbs 12: "There is one who promises, and the conscience is pricked as if with a sword." What more, I ask, could he have done to attract your love? Did he not offer his body and soul for you? According to some writers, the soul of man resides in his blood; and thus, according to Jerome, Christ shed all his blood in order to indicate that he was likewise giving his soul for us. According to others, the soul resides in the brain; and therefore Christ suffered much injury to his head. But according to yet others it resides in the heart; and thus Christ wanted to be pierced with a spear through the middle of his heart. Whence Jerome says: "I gave my beloved soul," to show his true love, so that we might love him in like manner, for he loved us first and gave his soul for us. But since many of us, although we should marry Christ after the voice of our conscience, resist doing so in fact, he frequently compels us to suffer the fevers of worldly tribulation, through which, as it were, we must of necessity love him. We find a type of this in Luke 4, when Christ came to the house of Simon, where Simon's mother-in-law was held by a strong fever; Christ commanded it and the fever left her, and she got up at once and served them. Christ sends many people tribulations through which they are taught the better to call on Christ, and when the tribulations are over, to serve him more fervently in love. Thus we see how this apple, that is, Christ, the Son of God made flesh, was inscribed with manifold wounds as if with a marriage vow, so that we may marry and firmly love him. That apple has been put in so many places that we absolutely cannot overlook it, for it is present in every church of the faithful, so that it can be read by everyone. For in Daniel 5 it is said: "Whoever



Quinto passus est et sanguinem suum fudit, ut diabolus ab empcione  
 245 nostra excluderet °. Ipse diabolus decipiendo genus humanum illud a primis  
 parentibus citra de(bit)um precium empserat, quasi pro uno pomo minimi  
 valoris. Set adverte. Videmus enim ad sensum: illi cicius conceditur qui  
 plus offert; set Christus plus optulit et dedit quam diabolus, quia non  
 250 tantum unum pomum set simul et semel corpus et animam, ut sic per suam  
 mortem amaram et diram de dura et crudeli diaboli potestate nos liberaret.  
 Et per consequens sui sumus et non diaboli filii. Super quod cartam firmis-  
 simam nobis reliquit. Et nota quod carta conscripta sanguine vehementer  
 solet importare securitatem et magnam (generare) admiracionem; set huiusmo-  
 255 di carta[m] scripsit nobis in cruce quando "speciosus forma pre filiis  
 hominum" corpus suum benedictum extendit, sicut pergamenarius ad solem  
 pergamenum explicare videtur. Sic Christus manibus et pedibus in cruce  
 affixus corpus suum ad cartam scriben- [f. 48] dam exposuit; clav(o)s eciam  
 in manibus habuit pro calamo, sanguinem preciosum pro encausto. Per hanc  
 cartam hereditatem amissam nobis restituit, prout superius, parte 2, capi-  
 260 tulo 6, est expressum.

Et non tantum hoc, set ubi prius a nostra hereditate fuimus exules,  
 modo cum Psalmista dicere possumus: "Hereditate possideamus sanctuarium  
 Dei." Et certe, tunc dissolvit cyrographum quod cum diabolo primi parentes  
 pupigerunt, de quo dicit Augustinus: "Eva, inquit, a diabolo peccat(um)  
 265 mutuavit, cyrographum scripsit, fideiussorem invenit, [unde usura peccati  
 in posteritate eius crevit." Tunc enim Eva a diabolo peccatum mutuavit  
 quando contra preceptum Dei pessime diaboli suggestioni consensit; cirogra-  
 phum scripsit quando manum ad pomum porrexit; fideiussorem invenit] quando  
 Adam peccato consentire fecit. (Et sic) usura posteritati sue crevit. Set  
 270 certe Christus istam servitatem omnino delevit quando in cruce totum corpus  
 suum pro carta nobis reliquit. Dicit ergo Christus:

In cruce sum pro te. Cur peccas? Desine pro me.  
 Desine, do veniam; dic culpam, retraho penam.

[Anglice sic:

275 I honge on cros for loue of the.  
 Lef þy synne for loue of me.  
 Mercy aske, amende þe sone,  
 And I forz yf þe þat is mysdone.]

Sic ergo patet primo quare Christus pro nobis sanguinem suum fudit.

1 ergo] autem O. 2 deperdita] depertita C. 3 enim] vero C. 9 quando] qua O.  
 11 hac] caritatem ac C; hanc M. 12 caritatem] add iugiter O. 18 et] om O. 34 idest]  
 hoc est O. 71 susceptus] receptus O. 73 sedit] sedet O. 74 etc.] om O. 75-76 et

shall read this writing and shall make its meaning known to me, shall be  
 clothed with purple."

And in the fifth place, Christ suffered and shed his blood so that he  
 might exclude the devil from purchasing us. By his trick the devil had bought  
 mankind from our first parents for less than its regular price—as it were, for  
 an apple of very little value. But notice: we see everyday that he who offers  
 more obtains the goods more easily. But Christ offered and gave more than the  
 devil: not just an apple but his body and soul all together, that he might thus  
 free us from the devil's hard and cruel power through his bitter and terrible  
 death. As a result, we are his children and not the devil's. On that exchange  
 he left a most reliable charter for us. Notice that a charter that is written  
 in blood carries with it extreme reliability and produces much admiration.  
 Just such a charter did Christ write for us on the cross when he who was  
 "beautiful above the sons of men" stretched out his blessed body, as a  
 parchment-maker can be seen to spread a hide in the sun. In this way Christ,  
 when his hands and feet were nailed to the cross, offered his body like a  
 charter to be written on. The nails in his hands were used as a quill, and his  
 precious blood as ink. And thus, with this charter he restored to us our  
 heritage that we had lost, as was explained above, in the sixth chapter of part  
 2.

And not only this, but whereas once we were banished from our inheritance,  
 we can now say with the Psalmist: "Let us possess the sanctuary of God for an  
 inheritance." And there he certainly destroyed the contract which our first  
 parents made with the devil, of which Augustine says: "Eve borrowed sin from  
 the devil, wrote out a contract, and found a person to give security, from  
 which the interest of her sin grew for her posterity." For Eve borrowed sin  
 from the devil when she most wickedly consented to the devil's suggestion  
 against God's commandment; she wrote out a contract when she stretched out her  
 hand for the apple; she found a person to give security when she caused Adam to  
 consent to sin; and in this fashion the interest grew for her offspring. But  
 truly Christ canceled this servitude totally when he left his whole body for us  
 on the cross as a charter. For Christ says:

I am on the cross for you. Why sin? Cease for my sake!  
 Cease, and I give you grace; confess, and I spare your pain.

In English:

I honge on cros for loue of the . . .

And thus our first point is dealt with, why Christ shed his blood for us.

11-12 John 15.13. 14 Prov. 8.17. 15-16 Rev. 1.5. 31-32 1 Sam. 17. 36 Hab.  
 3.4. 44-48 Esther 10.5-7; 11.5-11. 51 Cf. John 19.34. 67-68 Matt. 26.42; or

quiddam] et quid M.W; inquit (*corr*) et R. **81** semper amandam] superandam C.R; servandam W. Et] *om* O. **87** scilicet] *om* O. **89** quidam] quedam M; quedam puella *interl* R. **93** quadam] quodam O. **94** quod cum] quod C; cum O. **95** tuciora] tuiciora C. **98** Ovidium] eundem C. **102–105** Beholde . . . in] *text from R. Verse 26, in B3.D.E.Go1.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1.W2; variant in V.* **107** ut] *om* C.O. **108** pro] per C. **111** eo] ea C. **112** pro] de C. **119** obserando] observande C.R. **121** Beholde . . . etc.] *om* O; soror mea columba mea aperi me M. *Text from R.* **122** igitur] ergo O. **132** non] *om* O. **139** ante] *om* C.O. *The quotation is garbled in various forms.* **144** me] *add* etc O. igitur] *om* O. **151** etc.] capitis non est in eo sanitas O. **164** suum] *om* O. **169** in morte] idest mortem C. **188** habere volens] *om* O. **191–192** teneretur] *add* ipsa O. **197–199** Anglice . . . the] *text from R. Verse 28, in B3.D.E.Go1.Go2.L1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.* **204** consensit] assensit O. **205** compulsula] pulsa O. **206** virgo] *add* illa O. **208** cogitavit] excogitavit O. **212** pulcherrimum] C repeats et in illo . . . scriptura talis (*lines 190–194*). **214** multiplicibus] multipliciter O. **221** alliceret] allidet C. **225** alios] aliquos O. **226** alios] aliquos O. **229** plerique] plerumque R.W. **235** multis] multas O. **239** ascriptus] conscriptus O. **245** excluderet] *add* et C. **246** debitum] deletum C. **251–252** firmissimam] securissimam O. **253** generare] regenerare C. **256** pergamenum] pellem omnibus membris extensis O. **257** affixus] affixis O. clavos] claves C. **258** Per hanc] et sic per O. **259** hereditatem] *add* nostram O. **264** peccatum] peccata C. **269** Et sic] etc C. **271** reliquit] dereliquit O. **274–278** Anglice . . . mysdone] *text from R. Verse 29, in B3.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1.W2.* **279** Christus] *om* O.

### III.xi QUO DIE, LOCO, ET MODO CHRISTUS PASSUS EST

[A]d maiorem autem huius (rei) securitatem habendam, de confectione huius carte ostendit secundo quo die fuit scripta, quo modo, et in quo loco. Et nota quod dies fuit feria sexta, que Anglice dicitur *Fryday*. Et merito mutatur i in e, ut ita dicatur *Freday*, quia in illo die, ut dictum est, de servitute diaboli nos eripuit et liberos ad celestia regna reddidit. In quo autem die primus homo fuit creatus, et eodem die tamquam dominus terrarum in paradiso collocatus, et tercio eodem die pro peccato ab illo expulsus ac multiplici miserie adiudicatus. Similiter isto die fuit angelus Marie missus et Filius Dei incarnatus. Unde versus:

5

10 Salve, festa dies, que vulnera nostra coherces.  
Est Adam factus et eodem (tempore) lapsus.  
Angelus est missus, et passus in cruce Christus.

Est ergo hec dies secundum Psalmistam “quam fecit Dominus; exultemus et letemur in ea,” quia in illa salvatum fuit genus humanum a morte eterna. °

15 [f. 48v] [C]irca modum autem passionis sue et istius carte confectionis est sciendum quod pessimi Iudei ipsum fecerunt portare lignum de domo iudicii fere usque ad montem; ubi pre nimia eius lassitudine quemdam Symonem Syrenensem crucem fecerunt baiulare. Dicunt tamen aliqui sancti et

rather Luke 22.42. **72–80** Cf. Augustine, *De sancta virginitate* LV.56 (PL 40:428). **81–82** I Cor. 16.22. **86–87** Ps. 67.24. **100–101** Ovid, *Amores* III.viii.19–20. **110–111** Isa. 1.6. **115** Rev. 3.20. **116–117** Cant. 5.2. **122–123** Ps. 117.19. **126–127** Ps. 131.14. **130–132** Num. 35.28, 32. **132–133** Josh. 20.6. **139–140** Gen. 3.24. **143–144** Ps. 143.10–11. **145** Jer. 31.21. **151** Isa. 1.6. **168–171** The thought occurs in *En. in Ps. 51* 1 (CC 39:624). **181–182** Ps. 108.5. **184–186** Cf. Matt. 27.45–53. **187–206** Ovid, *Heroides* XX–XXI. **207–208** Wisd. 11.27. **220–221** Prov. 12.18. **227** Jeremiah (!) 12.7. **232–235** Luke 4.38–39. **242–243** Dan. 5.7. **254–255** Ps. 44.3. **259–260** *FM* II.vii, near end. **262–263** Ps. 82.13. **264–266** Cf. *Leg. aurea*, pp. 230–231. **272–273** For other occurrences of the Latin hexameters, see *Verses*, pp. 164–65.

### III.xi THE DAY, PLACE, AND MANNER OF CHRIST'S PASSION

In order to have a firmer understanding of this matter, we will in the second place show on what day this charter was written, in what fashion, and in what place. Know then that the day was the sixth day of the week, which in English is called *Friday*. And the letter *i* may justly be changed to *e*, so that it is called *Freday*, for on that day, as we have said, Christ delivered us from the devil's servitude and made us free for his heavenly kingdom. On that day also the first human being was created, and on the same day he was placed in paradise as lord of all lands, and thirdly on the same day he was driven from it for his sin and sentenced to manifold misery. In like fashion, on the same day the angel was sent to Mary and the Son of God was made flesh. Thus we have these verses:

Hail, festal day, comprising all our wounds.  
On it was Adam made, and on this day he fell.  
Sent was the angel then, and on his cross Christ died.

According to the Psalmist, “this is the day which the Lord has made; let us be glad and rejoice in it,” for on this day mankind was saved from eternal death. With respect to the manner of his suffering and of the making of this

devoti quod dum lignum illud ponderosum crucis portavit super humeros,  
 20 mater eius fere dolore suffocata sequebatur, filium suum videre festinans;  
 per semitam in campum sibi occurrit, ubi mater in filium et filius in  
 matrem tam dolorosos aspectus iniecerunt quod ambo pre dolore consternati  
 in terram quasi mortui ceciderunt. Et dicunt, hec erat causa quare Symonem  
 Syrenensem crucem portare coegerunt. Dolorosa autem hec erat visio quando  
 25 mater (proprium) filium, quem veraciter scivit esse Deum, prius sputis  
 abhominabilibus conspui, colaphis cedi, asperrime flagellari, et iam crucem  
 ad propriam mortem baiulare sic coartari (vidit). Que quidem crux quia in  
 proporcione quoad foramina clavorum corpus suum excedebat, super illam  
 ipsum posuerunt ad terram suppinum, ligantes ad manus et pedes cordas for-  
 30 tissimas membratim corpus extraxerunt, ut sic ruptis venis et nervis bra-  
 chia et pedes ad dicta foramina adequabant, ubi affixus et extensus ipsum  
 de terra elevaverunt super crucem, et sic horribili impetu corpus cum cruce  
 elevatum in profundam terram infixerunt. Que pena, ut dicunt sancti, omnia  
 priora excedebat. (Bene) ergo potest Christus dicere illud (Trenorum): "O  
 35 vos omnes qui transitis per viam," etc.

[A, 3e men þat by me wendenn,  
 Abydes a while and loke on me,  
 3ef 3e fyndenn in any ende  
 Suche sorow as here 3e se on me.]

40 Et certe omnes pene predictae non tantum illum gravant sicut ingrati-  
 tudo hominis, quem tantum dilexit et diligit. Et ideo quidam devotus hominem  
 ingratum loco Christi sic redarguit:

Homo (inquit), vide quid pro te pacior,  
 Si est dolor sicut quo crucior.  
 45 Ad te clamo qui pro te morior.  
 [f. 49] Vide penas quibus afficior.  
 Vide clav(o)s quibus confodior.  
 Cum sit dolor tantus exterior,  
 Set interior tamen planctus gravior,  
 50 Dum tam ingratum te experior.

[Byholde, mon, what I dree,  
 Whech is my payne, qwech is my woo.  
 To the I clepe now I shal dye.  
 By-se the wel, for I mot go.  
 55 Byholde þe nayles þat ben withoute,

charter, we must know that the wicked Jews made him carry the wood from the  
 house of judgment nearly to the mount; there, because of his extreme weakness,  
 they forced a certain Simon of Cyrene to carry the cross. Some saintly and  
 devout persons say that while he was carrying the heavy wood of the cross on  
 his shoulders, his mother, nearly choked with grief, followed her son, hasten-  
 ing to see him, and she met him on the path in the field. There his mother  
 cast such a painful look on her son, and the son on his mother, that both were  
 so struck by their grief that they fell to the ground as if dead. And they say  
 that this was the reason why the Jews forced Simon of Cyrene to carry the  
 cross. Grievous was that sight when this mother saw her own son, whom she  
 truly knew to be God, first being spat upon abominably, struck with fists, and  
 most fiercely scourged, and now forced to carry the cross to his own death.  
 Since on that cross the nail holes were farther apart than the members of his  
 body, they put him on it lying flat on the ground and, tying strong ropes on  
 his hands and feet, pulled his members so that, after the veins and tendons  
 were broken, his arms and feet would reach to the nail holes. When he was thus  
 nailed and stretched on the cross, they lifted him from the ground and let the  
 body with the cross fall into a hole in the ground with a horrible thump. This  
 pain was greater than all previous ones, as the saints say. Therefore Christ  
 could rightly speak the words of Lamentations: "O all you who pass by the  
 way," and so forth.

Ah, you men that by me pass,  
 Abide a while and look on me,  
 Whether you find in any place  
 Such sorrow as in me you see.

But all these aforementioned pains do not grieve him so much as the ingra-  
 titude of man whom he has loved so much and still does. Therefore, a devout  
 person reproaches man in Christ's stead as follows:

Man, behold what I suffer for you,  
 If there is any pain like the one that torments me.  
 To you I call who die for you.  
 Behold the pains by which I am afflicted.  
 Behold the nails with which I am pierced.  
 Yet while my external suffering is so great,  
 My inner lament is still more grievous,  
 Because I find you so ungrateful.

Byholde mon what I dree . . .

How þey me þorlenn to þys tre.  
Of all my pyne haue I no doute  
But 3if vnkynde I fynde the.]

- Circa locum passionis tercio est sciendum quod fuit in monte Calvarie,  
60 sive Golgatha Syriace, quod locus clavi sive calvarie Latine dicitur. Qui  
secundum Isidorum sic nominatur eo quod capita hominum dampnatorum ibidem  
decollarentur. Ibi enim gratis locum sue passionis elegit. Nam sicut solent  
homines ut communiter supra montes arma demonstrare, sicut fuit antiquitus  
in monte Olimpo, cursus [eciam] et situs stellarum inspicere, et similiter  
65 placita et brigas terminare—sic certe Christus remedium animarum nostra-  
rum, quando in ligno super montem pependit, arma sue potencie demonstravit,  
quibus ad plenum hostem humani generis ibidem prostravit. Cursus eciam  
stellarum, corporum scilicet supracelestium, hoc est Patris et Filii et  
Spiritus Sancti, apercius consideravit. Atque antiquum litigium inter homi-  
nem et diabolum terminavit dicens, “Consummatum est,” quasi diceret, iam  
70 omnia consummata sunt que dicta sunt de me, ut vos hereditatem amissam  
recuperare possetis, nam per me iam pax inter Deum Patrem et hominem pecca-  
torem reformatur. Scitis enim quod quando milites tractant de pace, gladio-  
rum, lancearum, et aliorum armorum ferreorum punctus versus se tenent.  
75 Certe sic Christus, ut pacem inter Patrem et hominem faceret, punctus  
lancee et ferri usque ad interiora cordis sustinuit, “et continuo exivit  
sanguis et aqua,” etc., ad nostram expiacionem.

1 rei] modi C. 2 in] om O. 4 illo] illa O. 6 autem] eciam O. 11 tempore] dieque  
C. 14 eterna] add deo gracias C. 18 fecerunt] angariaverunt before quemdam O.  
20 suum] add semel O. 25 proprium] abbreviation for propter C.M.R; ipsum W.  
27 vidit] om C.O. Text in Et.C.etc. 34 Bene] cum C. Trenorum] tunc C. 36–  
39 A . . . me] text from R. Verse 30, in B3.E.Go1.Go2. L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.  
47 clavos] claves C. 49 Set] om O. tamen] est O. 50 Dum] after ingratum O. 51–  
58 Byholde . . . the] text from R. Verse 31, in B3.E. Go2.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1. 77 etc.]  
om O.

### III.xii QUA HORA, QUA ETATE, ET QUO TEMPORE CHRISTUS PASSUS EST

- [T]ercio iam ostenditur qua hora, qua etate, et quo tempore hanc cartam  
per suam passionem confirmavit. Unde pro (primo) sciendum quod hora nona  
passus est, illo scilicet tempore quo homines [ut] communiter se reficiunt  
et ad maius solacium se disponunt in pastu [f. 49v] et aliis solaciis  
5 corporalibus. Et hec hora recte in meridie diei accidit, quando sol est in  
maiori sua potestate. Si ergo anima devota ad Christum clamans dicat illud  
Canticorum: “Indica michi ubi pascas, ubi cubes in meridie,” revera respon-

Third, with respect to the place of his Passion, we must know that this  
was on Mount Calvary, or Golgotha in Syrian. In Latin this means “the place of  
the skull”; according to Isidore, it is so named because on it the heads of  
condemned criminals were cut off. This he willingly chose as the place of his  
Passion. For just as men commonly display arms on mountaintops—as they did  
on Mount Olympus in ancient times—, and observe the course and position of the  
stars, and further settle their legal business and quarrels there, thus did  
Christ, the remedy for our souls, when he hung on the cross at the mountain-  
top, display the weapons of his power, with which he completely defeated there  
the enemy of mankind. He further observed the course of the stars more openly,  
that is, of the heavenly bodies, namely the Father, the Son, and the Holy  
Spirit. And he settled the ancient strife between man and the devil when he  
said, “It is fulfilled,” as if saying: now all things are completed that have  
been said of me, so that you can recover your lost inheritance, for now peace  
between God the Father and sinful man is reestablished. You are aware that  
when soldiers negotiate about peace, they turn the points of their swords,  
lances, and other iron weapons toward themselves. Christ likewise, in order to  
make peace between God the Father and man, suffered the iron point of a spear  
to penetrate to his heart, and “at once blood and water flowed forth” for our  
atonement.

10–12 In 17100; Chevalier 17928. 13–14 Ps. 117.24. 34–35 Lam. 1.12. 43–50 By  
Philip the Chancellor; see Verses p. 167. 70 John 19.30. 76–77 John 19.34.

### III.xii THE HOUR, AGE, AND SEASON OF CHRIST'S PASSION

In the third place, we now show in what hour, age, and season he confirmed  
this charter through his Passion. On the first topic we must know that he  
suffered at the ninth hour, that is, at the time when men commonly take a rest  
and allow themselves some refreshment in food and other bodily comforts. This  
hour rightly occurs at midday, when the sun is at its highest point. If a  
devout soul calling to Christ says the words from Canticles: “Show me where  
you feed, where you lie at midday,” the Psalmist may answer that, as he was

dere bene potest quod ad Patrem recessurus primo genus humanum pavit miraculis et doctrinis, et postea discipulos propria carne et sanguine. Et hoc  
 10 fuit illud admirandum convivium in quo Christus et Iudas, Deus et diabolus, vitulus et ursus simul comedebant; Ysaie 9: "Vitulus et ursus pascentur simul." Set rogo, ubi cubat in meridie? Revera si sollerter considerare velimus quomodo in meridie est estus et totus fervor diei, et ideo pastor animalium tunc temporis gaudet si posset locum amenum invenire ad cubandum.  
 15 Qui quidem locus tunc amenus dicitur si sit virens frondibus et floribus, et precipue si ex uno latere sit aqua decurrens vel fons scaturiens et ex alia arbores prominentes late ramos pretendentes cum foliis virentibus. Talis enim locus valde delicatus est in estu, sicut patet de (iuni)pero et Helia, Regum 19, et de Iona et edere, Ione 3. Nota historias si placet. Et  
 20 precipue in estate deliciosum valde videtur sub umbra albe spine cubare, nam ipsa ex floribus redolet et ex foliis umbram habet. Revera, karissimi, post illam cenam pretactam perhennis memorie, in qua Christus semetipso discipulos suos pavit, sequebatur una ferventissima merides, videlicet in die Parasceves, in qua maximus estus erat. Scitis enim quod videtur homini  
 25 maximus esse estus quando non potest sustinere vestes suas super se set illas a se proicit. Set revera Christus illa die tantum estum sustinuit amoris et caritatis quod pannis a se proiectis nudus pro salute nostra voluit in cruce cubare [f. 50] et quiescere; Danielis 13: "Estus quippe erat." Locus autem amenus et virens, quem pre ceteris elegit, erat lignum  
 30 crucis. Et certe locus ille ex uno latere habuit aquam fluentem quando "unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua," Iohannis 19. Et ideo tunc temporis canit Ecclesia: "Vidi aquam egredientem de templo a latere dextro," etc. Set tunc inclinavit Christus capud suum sub umbra albe spine quando milites plectentes coronam de spinis  
 35 imposuerunt capiti eius, ubi supra. Hec hora erat in qua Christus non tantum pavit vel eciam cubavit, verum eciam in qua mortem pro nobis sustinuit.

Circa vero etatem in qua Deus passus est, sciendum quod fuit triginta et trium annorum, in iuventute et in tenera etate. Et per consequens pena  
 40 gravior, nam quantum membrum tenerius, tantum in illo pena gravior probatur, sicut patet de oculo. Et adverte: Caro enim hominis est tenerior quam caro bruti animalis, et inter homines caro femine tenerior est quam masculi, et inter feminas tenerior est caro virginis quam corrupte. Set caro  
 45 Christi fuit de purissimis sanguinibus Virginis Benedicte assumpta et propagata, et ipsemet in purissima virginitate usque ad mortem permansit, quod satis experimentaliter probatur. Dicitur enim libro *De animalibus* quod si caro alicuius scindatur post mortem et rubea inveniatur, signum probatissimum virginitatis est; si autem livida, signum est corrupcionis. Set Christus post mortem lanceatus, non tantum rubea aparuit eius caro, set ad  
 50 litteram sanguis emanavit. Unde de ista teneritudine et puritate dicitur

about to return to his Father, he first nourished mankind with his miracles and teaching, and then his disciples with his own flesh and blood. This was that wonderful banquet at which Christ and Judas, God and the devil, the calf and the bear, ate together; Isaiah 9: "The calf and the bear shall feed together." But I ask: where does he rest at midday? If we skillfully consider how midday brings the greatest heat of the day, it is at that time that a shepherd is glad to find a pleasant place for his rest. That place is called pleasant if it is lush with foliage and flowers, and especially if on one side there is some flowing water or a gushing wellspring and on the other tall trees spreading their branches wide with green foliage. Such a place is very delicious in summertime, as one may see from Elijah and the juniper in Kings 19, or from Jonah and the ivy in Jonah 3. Tell these stories if you wish. And in summertime one finds it particularly delightful to rest beneath the hawthorn, whose flowers give a sweet smell and its leaves shade. In the same way, beloved, after that banquet of eternal memory which we have mentioned, in which Christ fed his disciples with himself, there followed a very hot noon, namely on Good Friday, on which the greatest heat occurred. You know that it seems to be hottest when one cannot stand to have clothes on but throws them off. But Christ sustained such heat of love and charity on that day that he threw off his clothes and wanted to lie and rest naked on the cross for our salvation; Daniel 13: "For it was hot weather." The pleasant and lush place which Christ chose before all others was the wood of the cross. This place indeed had flowing water on one side—when "one of the soldiers opened his side with a spear and at once blood and water flowed forth," John 19. Therefore the Church sings at that time: "I have seen water come forth from the temple on the right side," etc. Then Christ laid his head in the shade of the hawthorn when the soldiers wove a crown of thorns and put it on his head, as we saw earlier. This, then, is the hour in which Christ not only fed but also rested, and in which he suffered death for us.

With respect to the age at which God suffered, we must know that he was thirty-three years old, in his youth and tender age. For this reason his suffering was even more painful, because the tenderer a part of our body is, the more painful is the suffering it experiences, as can be seen in the eye. And keep in mind that the flesh of man is tenderer than that of a wild animal, and among men the flesh of a woman is tenderer than that of a man, and among women, that of a virgin more so than that of a woman who has lost her virginity. But Christ's flesh was taken and formed out of the most pure blood of the Virgin, and he himself lived in the most pure virginity until his death. This is shown well by observation. The *Book on Animals* tells us that if someone's flesh is cut after death and found to be red, it is a sure sign of virginity; but if it is white, it is a sign that virginity has been lost. Now, when Christ was pierced with a lance after his death, his flesh not only looked red, but literally blood flowed forth from it. Therefore in Kings 23 is said of

Regum 23: "David sedet in cathedra sapientissimus inter tres, tenerrimus quasi ligni vermiculus." David autem interpretatur manu fortis vel facie decorus, et bene Christum signat. Iste enim sedet in cathedra, idest in cruce. Unde Augustinus in quodam sermone: "Cruce, inquit, Christi pacientis  
55 facta est cathedra magistri docentis." [f. 50v] Sequitur: "Sapientissimus princeps inter tres," idest tercius inter latrones quasi princeps latronum, set tener sicut vermiculus ligni; Psalmista: "Ego sum vermis et non homo." Et hic nota quod fuit tener in paciendo, set quam durus erit in iudicando!

Fertur enim quod Salomoni erat avis dicta strucio habens pullum clausum in vitrio vase, quem cum mater habere nequiret, tulit de deserto vermiculum quendam ex cuius sanguine vitro linito confractum est et sic pullum liberavit. Spiritualiter iste Salomon est Deus Pater, cui erat quedam strucio, idest Filius eius coeternus. Set hic Filius habuit pullum, scilicet genus humanum, quasi in vase vitrio, idest in inferno, inclusum. Videns  
60 ergo strucio ista quod pullum suum habere nequiret, tulit de deserto vermiculum, hoc est, naturam humanam assumpsit de deserto huius seculi. Quo facto sanguine illius nature assumpto dictum vas infernale linivit et statim confractum est et pullus liberatus, prout canit Ecclesia:

Pede conculcans tartara  
70 Solvit a pena miseros.

Circa vero tempus in quo Christus passus est, sciendum quod fuit in Quadragesima, in qua ut communiter omnia animalia ad suam voluptatem magis excitantur. Et ideo illud tempus magis ordinavit quam aliud pro sua passione, ut sic nos exemplo sui voluptatibus naturalibus et diversis per  
75 penitentiam resistamus. Dicit enim Apostolus: "Omnis Christi actio nostra est instructio." Et ideo dicitur Exodi 25: "Inspice et fac secundum exemplar quod tibi in monte monstratum est." Fertur enim in libro *De naturis animalium* quod elephans viso sanguine acuitur ad prelium. Verum ut dicitur Machabeorum 6, unde ante prelium ostendunt illis homines "(sanguinem uve)  
80 et mori." Revera sic fidelis, considerata per fidem et amantem memoriam sanguinis Christi effusione, armari debet et acui in prelium contra diabolum, mundum, et carnem. Et certe sic bene tempus nostrum ordinamus. Unde Galatarum 6: "Dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes."

2 primo] prima C; add est O. 5 sol] add scilicet O. 8 potest] add psalmista O. 10 admirandum] mirandum O. 11 9] 4 O. 18 iunipero] ienupero C. 30 Et] set O. 35 hora erat] est ergo hora O. 40 tantum] tanto O. 53 sedet] sedit O. 65 pullum suum] dictum pullum O. 79 sanguinem uve] vivere C.M.W. 80 fidelis] fideles C. 82 certe] add si O.

this tenderness and purity: "David sits in the chair, the wisest among the three, most tender like a little worm of the wood." "David" means strong of hand or beautiful of face and symbolizes Christ. For Christ "sits in the chair," namely the cross. Hence Augustine says in a sermon: "The cross of the suffering Christ has become the chair of the teaching master." The scriptural quotation then goes on: "The wisest among the three," that is to say, he was the third among thieves, as if the prince of thieves, but as tender as a little worm of the wood; according to the Psalmist: "I am a worm and not a man." Notice that he was tender in his Passion; but how tough will he be in his judgment!

It is reported that Solomon had a bird called ostrich, which had a chick enclosed in a glass vessel. As the mother bird could not get to it, she fetched a small worm from the desert whose blood she rubbed on the glass, which then broke, and thus she freed her chick. Spiritually interpreted, Solomon is God the Father, who had an ostrich, his coeternal Son. This Son had a chick, namely mankind, which was so to speak enclosed in a glass vessel, namely hell. When this ostrich perceived that it could not get to its chick, it fetched a small worm from the desert, that is, Christ took human nature from the desert of this world. He then took blood from this human nature and rubbed it on the vessel of hell. The latter broke at once and the chick was set free. Therefore the Church sings:

Treading down on hell he freed  
The suffering from their pain.

With respect to the season in which Christ suffered, we must know that this was in Lent, during which season all animals normally are stirred up in their lust. He ordained this season before any other for his Passion so that by his example we might resist our various natural desires through penance. For the Apostle says: "Every action of Christ serves for our instruction." Wherefore it is said in Exodus 25: "Look and do according to the pattern that was shown you on the mount." In the book *On the Nature of Animals* it is reported that when an elephant sees blood, he is stirred to combat. For which reason Maccabees 6 says that before a battle men show elephants "the juice of the grape and the mulberry." In the same way, a faithful person should meditate in faith and loving memory on the shedding of Christ's blood and thereby become armed and stirred to do battle against the devil, the world, and the flesh. If we do this, we surely use our time well. As is said in Galatians 6: "While we have time, let us work good to all men."

7 Cant. 1.6. 11-12 Isa. 11.7. 18-19 1 Kings 19.3-8. 19 Jon. 4.5-6. 28-29 Dan. 13.15. 31-32 John 19.34. 32-33 Antiphon, see Legg, pp. 11 and 135. 51-52 2



### III.xiii DE QUIBUS CHRISTUS ACCUSABATUR ET QUOCIENS ILLUSUS EST

[M]odo autem quarto restat videre de quibus accusabatur ° [f. 51] ante passionem et quociens illusus. Unde sciendum est quod primo accusabatur quod tributum reddi Cesari prohibebat, secundo quia regem se dicebat, et tercio quia Filium Dei se faciebat. Set contra has accusaciones in Parasceves in persona Christi ostenduntur tres (ac)cusaciones dum canitur canticum illud: “Popule meus, quid feci tibi,” etc. Ubi Christus exprob[r]at tria beneficia Iudeis crucifixoribus collata ante illa tempora, que sunt hec, videlicet liberacio ab Egipto, regimen in deserto, et plantator vinee in loco optimo, acsi Christus diceret: Accusas me de tributi reddicione—  
 5 pocius gracias agere deberes quia [liberavi te a tributo et servitute illa Egipciorum; accusas eciam quando me dixi regem—pocius gracias agere deberes quia regaliter pavi te in deserto; accusas me tercio quia me Filium Dei dixi esse—pocius gracias agere deberes quia] te in vineam meam elegi et in loco optimo te plantavi ac filium et heredem regni te esse optavi.  
 10 Unde Bernardus: “O, inquit, bone Iesu, quam dulciter cum hominibus conversatus es, quam magna et habundantissima eis largitus es, quam dura et aspera pro eis passus es, dura inquam verba, duriora verbera, set ad ultimum durissima crucis tormenta.” Hec ille.

Et nota quod Christus passus est opprobriose primo pro iniustis, unde  
 20 Petri 3: “Christus semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est, iustus pro iniustis”; secundo ° ab iniustis, iuxta illud Iob 16: “Conclisit me Dominus apud iniustum,” etc.; tercio cum iniustis, ut patet Matthei 15 cum dicitur: “Cum eo crucifixerunt duos latrones.”

Nec mirum ergo si gravis erat et contumeliosa passio sua, quia per  
 25 omnes sensus diffundebatur. Primo passus est in oculis quando lacrimatus est. Et revera iste lacrimae erant doloris. Et ideo ascendit in altum, ut longius audiretur; fortiter clamavit ut nullus excusaretur, cuius clamori lacrimas addidit ut sibi compateretur. Alias autem dicitur quod bis lacrimatus est, scilicet in suscitacione Lazari, et ille fuerunt lacrimae amoris;  
 30 unde quidam dixerunt de astantibus: “Ecce, quomodo amabat eum.” Secundo super civitatem Ierusalem ex compassione sue future ruine. Unde narrat Iosephus quod biennio [f. 51v] ab imperatore Tito civitas Ierusalem obsessa est, ubi inter cetera mala que graviter obsessos perurgebant tanta fames

Sam. 23.8. 54–55 Cf. Augustine, *Sermo 234 2* (PL 38:1116). 57 Ps. 21.7. 59–62 See Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de natura rerum IX.44* (p. 309); the worm is called “thamur.” Similarly in *Convertimini*, fol. 110v. 69–70 From the hymn “Aurora lucis rutilat,” stanza 2. Chevalier 1644. 76–77 Exod. 25.40. 77–78 Alexander Neckam, *De laudibus divinae sapientiae IX.67–68*. 79–80 1 Macc. 6.34. 83 Gal. 6.10.

### III.xiii OF WHAT CHRIST WAS ACCUSED AND HOW OFTEN TAUNTED

It now remains, in the fourth place, to consider what Christ was accused of before his Passion and how often he was taunted. About this we must know that he was firstly accused of forbidding to render tribute to Caesar, secondly of calling himself king, and thirdly of making himself Son of God. Against these accusations are set three counter-accusations when the Church on Good Friday sings as if in the person of Christ: “My people, what have I done to you,” etc. Here Christ reproaches the Jews who crucified him on account of three good deeds he had conferred on them before that time, which are: their liberation from Egypt, their guidance through the desert, and his planting the vineyard in an excellent place. It is as if Christ were saying: you accuse me about rendering tribute, but instead you should give thanks that I freed you from giving tribute and being slave to the Egyptians; you further accuse me of calling myself king, but instead you should give thanks that I fed you like a king in the desert; you accuse me thirdly of calling myself the Son of God, but instead you should render thanks that I have chosen you as my vineyard and planted you in an excellent place and wanted you to be my son and heir of the kingdom. Therefore Bernard exclaims: “O good Jesus, how sweetly you talked with men, how great and abundant gifts you gave them, and how hard and sharp pains you suffered for them. Hard were the taunts, harder the strokes, but hardest of all the torment of the cross.”

Notice also that Christ suffered shamefully, in the first place for the unjust; hence Peter 3: “Christ died once for our sins, the just for the unjust.” In the second place, he suffered from the unjust, according to Job 16: “God has shut me up with the unjust man.” And in the third place, he suffered with the unjust, as is shown in Matthew 15: “With him they crucified two thieves.”

No wonder, then, that his Passion was grievous and shameful, for it spread through all his senses. First, he suffered in his eyes, when he wept. Those were indeed tears of pain. And he climbed up high so that he might be heard farther; he cried out loud so that no one might excuse himself; and he added tears to his cry so that men should have compassion with him. Elsewhere he is said to have wept on two other occasions, namely when he raised Lazarus from death—and those were tears of love; wherefore some of the bystanders said:

ibi invaluit quod parentes a filiis et e contrario, viri ab uxoribus et e  
 35 contrario, cibum non tantum de manibus verum etiam de dentibus rapiebant.  
 Iuvenes autem etate forciores velud simulacra per vias oberrando pre fame  
 exanimis mortui ceciderunt. Illi etiam qui mortuos super mortuos sepelie-  
 bant, sepe et ipsi mortui super [eos] cadebant. Fetor[em] itaque cadaverum  
 non ferentes ex publico sumptu ipsa sepeliebant, set deficiente sumptu et  
 40 invalescente cadaverum multitudine, de muro illa precipitare compulsi sunt.  
 Titus vero civitatem circuiens, cum vidisset valles cadaveribus repletos et  
 totam patriam ex eorum fetore corruptam, manus suas cum lacrimis lavit et  
 ad celos respiciendo ait: "Deus, tu vides quia hoc non facio." Tanta etiam  
 45 fames ibi erat quod calciamenta cum corrigiis commedebant. Tandem secundo  
 anno Vaspasiani Titus Ierusalem cepit et captam subvertit, templumque  
 funditus destruxit. Et sicut Iudei Christum pro triginta denariis vendide-  
 runt, sic et ipse Titus pro uno denario triginta vendidit Iudeos. Et prout  
 narrat id(em) Iosephus, sic pro tunc nonaginta septem milia vendiderunt et  
 undecies centena milia interierunt. Nec mirum ergo si tot mala isti civita-  
 50 ti ventura presciens Christus ex compassione super illam fleuit dicens:  
 "Si cognovisses et tu." Secundo passus est in auditu, tot opprobria, tot  
 etiam blasphemia[s] audiendo, quando vocabant illum "filium fabri," "menda-  
 cem," et "demonem [habentem]," et cetera huiusmodi. Tercio in odoratu, quia  
 magnum fetorem sentire potuit in monte Calvarie, ubi ut predicatur dampna-  
 55 torum cadavera putrida et feda fuerant proiecta. Quarto in gustu, quando  
 ipsi optulerunt ei [f. 52] acetum cum mirra et felle mixtum ut cicius per  
 acetum moreretur. Quinto in tactu, quia "a planta pedis usque ad verticem  
 capitis non fuit in eo sanitas."

Circa autem suam illusionem est sciendum quod quatuor vicibus erat  
 60 illusus. Primo in domo Anne, ubi recepit sputa et alapas et oculorum vela-  
 tionem; unde Bernardus: "Vultum tuum, inquit, o bone Iesu, desiderabilem,  
 in quem desiderant angeli prospicere, sputis coinquinaverunt, manibus per-  
 cusserunt, velo pro derisione cooperuerunt, nec amaris vulneribus peperce-  
 runt." Secundo in domo Herodis, qui eum fatuum [et] non sane mentis esti-  
 65 ma(ns), quia sibi non respondit, pro derisione illum veste alba indui  
 precepit; unde in vestitu superbientes redarguit Bernardus in persona  
 Christi dicens: "Tu, inquit, homo es et habes sertum de floribus, et ego  
 Deus et homo coronam spineam; tu cyrothecas in manibus et calciamenta in  
 pedibus, et ego clavos defixos; tu etiam albis vestibus tripudias, et ego  
 70 pro te derisus ab Herode remissus fui ad Pilatum in veste alba; tu habes  
 latus apertum per vanam gloriam, et ego latus pro te fessum et lanceatum.  
 Et tamen revert[re] ad me, dicit Christus, et ego suscipiam te." Tercio in  
 domo Pilati, quando milites clamide coccinea ipsum circumdederunt et coro-  
 nam spineam super capud suum posuerunt et genibus flexis dixerunt, "Ave,  
 75 rex Iudeorum." Secundum autem Magistrum Historiarum, corona illa spinea

"Behold, how much he loved him"; the other time he wept over the city of  
 Jerusalem, out of compassion for its coming destruction. Regarding the latter,  
 Josephus tells us that Jerusalem was besieged by the emperor Titus for two  
 years; among other sufferings which heavily afflicted the besieged citizens,  
 such a great famine arose that parents tore away the food not only from the  
 hands but even from the very teeth of their children, and vice-versa, and  
 husbands from their wives, and vice-versa. Young men, the strongest in their  
 age, walked by the ways like shadows and fell down dead, made lifeless by  
 hunger. And those who buried the dead upon dead, themselves often fell dead on  
 top of them. Unable to stand the stench of the corpses, they buried them at  
 public expense, but when the public funds ran out and the number of corpses  
 grew, they were compelled to toss them over the wall. When Titus, passing  
 around the city, noticed the ditches filled with corpses and the entire land  
 infected with their stench, he washed his hands with his tears and looking up  
 to heaven said: "God, you see that I am not doing this." So great was the  
 famine then that they ate their shoes with the strings. Finally, in the second  
 year of Vespasian, Titus took Jerusalem and destroyed it and razed the Temple.  
 And as the Jews had sold Christ for thirty denarii, so Titus sold thirty Jews  
 for one denarius. As Josephus reports further, they then sold 97,000 Jews, and  
 1,100,000 perished. No wonder, then, that Christ in his foreknowledge that so  
 much suffering was to befall this city wept over it out of compassion, saying:  
 "If you but knew." Second, he suffered in his sense of hearing, when he heard  
 so many taunts and blasphemies, as they called him "carpenter's son," "liar,"  
 "having a demon," and the like. Third, he suffered in his sense of smell, for  
 he could smell the great stench on Mount Calvary, where, as we said earlier,  
 the putrid and ugly corpses of condemned criminals had been thrown. Fourth, he  
 suffered in his sense of taste, when they offered him vinegar mixed with myrrh  
 and gall, that he might die sooner through the vinegar. And fifth, he suffered  
 in his sense of touch, for "From the sole of his foot unto the top of his head  
 there was no soundness in him."

With respect to his taunting we must know that he was taunted four times:  
 first in the house of Annas, where he was spat upon, given blows in his face,  
 and blindfolded; whence Bernard says: "Your lovable face, O good Jesus, which  
 the angels desire to look upon, they stained with their spittle, struck with  
 their hands, covered with a veil in derision, and did not spare to hurt with  
 bitter wounds." The second time he was taunted in the house of Herod, who,  
 judging him to be a fool and not of a sane mind because he gave him no answer,  
 had him clothed in a white garment in order to have him scorned; whence Ber-  
 nard, in the person of Christ, reproaches those who take pride in their cloth-  
 ing and says: "You are a man and wear a garland of flowers, and I am God and  
 man and wear a crown of thorns; you have gloves on your hands and shoes on your  
 feet, and I nails driven through them; you dance in white garments, and I was

erat de iunctis marinis, quorum acies non minus dura spina est et penetrativa. Quarto in cruce, quando principes et sacerdotes illudebant ei dicentes illud Matthei 27: "Si rex Israel es, descende de cruce," etc. Unde Bernardus: "Interim, inquit, pacienciam magis exhibet, humilitatem commendat, obedienciam implet, perficit caritatem." In hiis ergo quatuor gemmis virtutum quatuor crucis cornua ornantur, quia [f. 52v] pro eminentiori ponitur caritas superius, a dextris obediencia, a sinistris paciencia, set humilitas, radix omnium virtutum, in profundo, nam ab ea omnia bona sancta et perfecta procedunt.

1 accusabatur] add quod C. 5 accusaciones] excusaciones C. 8 et] om O. 12 me tercio] om M. 16 habundantissima] add bona O. 21 secundo] add pro inimicis et C. 26 erant] fuerunt O. 35 de(2)] ab ipsis O. 38 eos] C reads supercadebant. 46 destruxit] subvertit O. pro] om O. 48 idem] illud C. 50 Christus] add si O. 52 blasphemias] blasphemia C.M. 55 fuerant] fuerunt O. 56 ei] om O. 58 fuit] erat O. 63 cooperuerunt] operuerunt O. 65 estimans] estimavit C. 69 eciam] add in O. 73 clamide] clamidem C? ipsum] illum O. 80 perficit] et proficit O. 81 eminentiori] supereminenciori O.

### III.xiv FORMA ET VIRTUS CRUCIS

[Q]uinto ergo et ultimo iam videndum est de forma ipsius crucis et eius virtute. Est ergo sciendum quod ipsa crux tunc temporis erat supplicium dampnatorum, et crudelius et vilis quod poterat inveniri, ad modum thau formata. Set revera crux Christi ex quatuor lignis specialiter fabricata.

5 Cuius pes erat cipressi, que nec aquis nec terris putrescit. Et ideo credentes Iudei Christum numquam depositurum de cruce, ideo cipressum pro firmitate in terra fixerunt. Secundo cedrus erat longitudo crucis erecta, que arbor est odorifera, habens calidam naturam, colorem aliqualem rubeum. Unde propter eius suavem odorem illam in longitudinem posuerunt ne fetorem

10 crucifixi sentirent transeuntes. Talis enim, ut videtur, erat opinio Iudeorum pessimorum. Tercio latitudinem crucis in signum victorie de palma construxerunt, que antiquitus erat [signum victorie. Nam secundum poetas victores palma coronabantur. Quia ergo Iudei] credebant se Christum devicisse et victoriam de eo habuisse, latitudinem crucis de palma posuerunt.

15 Quarto de oliva fecerunt tabulam, in signum pacis, credentes pacem inter illos in eternum fore Christo crucifixo. In cuius figura legitur Genesis 8

scorned for your sake and sent from Herod to Pilate in a white gown; your side is open through vainglory, and mine is cut and pierced for you. Yet return to me (says Christ) and I shall receive you." The third time he was taunted in the house of Pilate, when the soldiers wrapped him in a purple cloak and put a crown of thorns on his head and with bent knees said, "Hail, King of the Jews." According to the Master of the *Historia*, that crown of thorns was made from water rushes, whose point is not any less hard and piercing than thorns. The fourth time he was taunted on the cross, when the princes and priests mocked him saying, as in Matthew 27: "If you are the king of Israel, come down from the cross," etc. Whence Bernard says: "Meanwhile, he shows more patience, commends humility, fulfills obedience, and practices charity." The gems of these four virtues decorate the four points of the cross, for on the top is placed charity, on the right arm obedience, on the left patience, but at the bottom humility, the root of all virtues, from which all good things that are perfect and holy derive.

The material of this chapter parallels largely the first part of the chapter on the Lord's Passion in *Leg. aurea*, pp. 224–227, except for lines 19–23, 31–51, and 75–77. 6 From the Improperia, sung on Good Friday; Legg, pp. 112–113. 20–21 1 Pet. 3.18. 21–22 Job 16.12. 23 Matt. 27.38 or Mark 15.32. 30 John 11.36. 30–31 Luke 19.41–44. 31–49 Cf. Josephus, *De bello Judaico* VI. 51 Luke 19.42. 57–58 Isa. 1.6. 74–75 Matt. 27.29. 75–77 Peter Comestor, *Hist. scholastica*, In evangelia, 168 (PL 198:1628). 78 Matt. 27.42. 79–80 Bernard, *In Resurrectione*, sermo 1, 3 (5:76).

### III.xiv THE FORM AND POWER OF THE CROSS

In the fifth and last place we must now speak of the form of this cross and its power. We should know, then, that at that time the cross was the punishment for condemned criminals, the most cruel and vile one that could be found, formed in the shape of a T. Now, the cross of Christ was especially built from four kinds of wood. Its foot was of cypress wood, which does not rot in water or in the earth. Since the Jews believed Christ would never be taken from the cross, they put its foot of cypress in the ground, for its solidity. Second, its upright beam was of cedar, which is a sweet-smelling tree and warm by nature, and somewhat reddish in color. They used this wood for the upright because of its smell, so that passersby might not smell the stench of the crucified. Such, as they say, was the thought of the wicked Jews. Third, as a token of victory they made the crossbeam from a palm tree, which in ancient times was a sign of victory. For according to the poets, winners were crowned with palm. Therefore, since the Jews believed they had overcome Christ and won the victory over him, they made the crossbeam of palmwood. Fourth, they made a tablet of olive wood, in sign of peace, for they

quod revertens columba ad archam Noe ramum olive virentis in ore afferebat, in signum, ut dicunt doctores, quod pax inter Deum et hominem erat reformata. De illis quatuor habentur tales versus:

20 Stipes cipresssi, cedrus quod tendit in altum,  
Palma transversa, titulum portavit oliva.

De ista ergo cruce figuram habemus Danielis 4 de arbore illa quam vidit Nabugodonosor "in medio terre," cuius "altitudo ni- [f. 53] mia" quia "proceritas eius" celos tangebatur, cuius "aspectus erat usque ad terminos terre, folia eius pulcherrima, et fructus eius nimius, esca universorum in ea; subter quam habitabant animalia et bestie, in ramis eius conversabantur volucres celi, et ex ea vescebatur omnis caro." Hec in textu. Spiritualiter autem loquendo hec omnia facilliter de cruce exponi possunt. Ipsa enim crux stabat in medio terre, et non tantum ad litteram, verum etiam spiritualiter. Videmus enim ad sensum quod illud quod est in medio se habet equaliter ad extrema, unde omnibus in circuitu est commune. Revera sic ista crux in qua Christus iuxta Psalmistam operatus est salutem in medio terre stat in medio, ut ad illam fugiant Iudei et gentiles omnes, et non tantum iusti set maxime peccatores. Cuius altitudo celos tangebatur, nam ab inferno usque ad celos protendunt rami sue virtutis, dum alterum spoliavit, alterum restauravit.

"Folia eius," idest verba Christi in cruce pendentis, "pulcherrima." Quorum verborum primum fuit pietatis et misericordie, quando dixit illud Luce 23: "Pater, dimitte illis," etc. Secundum, societatis et iusticie, quando dixit latroni: "Hodie mecum eris in paradiso," quia sicut socii in passione, ita et in consolacione. Tercium, amoris matris benedictie, quando dixit: "Mulier, ecce filius tuus," et ipsam [Virginem] virgini commendavit, quia "cum sancto sanctus eris," etc. Quartum fuit simplicitatis et innocencie, quando dixit: "Deus meus, Deus meus," etc. Quintum, amoris, desiderii, et angustie, quando dixit: "Sicio," scilicet salutem humani generis. Sextum fuit fortitudinis et perseverancie, cum dixit: "Consummatum est," scilicet opus redemptionis nostre. Septimum fuit perfecte obediencie, quando dixit: "Pater, in manus tuas," etc.

Sequitur in figura "et fructus eius nimis." Nam Christus esca et cibus est omnium, hominum scilicet et angelorum. Nam ipse dicit Iohannis 6: "Caro mea vere est cibus, et sanguis meus vere est potus," etc. Set "subtus [f. 53v] habitabant animalia," idest mundiales, qui non faciunt que sursum sunt, set ad terram per cupiditatem inclinantur. "In ramis eius conversabantur volucres celi," idest religiosi terrena spernentes et per contemplacionem in supernis conversantes. Ista ergo arbor crucis lignum vite est; "qui apprehenderit illam, beatus."

believed that with Christ's crucifixion there would be peace among them forever. A type of this occurs in Genesis 8, where we read that on its return to Noah's ark the dove brought a green olive branch in its beak as a sign, as the Fathers explain, that peace between God and man had been restored. About these four we have these verses:

The foot of cypress wood, the upright trunk of cedar,  
The palm across, and olive bore the title.

Of this cross we find a type in Daniel 4, in the tree which Nebuchadnezzar saw "in midearth," which was "very tall" so that "its end" touched the sky; it "could be seen as far as the ends of the earth; its foliage was most beautiful, and it had much fruit, to feed all men on earth; beneath it lived beasts, and in its branches the birds of the sky; and all flesh ate from it." Thus in Holy Scripture. All these things can be interpreted with reference to the cross. For the cross stood in the middle of the earth, not only literally but also allegorically. For we can observe that what is in the middle is equidistant from the ends and thus belongs equally to all things around it. In this way the cross, on which according to the Psalmist Christ gained salvation in the midst of the earth, stands in the center, so that all the Jews and the Gentiles may flee to it, and not only the righteous but above all the sinners. Its height touched the sky, for the branches of its power extend from hell to heaven, since it has despoiled the former and restored the latter.

"Its leaves were most beautiful," that is, the words of Christ as he hung on the cross. His first word was one of pity and mercy, when he said, in Luke 23: "Father, forgive them," etc. The second was a word of fellowship and justice, when he said to the thief: "Today you shall be with me in paradise," for as they were fellows in their Passion, so too in their consolation. The third was a word of love for his blessed mother, when he said: "Woman, behold your son" and commended the Virgin to a virgin, because "with the holy you will be holy," etc. The fourth was a word of simplicity and innocence, when he said: "My God, my God," etc. The fifth was one of love, desire, and anxiety, when he said: "I thirst," namely for the salvation of mankind. The sixth was a word of strength and perseverance, when he said: "It is consummated," namely the work of our redemption. And the seventh was a word of total obedience, when he said: "Father, into your hands," and so forth.

In the biblical *figura* then follows: "And it had much fruit." For Christ is food and nourishment for all, for men as well as angels. He himself says in John 6: "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed," etc. But "beneath it dwelled animals," that is, the worldly-minded who do not do the things above but are bent to the earth in their desires. "In its branches dwelled the birds of the sky," that is, the religious, who scorn earthly values

Circa enim virtutem istius crucis est sciendum, prout narrat Vincencius in *Speculo historiali*, si lupus vellet hominem invadere et homo ponat signum aliquod inter eos, statim timet lupus fraudem, eo quod putat illud erectum esse ad sui capcionem, et fugit. Revera sic diabolus, quando vidit signum crucis erectum, statim fugit.

Et ideo narrat Gregorius in libro *Dialogorum* de quodam Iudeo [qui] per patriam transiens a casu sero hospitabatur in quodam templo ydolorum. Qui quamvis infidelis de virtute crucis cogitans, quam quasi clipeum habuerunt Christiani contra diabolum et cetera mala, fecit sibi circulum in loco quo iacebat undique signo crucis munitum. Tandem circa mediam noctem timens et anxius vidit quamplures demones venientes de suis maleficiis compotum reddituros. Quem cum perceperunt accesserunt ipsum suffocare volentes, set virtute sancte crucis ultra circulum accedere non audebant. Quo viso horribili clamore dicebant: "Heu, heu, vas vacuum set signatum!" Unde ipse ad fidem conversus ab episcopo in crastino baptizatus est.

Contigit eiam in conventu Fratrum Minorum Salopie quendam fratrem ad mortem infirmari nomine Warinum (Sou3th), cui alius frater ministravit dictus frater Thomas de Whitchirch. Cum ergo esset dictus infirmus fere in ultimis et crux ad modum fratrum ante eum esset erecta, tremebunde suspexit et pro lectore [f. 54] domus fortiter clamavit. Quod autem dictus servitor audiens celeriter accurrit et causam clamoris quesivit et quid cum lectore vellet interrogavit. Cui ille: "Nam intraverunt per fenestras et hostia quasi infiniti demones et totam domum impleverunt, et cum sim simplissime literature, ferventissime opponunt michi de Trinitate increata et fide catholica, nec scio respondere. Et ideo pro lectore festinetis, ut me adiuvet et pro me respondeat." Quo audito dictus servitor cum impetu crucem deposuit et in manibus infirmi tradidit, et ait: "Ne timeas, quia si necias respondere, iste pro te optime respondebit quousque rediero." Et pro lectore festinavit. Quo facto quasi in momento in risum altissimum prorupit. Unde eius servitor admirans velociter revertens causam tanti risus subitanei ab eo quesivit. Cui ille: "Quamcito, inquit, istum responsalem michi dedisti, quasi conclusi et confusi omnes festinantissime fugerunt. Et in tantum festinant per fenestras et ostia fugere quod ut michi videtur unusquisque collum super dorsum alterius rumpere non desistit." Et sic per virtutem sancte crucis a temptatione demonum liber evasit.

Item pro virtute sancte crucis nota *Vitam sancti Cipriani*, et in *Dialogis* et in *Vitas Patrum* quamplura mirabilia, et ideo hic pertransio. Merito ergo adoranda est sancta crux, quia in omni necessitate protegit, iuxta illud versus:

Per crucis hoc signum salvetur quodque benignum.  
Et per idem signum fugiat procul omne malignum.

and meditate in contemplation on higher things. This tree of the cross, therefore, is the tree of life; "he who retains it is blessed."

With respect to the power of this cross we should know that, as Vincent tells us in his *Mirror of History*, if a wolf wants to fall upon a man, and the man places some sign between himself and the wolf, the wolf at once fears some trick because he suspects that the sign is put up in order to catch him, and so he flees. In the same way, the devil flees at once when he sees the sign of the cross put up.

And Gregory in his book of *Dialogues* reports of a Jew who traveled through his country and, as it was late, happened to stay overnight in a pagan temple. Though he was an unbeliever, he thought of the power of the cross which Christians used as a shield against the devil and other evils; and he made for himself a circle in the place where he lay and fortified it all around with the sign of the cross. About midnight, he—filled with fear and anxiety—saw many demons coming together to give an account of their evil deeds. As they noticed him, they rushed to throttle him, but through the power of the cross dared not come across the circle. When they perceived this, they cried with a horrible shout: "Woe, you empty vessel, yet marked with the cross!" By this he was converted to the faith and the next day baptized by the bishop.

Further, in the house of the Franciscans at Shrewsbury it happened that a friar by the name of Warren South lay dying and was cared for by another friar called Thomas of Whitchurch. As the sick man was near his end and a cross was placed before him, as is the custom of friars, he looked about him with trembling and called loudly for the lector of the house. His aforementioned servitor heard this, came quickly to him, and asked him for the reason of his calling and what he wanted the lector for. Warren said: "An almost infinite number of demons have just come through the windows and doors and filled the whole house; and since I have very little learning, they are pressing me very hard with questions about the uncreated Trinity and about our Catholic faith, and I don't know how to answer. Run for the lector that he may help and answer for me!" On hearing this, the servitor took down the cross and thrust it firmly into the sick man's hands, saying: "Don't be afraid; if you don't know how to answer, this one will answer for you well till I return." And he ran off for the lector. At this, the dying man almost instantly broke into loud laughter. Then the servitor was amazed and returned quickly and asked him for the reason of this sudden laughter. The sick man then said: "As soon as you gave me this respondent, all the demons started to run away in great hurry as if they were overcome and confounded. And they are rushing so much to get through the windows and doors that it seems to me each one of them cannot help breaking his neck on the back of an other." And thus he went free of the demons' temptation through the power of the cross.

Regarding the power of the cross, see also the *Life of Saint Cyprian* and

Et hec de invidia et caritate ad presens dicta sufficiunt. Dicendum  
 100 in [hunc mundum, progressu in] mundo, et egressu de mundo.

10 videtur] dicitur O. 14 eo] illo O. 35 sue virtutis] suas virtutes M.R. 41 ita] sic  
 O. 46 fuit] add scilicet C. 48 etc.] commendo spiritum meum O. 50 6] om O.  
 52 faciunt] sapiunt M.R both corr. 59 putat] credit O. 60 vidit] videt O. 62 nar-  
 rat . . . in] narratur O. 69 sancte] om O. 70 dicebant] dixerunt O. 71 crastino]  
 crastinum O. 73 Sou3th] gurthi C. *Where the two friars are fully named, their names are  
 clearly Warinus (Warren) South and Thomas de Whitchurch(e); gurthi and gou3th (R.M)  
 are evident scribal corruptions.* 77 accurrat] acurrunt O. 78 interrogavit] om O.  
 Nam] iam O. 82 adiuuet] iuuet O. 83-84 nescias] nescis O. 88 fugerunt] fugiunt  
 O. 89 fugere] effugere O. 90 super] et O. 91 sancte] om O. 92 sancte] om O. 96-  
 97 Per . . . malignum] *the second halves of the two hexameters reversed* O.

### III.xv DE CHRISTI INGRESSU IN HUNC MUNDUM

[S]cito de caritate Christi quam in sua morte benedicta generi humano  
 ostendit, (est sciendum quod) illam aliis modis [f. 54v] quampluribus nobis  
 misericorditer manifestavit, sicut patet hic per suum in hunc mundum in-  
 gressum, progressum, et egressum. Circa ergo primum, scilicet suum ingres-  
 5 sum qui patet in suo adventu et nativitate, est sciendum quod ipse naturam  
 nostram assumpsit propter multas rationes. Prima, quia prevaricator diabo-  
 lus abstulit nobis Deum, necesse est ideo ut Christus reparator redderet  
 nobis illum. Secunda, quod quamvis humanitas Filii Dei d(e)cuuit humiliari  
 ad penas in natura, tamen divina non potuit, eo quod natura divina immuta-  
 10 bilis est et permanens. Ergo oportuit quod in alia natura, puta humana,  
 penas pro nobis sustineret. Tercia, ut tanta esset humilitas in Christo  
 redemptore quanta fuit superbia in homine prevaricatore. Set hominis super-  
 bia tanta fuit ut vellet esse Deus; unde econtra tanta fuit Filii Dei  
 humilitas ut vellet fieri homo. Quarta, ad vitandum istud inconueniens,  
 15 quia si Deus non scivisset incarnari vel voluisset aut non potuisset,  
 videretur in illo fuisse ignorancia, invidia, aut inpotencia; quod absit  
 dicere aut sentire.

Et nota quod sicut mos est modernorum nobilium quod mortuo aliquo tali  
 quod nobilior dominus et eius sanguini propinquior primo faciet oblacionem  
 20 pro eo et eius scutum in altari offerret, sic spiritualiter loquendo.  
 Nobilis et valens valde erat primus parens, eo quod tamquam regem et impe-  
 ratorem omnium terrenorum instituit Deus et omnia subiecit sub pedibus

many miracles in the *Dialogues* and the *Lives of the Fathers*; because of them I  
 now pass on. The holy cross therefore should rightly be worshipped, for it  
 protects us in every need, after these verses:

Through this sign of the cross may every good be protected,  
 And through the same sign let every evil flee far.

These things regarding envy and charity suffice for the moment. We now  
 turn to other benefits Christ has shown us through his charity, in his entrance  
 into this world, his journey through it, and his departure from it.

16-17 Gen. 8.11. 22-27 Dan. 4.7-9. 32 Ps. 73.12. 39 Luke 23.34. 40 Luke  
 23.43. 42 John 19.26. 43 Ps. 17.26. 44 Matt. 27.46. 45 John 19.28. 46 John  
 19.30. 48 Luke 23.46. 50-51 John 6.56. 56 Prov. 3.18. 62-71 Gregory, *Dialogi*  
 III.7 (SC 260:279-284). 72-91 The story also appears in a collection of tales in Leices-  
 ter, Wyggeston Hospital, MS I.D.50/xiii/3/1, fol. 3v. 96-97 Cf. *Prov* 21192. For an  
 English version, see Person, No. 35.

### III.xv CHRIST'S ENTRANCE INTO THIS WORLD

Since we have learned about the charity which Christ showed to mankind in  
 his blessed death, we should now understand that he showed it to us mercifully  
 in many other ways as well, as can be seen in his entrance into this world, his  
 journey in it, and his departure. With respect to the first, that is, his  
 entrance, which occurred in his advent and nativity, we must know that he took  
 our nature for many reasons. First, since the devil, the apostate, took God  
 away from us, it is necessary that Christ our restorer should give him back to  
 us. Second, although it was fitting that the human nature of the Son of God be  
 humbled to suffer natural pains, his divine nature could not do so, because  
 divinity is unchangeable and permanent. Therefore it became necessary that he  
 should suffer pain for us in his other nature, the human one. Third, so that  
 in Christ our redeemer there should be as great a humility as there was pride  
 in man when he first sinned. But man's pride was so great that he wanted to be  
 God; hence, in contrast, the Son of God's humility was so great that he wanted  
 to become man. Fourth, in order to avoid the following incompatibility: if God  
 had not known how to become man or had not wanted to or been able to, it would  
 seem that there would have been ignorance, envy, or powerlessness in him; which  
 it be far from us to say or think.

And notice that there is this custom among noblemen of our day: when one  
 of them dies, the most noble lord and closest relative will present the first  
 offerings for him and offer his shield at the altar. So is it also in the  
 spiritual realm. Our first parent was very noble and valorous, for God had set



eius. Qui tamen, cum esset mortuus, non habebat in terris ex omnibus pro-  
 25 pinquis et amicis qui iuste et digne scutum eius potuit portare et ibi in  
 altari offerre, eo quod inquinata hostia non potest inquinatos mundare. Et  
 ideo ex nimia caritate sua quam habuit ad nos venit Dei Filius tamquam  
 proximus sanguine et nostram naturam assumpsit sine peccati contagione, et  
 scutum [f. 55] Ade, nostri generis primi parentis, in altari optulit. Set  
 30 quia scutum deformatum per peccatum<sup>o</sup> nimis indecens erat, ideo Christus  
 eius scutum ordinavit quod erat satis decens. Primus enim parens, scilicet  
 Adam, habuit scutum triangularem de superbia, avaricia, et concupiscencia.  
 Et ideo econtra Christus Dei Filius nostri honoris et salutis zelator  
 precipuus scutum pulcherrimum et decentissimum publice pro nobis optulit et  
 ostendit de humilitate, paupertate, et castitate. Et quia primus parens  
 35 scutum suum in arbore vetita appendit, ideo Dei Filius pro nostra salute  
 eius scutum in ligno crucis expandit, iuxta illud ecclesiastici cantus:  
 "Vexilla regis prodeunt," etc.

Est eciam sciendum quod cicius Filius quam Pater aut Spiritus Sanctus  
 decuit incarnari, quamvis sint indivisa opera Trinitatis. Sicut patet de  
 40 tribus domicellis unam illarum induentibus, inter quas ut patet quicquid  
 facit una, facit et alia pro illa induicione; similiter et tertia, et tamen  
 una sola illarum trium induitur. Eodem modo dicendum est de Christi incar-  
 natione. Quandoque enim ipsa incarnacio attribuitur Patri, sicut patet  
 secundum illud Apostoli: "Cum venerit plenitudo temporis, misit Deus Filium  
 45 suum in terris," etc. Quandoque Filio, sicut in evangelio: "Exivi a Patre  
 et veni in mundum." Quandoque Spiritui Sancto. Et tamen tantum Filius est  
 incarnatus. Et hoc propter multas raciones. Prima racio est ut per eandem  
 sapienciam qua mundum condidit, iterum per eandem mundum repararet. Set  
 hoc fuit per Filium; ergo, etc. Secunda, ut ille qui Filius erat in divinitate  
 50 foret in humanitate. Tercia, ne (idem esset) Pater et Filius, si Pater de  
 homine nasceretur, et ideo Filius incarnatus. Quarta, quod congruencius  
 mittebatur ille qui est ab alio quam ille qui est a nullo. Quinta, quod  
 ille qui dat dampni occasionem, dampnum dedisse videtur. [f. 55v] Set sic  
 de Filio in ruina hominis et non de Patre aut Spiritu Sancto; ergo, etc.

55 Exemplum ad hoc in figura Ione, ubi legitur quod orta tempestate in  
 mari dixit: "Si propter me orta est tempestas, mittite me in mari." Et  
 cecidit sors super eum, et eiectus absortus est a cete. In cuius ventre  
 tribus diebus et tribus noctibus legitur permansisse. In sacra enim scrip-  
 tura due leguntur tempestates fuisse, quarum una orta est in celo inter  
 60 Deum et angelos malos, de quibus ad presens pertransio. Set secunda que in  
 terra est fuit tumor superbie ex vana cupiditate divine sapiencie, que  
 Filius Dei est. Promiserat autem serpens mulieri dicens: "Si comederitis,  
 eritis sicut dii scientes bonum et malum," Genesis 2. Cum ergo secundum  
 Magistrum *Sentenciarum* Patri appropriatur potencia, Filio sapiencia, et

him as king and emperor over the whole earth and put everything under his feet.  
 But when he died, there was no relative or friend on the whole earth who could  
 rightfully and worthily carry his shield and offer it on the altar, because a  
 defiled host cannot purify those who are defiled. Therefore, out of the great  
 love he had for us, the Son of God came as our closest relative and took our  
 nature upon himself without stain of sin, and he offered the shield of Adam,  
 first parent of our race, on the altar. But since in its deformity through sin  
 this shield had become too unfitting, Christ fashioned a shield for him that  
 was fully fitting. Our forefather, Adam, had a triangular shield of pride,  
 avarice, and concupiscence. In contrast, Christ, the Son of God, wholly zeal-  
 ous for our honor and salvation, offered for us and displayed publicly a most  
 beautiful and becoming shield which was made of humility, poverty, and chasti-  
 ty. And since our first parent hung his shield on the forbidden tree, the Son  
 of God displayed his shield for our salvation on the tree of the cross, accord-  
 ing to the Church's hymn: "The king's banners go forth," etc.

We must also realize that it was more fitting that the Son should become  
 man rather than the Father or the Holy Spirit, even though the works of the  
 Trinity are indivisible. This is seen in the group of three damsels who clothe  
 one among them: the gesture which one of them makes in the act of clothing is  
 repeated by the second and by the third likewise, and yet only one of the three  
 is being clothed. In the same way can one speak of Christ's incarnation. For  
 sometimes the incarnation is attributed to the Father, as in the words of the  
 Apostle: "When the fullness of time had come, God sent his Son to the earth,"  
 etc. Sometimes it is attributed to the Son, as in the Gospel: "I have gone  
 out from the Father and come into the world." And sometimes to the Holy  
 Spirit. And yet it was only the Son who became man, and this is so for many  
 reasons. The first is that through the same wisdom by which God created the  
 world, he would restore it again. But that was done through the Son; there-  
 fore, and so forth. The second reason is that he who was a son in his godhead  
 should be so likewise in humanity. The third is that Father and Son should not  
 be the same, which would be the case if the Father were to be born of man; and  
 so it is the Son who became man. Fourth, it was more fitting that he should be  
 sent who has his being from another than one who has his being from no one.  
 And fifth, because he who gives the occasion for damnation seems to have given  
 condemnation; but his pertains to the Son in the condemnation of man, not to  
 the Father or the Holy Spirit; therefore, etc.

We have an example of this in the *figura* of Jonah. Here we read that when  
 a tempest rose at sea, he said: "If this storm has risen for my sake, throw me  
 into the sea." And the lot fell to him and he was cast out and swallowed by a  
 whale, in whose belly he is reported to have stayed for three days and three  
 nights. We read in Holy Scripture that there were two tempests: one arose in  
 heaven between God and the bad angels, which I pass over for the moment. But

65 Spiritui Sancto clemencia, ergo nec Pater occasio huius tempestatis nec  
 Spiritus Sanctus, set Filius, qui utriusque sapiencia; ergo, etc. Dicit  
 ergo Ionas iste, Christus scilicet Filius Dei, Deo Patri: "Si propter me  
 est hec tempestas, mitte me in mari." Quod et factum est quando missus est  
 in mundo, qui est mare magnum et spaciosum, in quo reptilia quorum non est  
 70 numerus; ubi tandem absortus est in ventre terre tribus diebus et tribus  
 noctibus, ut satis patet scripturam intuenti. Patet ergo quod iuste cicius  
 erat Filius incarnatus quam Pater aut Spiritus Sanctus.

Circa quam incarnationem multa mirabilia acciderunt. Primum testante  
 Luce 2, virgo concepit et peperit filium. Item sicut habetur in Crisostomo  
 75 quod ista nocte nativitatis Christi magis super quodam monte orantibus  
 stella quedam iuxta illos apparuit, que formam pueri pulcherrimi habebat,  
 in cuius capite crux splendebat. Que magis alloquendo dixit ut in Iudeam  
 pergerent et ibi puerum natum invenirent, qui dominus foret tocius crea-  
 ture. Narrat eciam Eusebius in *Cronicis* quod ante nativitatem post mortem  
 80 Iulii Cesaris [f. 56] tres soles in celo apparuerunt, qui tandem in unum  
 corpus solare redacti sunt, in signum future nativitatis illius in quo  
 tria, scilicet divinitas, anima, et caro humana, insimul convenirent.

Refert eciam Innocencius papa tercius quod imperator Octavianus toto  
 orbe subiugato in tantum senatui placuit ut ipsum pro deo colere intende-  
 85 bant. Set prudens imperator se mortalem esse considerans nomen immortalita-  
 tis noluit usurpare. Cum igitur in die nativitatis Christi Sibilla prophe-  
 tissa fuisset adducta ad Capitolium (in quo loco iam Fratres Minores collo-  
 cantur), ut per eius oracula (disceret imperator) si maior eo aliquando  
 nasceretur, ecce in die medio circulus aureus circa solem apparuit et in  
 90 medio circuli virgo pulcherrima super quandam aram puerum gestans in gre-  
 mio. Quo viso dixit Sibilla: "Hic puer maior te est. Ipsum ergo honorare  
 oportet." Quo audito renuit imperator se deum vocari. Et statim eandem  
 cameram in honore Beate Virginis et Christi filii eius pro ecclesia fecit  
 fabricari, que usque in hodiernum diem dicitur Sancta Maria Ara Celi.

95 Item prout habetur in *Cronica* fratris Martini de Ordine Predicatorum,  
 ipso die nativitatis Christi trans Tyberim de taberna emeritoria fons olei  
 de terra emanavit ac per totum diem largissimo rivulo fluxit. Similiter  
 dicitur ibidem tunc statim ut Maria Christum peperit corruit statua illa  
 erea quam in Romiliano palacio Romulus posuerat dicens quod nusquam caderet  
 100 quousque virgo pareret. Item ibidem dicitur quod eodem anno quo Christus  
 natus est tulit eum Ioseph in Egiptum, quo ingrediente corru[er]unt omnia  
 ydola Egipti. Et sicut traditur, non fuit templum in Egipto in quo ydolum  
 non corruit. Item ibi dicitur quod in *Libro Infancie Christi* fertur quod  
 fugiente Maria cum filio Iesu et Ioseph in Egiptum et sub [f. 56v] una  
 105 palma recubissent laborante matre eius pre fame, ad preceptum pueri Iesu  
 palma se ad terram inclinavit, set eius fructibus collectis ad statum

the second takes place on earth; this was the swelling of pride from the vain  
 lust for divine wisdom, which is the Son of God. For the serpent had promised  
 the woman: "If you eat, you will be like gods, knowing good and evil," Genesis  
 2. But since according to the Master of the *Sentences* power is related to the  
 Father, wisdom to the Son, and mercy to the Holy Spirit, neither the Father nor  
 the Holy Spirit was the occasion or this tempest, but the Son, who is the  
 wisdom of both; therefore, etc. Thus this Jonah, that is, Christ the Son of  
 God, says to God the Father: "If this tempest is on my account, throw me into  
 the sea." This happened when he was sent into the large and wide sea of the  
 world, where there are reptiles without number, and where he finally was swal-  
 lowed into the womb of the earth for three days and three nights, as anyone can  
 see who reads the Scripture. Therefore, it is evident that it was rightly the  
 Son rather than the Father or the Holy Spirit who became man.

At his incarnation occurred many miracles. The first was that a virgin  
 conceived and bore a son, as is witnessed by Luke 2. Further, as can be found  
 in Chrysostom, in the night of Christ's birth a star appeared to the Magi as  
 they were praying on a mountaintop; it had the shape of a beautiful child, on  
 whose head a cross was shining. The star addressed the Magi and told them to  
 go to Judea, where they would find a newborn child who would be the lord of all  
 creation. Also, Eusebius tells in his *Chronicles* that before the nativity,  
 after the death of Julius Caesar, three suns appeared in the sky, which yet  
 were gathered into one solar body, as a sign of the coming birth of him in whom  
 three things were joined together, namely godhead, a human soul, and human  
 flesh.

Further, Pope Innocent III reports that after the Emperor Octavian had  
 subdued the entire world, he pleased the senate so much that they wanted to  
 worship him as a god. But the emperor, who was prudent and judged himself but  
 mortal, did not want to usurp the title of immortality. Now, as on the birth-  
 day of Christ the prophetess Sibyl was brought to the Capitol (in which place  
 now the Franciscans have a church) so that through her prophesying the emperor  
 might learn whether anyone greater than himself would at any time be born,  
 behold at midday a golden ring appeared around the sun, and in the center of  
 the ring a most beautiful virgin on an altar who carried a child on her lap.  
 When the Sibyl saw this, she told the emperor: "This child is greater than  
 you; it is he, therefore, who should be honored." Hearing this the emperor  
 refused to be called a god. And he had that hall at once made into a church in  
 honor of the Blessed Virgin and her son, Christ, which still today is called  
 Santa Maria in Ara Celi.

Moreover, as can be found in the *Chronicle* of Friar Martin, of the Friars  
 Preachers, on the same day of Christ's birth a fountain of oil welled up from  
 the earth in a shop in Trastevere and flowed all day long in a broad streamlet.  
 It is likewise said in the same source that as soon as Mary gave birth to

pristinum se erexit. Ac eciam siciente Ioseph ibidem ex precepto pueri Iesu arida terra fontem aque copiose produxit. Item narratur ibi quod versus  
 110 Egiptum cum in ore cuiusdam spelunce hospitati fuissent et de eadem spelunca duo magni dracones sunt egressi, a quorum contuitu dum Beata Virgo et Ioseph terrerentur, ad preceptum pueri Iesu cum omni mansuetudine capitibus inclinatis deserta pecierunt. Unus eciam leo in ipso itinere adueniens usque in Egiptum illis in obsequium servus fuit. Hec ibi.

115 Preter autem hec miranda sunt et alia quamplura admiranda in natiuitate istius pueri benedicti. Tunc autem erat primitas ultimata, immensitas limitata, eternitas terminata, virginitas fecundata; item longitudo (curta), latitudo arcta, altitudo yma, profunditas plana; item virgo generans, Deus infans, aqua siciens, panis esuriens. O admiranda et superadmiranda novitas Christi incarnationis, cum in ventre Virginis simul coeunt lutum et  
 120 deitas, fictor et fictile, magestas et parvitas, altum et humile, limus et subtilitas, firmum et fragile, virtus et infirmitas, vanum et utile. Quia tunc ibi videbatur mons magnus in parvo milio, mare oceanum in vase modico, circulum descriptum in puncto parvulo, et sol absconditus erat sub modio. Unde merito posset tunc Deus Pater dicere illud Apocalipsis: "Ecce,  
 125 nova facio omnia," etc.

2 est sciendum quod] et C. 3 hic] om O. 8 decuit] docuit C.R. 18 est] add adhuc O. 21-22 regem et imperatorum] rex et imperator O. 24 ibi] om O. 29 peccatum] add et C. 31 triangularem] triangulum O. 48 condidit] condiderat O. 50 idem esset] illud esset idem C. 52-53 quod ille] ut iste O. 77 magis] magos O. 86 igitur] ergo O. 88 disceret imperator] diceret imperatori C. 91 Sibilla] add imperatori O. 116 terminata] temperata O. 116-117 curta] circa C. 120 deitas] divinitas O. 121 subtilitas] sublimitas O. 125 etc.] om O.

### III.xvi DE TRIPLICI ADVENTU CHRISTI

[C]irca autem Christi adventum sive eius incarnationem est sciendum quod tripliciter venit: in ventrem Virginis, in mentem hominis, in fine exami-

Christ, the bronze statue fell over which Romulus had placed in his palace, saying it would never fall as long as a virgin did not have a child. In addition, it is also reported in the same place that in the same year that Christ was born Joseph took him to Egypt, and when he entered that country, all the idols of Egypt fell down. And as tradition has it, there was not a temple in Egypt with an idol that did not fall. The *Chronicle* further says that the *Book of the Infancy of Christ* reports that when Mary with her son, Jesus, and Joseph fled to Egypt and were resting beneath a palmtree, with Mary suffering much from hunger, at the bidding of the child Jesus the palmtree bent to the ground, but when they had picked its fruit, it straightened itself up again. And when Joseph was thirsty in the same place, at the bidding of the child Jesus the dry earth produced a rich wellspring of water. The *Chronicle* further tells us that when the Blessed Virgin and Joseph on their way to Egypt rested at the entrance of a cave and two large dragons came out of it, they were greatly frightened by their sight; but at the bidding of the child Jesus the dragons meekly bowed their heads and made for the desert. Also, a lion came along on the same way and served them obediently until they were in Egypt.

Besides these marvels there were many other miraculous things in the nativity of this blessed child. For then, what was first became last; what was infinite, limited; eternity, bound in time; virginity, made pregnant; further, length, made short; width, made narrow; height, made low; depth, made shallow; and further, a virgin, giving birth; God, an infant; the water, thirsty; and the bread, hungry. O admirable and miraculous novelty of Christ's incarnation, when in the womb of the virgin dust and divinity came together, the potter and his vessel, majesty and smallness, the high and the humble, slime and the sublime, the strong and the frail, power and weakness, the gainless and the useful. For then appeared a large mountain in a small millet, the ocean in a little dish; a circle was circumscribed in a tiny point, and the sun hidden under a bushel. At that moment, God the Father therefore could rightly say the words of Revelation: "Behold I make all things new."

37 Hymn for Vespers in Passiontide; Chevalier 21481. For English versions, see *Verses*, pp. 70 and 90. 44-45 Gal. 4.4. 45-46 John 16.28. 56 Jon. 1.12. 62-63 Gen. 3.5. 63-65 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* I.xxxiv.3-4 (1:251-252). 74 Cf. Luke 1.31. 75-77 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 2 (PG 56:637-678). 79-82 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, p. 44. 83-94 Ibidem, p. 44. 95-113 Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon*, p. 408. 124-125 Rev. 21.5.

### III.xvi CHRIST'S THREEFOLD COMING

With respect to Christ's coming or incarnation, we should know that he comes in three ways: into the Virgin's womb, into man's heart, and in the final

nis. Primo in ventrem [f. 57] Virginis: tunc in modum flaminis, Luce 2: "Spiritus Sanctus super(veniet)." Secundo in mentem hominis: tunc in modum fluminis, Ysaie 53: "Cum venerit quasi fluvius." Tercio in fine examinis: tunc in modum fulguris, Matthei 24: "Sicut fulgur exiit ab oriente, sic erit adventus filii hominis."

Et nota quod in quolibet istorum adventuum premisit signum, litteras, et nuncium. In primo autem adventu signa erant ros supra castra, rubus

10 Moysi, vellus Gedeonis, et virga Aaron. Littera erat illud Ysaie: "Ecce, virgo concipiet et pariet filium." Nuncius erat angelus Gabriel dicens: "Ave, gracia plena. Ecce concipies et paries, et vocabis nomen eius Iesum."

Set nota quod primum signum istum adventum signans, ut dicitur, erat ros supra castra ad temperandum; de quo Numeri 11 dicitur: "Cum descendisset ros supra castra, descendit pariter et manna." Hec enim castra bene per Virginis corpus designantur ac per eius animam et spiritus, in quibus ordinata erant omnia ad istum filium benedictum recipiendum et servandum. Et nota quod ros numquam descendit nisi quando tempus est serenum, hoc est,

20 neque nimis calidum neque nimis frigidum. Revera sic nec ista Virgo Maria fuit nimis calida per avariciam neque nimis frigida per desperationem, neque nimis humida per carnalitatem neque nimis sicca per desi[di]ositatem. Cuius serenitatis signum fuit quando ingressus est angelus ad eam, non invenit ostium apertum, quia frequencias et colloquia hominum vitabat, ne vel orantis turbaretur silencium vel eius castitatis turbaretur indicium.

25 Sancta enim erat Iudith, et oculorum suorum laqueo captus est Holofernes, ut patet in historia.

Signum secundum adventum Christi signans fuit vellus Gedeonis, de quo Iudicum 6: pluvia descendit in vellus totam aream rigatur(a). Nota historiam. [f. 57v] Illud autem vellus caro Virginis est, de quo Christus vestimentum sue humanitatis [sumpsit. Et est hic advertendum quod vellus facili-ter aquam bibit et de facili comprimendo] <effundit illam>. Revera sic Virgo benedicta aquam graciae de facili a Deo recepit ac ad nos suam transmittit. Numquam enim eius deficiet gracia, quia nunquam exauriri potuit eius misericordia. De isto ergo descensu dicit Psalmista: "Descendit sicut pluvia in vellus." Unde Bernardus: "Celestis, inquit, aream rigaturus totum velleri prius infundit, et mundum Dei Filius redempturus totum precium contulit in Mariam." Ros enim totus in area et totus in vellere fuit, set in nulla parte aree fuit totus sicut in vellere et stillicidia. Sic Deus per Virginem distillat omne bonum gratuitum, cuius stillicidii pars superior est in celo per fruicionem, pars inferior est in terris erga nos per graciae infusionem, ut graciae perditam per culpam nostram recuperemus, ut sic res nobis perditam erit nobis salva. Deuteronomii 22 precipitur ut res perditam sit aput inventorem donec qui perdidit veniens requiret eam. Set revera gracia Dei a nobis perditam erat a lapsu primi parentis usque ad

judgment. First, into the Virgin's womb, like a breath; Luke 2: "The Holy Spirit will come." Second, into man's heart, like a river; Isaiah 53: "When he will come as a stream." And third, at the final judgment, like lightning; Matthew 24: "As a lightning has come out of the east, so will the coming of the Son of Man be."

And notice that in each of his comings he has sent before him a sign, letters, and a messenger. The signs for his first coming were the dew on the camp, the burning bush of Moses, the fleece of Gideon, and the rod of Aaron. The letter was that verse of Isaiah: "Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son." And the messenger was the angel Gabriel saying: "Hail, full of grace. Behold you will conceive and bring forth a son, and you will call his name Jesus."

As I said, the first sign that indicated this coming was the dew upon the camp sent as a relief; of it is written in Numbers 11: "When the dew fell upon the camp, the manna also fell with it." This camp signifies the body of the Virgin as well as her soul and spirit, in which everything was set in order to receive and keep that blessed child. Notice that dew only falls when the weather is fair, that is, when it is neither too hot nor too cold. Just so, the Virgin Mary was neither too hot through avarice nor too cold through despair, neither too humid in fleshly desires nor too dry in sloth. The sign of her serenity was that, when the angel came to her, he did not find her door open, for she avoided frequent get-togethers and chats, in order not to disturb the silence of prayer or to attack the mark of her chastity. For Judith was holy, and yet Holofernes was caught in the snares of her eyes, as we see in the biblical story.

The second sign that indicated Christ's coming was the fleece of Gideon, of which we read in Judges 6 that rain fell on the fleece drenching all the area around it. Tell the entire story. That fleece is the flesh of the Virgin, from which Christ took the clothing of his human nature. We should note that a fleece easily soaks up water and, when it is squeezed, easily sheds it again. In the same way did the Blessed Virgin easily receive the water of grace from God, and she passes her grace on to us. Her grace will never be wanting, for her mercy could never be exhausted. Regarding this falling of the dew the Psalmist says: "He comes down like rain upon the fleece." Whence Bernard says: "The heavenly dew that was to drench the area first soaked the fleece, and God's Son, who was to redeem the world, gave the whole price in Mary." For all the dew was on the ground and on the fleece, but on no part of the ground was there so much dew and dropping rain as on the fleece. Thus God lets every good of his grace drop down through the Virgin. The upper part of this falling rain is in heaven, for our final enjoyment; the lower part is on earth, where it comes to us by infusion, so that we may regain that grace we have lost through our sin, and the thing we had lost will be saved for us. In

45 incarnationem Christi Iesu, quod fuit per quinque milia annorum et ducentos  
excepto uno, secundum illud:

Annis quingentis decies rursusque ducentis  
Unus defuerat cum Deus ortus erat.

Set certe concepto Dei Filio illam invenit Maria, testante angelo Luce 2:

50 "Invenisti gratiam apud Deum." Non ergo diffidimus set confidenter ad  
ill(a)m accedamus et sine murmure nobis illam liberabit.

Tercium signum adventus Christi fuit rubus Moysi, de quo Exodi 3  
dicitur: Descendit angelus in flamma ignis et vidit Moyses quod rubus  
arderet et flamma non combureretur in rubo, ad signandum quod partus in  
55 Virgine ut rubus illuminabatur [f. 58] set non comburebatur, quia virgini-  
tas Marie non violabatur.

Et ideo de ea bene dicitur Apocalipsis 12: "Signum magnum aparuit in  
celo, mulier amicta sole et luna sub pedibus eius, et in capite eius corona  
stellarum duodecim." "Signum magnum aparuit in celo, mulier," etc. Spiri-

60 tualiter autem loquendo Beata Virgo erat signum nostre reconciliacionis,  
nostre liberacionis, nostre protectionis, nostre miseracionis, pii auxilii,  
et subvencionis. Et ideo h(e)c est quasi arcus positus in signum federis,  
Genesis 9, quod peciit Gedeon in signum velleris, ut patet supra. Et hec  
ideo est funiculus coccineus in fenestra Raab, Iosue 2. Et ideo hec est  
65 illa virga aurea Assueri regis, Hester 4. Et ideo hec est "illa radix  
lesse, que stat in signum populorum; ipsam gentes deprecabuntur." Set ipsa  
confert omne bonum, et ideo ipsa est signum peregrinantibus directivum,  
preliantibus protectivum, navigantibus confortativum. Et ideo non incongrue  
70 stellantes, sic Beata Virgo dirigit in hoc mundo fluctuantes. Unde Bernardus  
in *Omelia super Missus est angelus*: "Si, inquit, insurgunt venti temp-  
tacionum, si incurras scopulas tribulacionem, respice stellam, invoca Ma-  
riam. Ipsam autem sequens non devias, ipsam rogans non desperas, ipsam  
cogitans non erras, ipsa te tenente non corruis, ipsa protegente non me-  
75 tuis, ipsa duce non fatigaris, set ipsa propicia pervenis ad portum eterne  
salutis."

Et nota quod inter omnia signa hoc signum describitur ut utile quia  
"signum," ut mirabile quia "magnum," ut sublime quia "in celo." Et ideo  
ipsa est primo signum dilectionem Dei ad hominem ratificans, tamquam  
80 signum sigilli in cedula ratificat ibidem contenta. Et ideo de ea Genesis 9:  
"Archum [f. 58v] meum ponam in nubibus celi, et [erit] signum federis inter  
me et terram." Si enim consideremus istius formam, quomodo est de radiis  
solis generatum, colore ceruleo coloratum, ac contra nos arcuatum, possumus  
in ea tria erga nos considerare, scilicet caritatem, humilitatem, et pieta-

Deuteronomy 22 the law is given that a lost object should remain with its  
finder until he who has lost it comes and asks for it. But God's grace had  
been lost to us from the fall of our first parent until the incarnation of  
Jesus Christ, that is, for 5,200 years minus one, according to the verse:

Five hundred years ten times, and another two hundred added,  
That number but one year was the time when God became man.

But when she had conceived the Son of God, Mary found that grace again, as  
the angel told her in Luke 2: "You have found grace before God." Therefore,  
let us not lose faith but go to her with confidence, and she will deliver that  
grace to us without murmur.

The third sign of Christ's coming was the burning bush of Moses, of which  
is said in Exodus 3 that an angel descended in a flame of fire and Moses saw  
that the bush was afire but the bush did not burn, to indicate that in the  
Virgin, childbirth would light up like that bush but not burn, because Mary's  
virginity was not violated.

Therefore it is well said of her in Revelation 12: "A great sign appeared  
in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on  
her head a crown of twelve stars." "A great sign appeared in heaven; a woman,"  
etc. Spiritually speaking, the Blessed Virgin was the sign of our reconcilia-  
tion, liberation, protection, commiseration, help, and subvention. Therefore,  
she is, as it were, the rainbow set as a sign of covenant, Genesis 9, which  
Gideon asked for in the sign of the fleece, as we saw earlier. And she is that  
scarlet cord in Rahab's window, Joshua 2. And she is that golden scepter of  
king Ahasuerus, Esther 4. And she is also that "root of Jesse, which stands  
for an ensign of the people; her the Gentiles shall beseech." But she bestows  
all that is good, and thus she is a sign which gives direction to pilgrims,  
protection to warriors, and comfort to travelers at sea. Not unfittingly is  
she thus called the star of the sea, because as that star directs and points  
the right way to sailors, so the Blessed Virgin directs those who are rocked  
back and forth in this world. Therefore Bernard says in a homily on *Missus  
est angelus*: "If the winds of temptation rise, if you run onto the cliffs of  
tribulation, look at the star, call upon Mary. Following her you will not go  
astray, asking her you will not despair, thinking of her you will not fall into  
error; if she holds you, you will not come to ruin; if she protects you, you  
need not fear; if she leads, you will not tire; but if she is well disposed, you  
will come to the harbor of eternal salvation."

And notice that among all signs this one is described as useful because  
it is "a sign," marvelous because it is "great," and sublime because it is "in  
heaven." Thus Mary is, first, a sign that guarantees God's love toward man, as  
the sign of a seal on a document makes its contents valid. Therefore Genesis 9



85 tem. Expone ut scis. Est etiam ipsa secundo signum certificans ad modum  
signi paxilli: certificat viatores in semitis ne deviant. Sic ipsa pecca-  
tores dirigit ad portum; unde Ysaie 40 dicitur: “Levabit Dominus signum in  
nacionibus et congregabit dispersos Israel.” Et tercio ipsa est signum °  
fortificans peccatores contra hostes ad modum signi vexilli in prelio;  
90 Sapiencie 16 dicitur: “In brevi ad correctionem turbati sunt,” scilicet  
peccatores superbi, “habentes signum salutis,” scilicet Mariam.

Et sequitur in auctoritate: “Mulier amicta sole.” Si enim per solem  
intelligatur gracia, tunc aliquando fuit amicta sole in hac vita, quia  
totaliter impleta erat gracia; Luce 2: “Ave, gracia plena,” quasi diceret  
95 angelus sic: O Maria benedicta, Dei gracia es repleta, quod totaliter a  
triplici ve es elongata, videlicet primo a ve carnalis concupiscencie, a ve  
mundialis avaricie, a ve infernalis superbie. Quo contra dicitur de pecca-  
toribus obstinatis sine omni gracia illud Apocalipsis: “Ve, ve, ve habitan-  
tibus in terra,” eo quod tales in tribus predictis sunt illaqueati. Secun-  
100 do, si per solem intelligitur gloria, (tunc) certum est quod iam per solem  
amicta est in patria, ubi iam iuxta illud in Psalmo: “In sole posuit Deus  
tabernaculum suum.” Si enim legatur de aliis sanctis quod “fulgebunt iusti  
sicut sol,” quanto magis ipsa que solem carne induit, que solem mundo  
protulit, que solem sinu tenuit, in Christi incarnatione, in Christi partu-  
105 ricione, in Christi nutricione.

Sequitur in auctoritate: “Et lunam sub pedibus eius,” idest Ecclesia  
aut omnis creatura; “et in [f. 59] capite coronam stellarum duodecim,” que  
sunt duodecim prerogativa beate Marie, videlicet sanctificacio in utero,  
salutacio ab angelo, humilitas obediens, castitas conveniens, item creduli-  
110 tas perficiens, gracia reficiens, conceptus sine libidine, partus sine  
gravamine, item circa prolem misterium, de prole contemplacionis deside-  
rium, de prole singulare martirium, cum prole salutare dominium.

[C]irca autem secundum adventum Christi, [scilicet] in mente hominis,  
est sciendum quod signa fuerunt secundum illud Psalmi: ° “Percussit pet-  
115 ram,” idest cor hominis fere obstinatum, “et fluxerunt aque et torrentes  
inundaverunt,” scilicet confessionis et satisfactionis. De quibus satis  
patet parte 5; nota infra. Littere autem fuerunt illud Ioelis 2: “Converti-  
mini ad me in toto corde vestro.” Set nuncius fuit Iohannes Baptista cla-  
mans: “Penitentiam agite,” etc.

120 [C]irca autem tercium adventum, scilicet in fine examinis, signa sunt  
illa Luce 21: “Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis.” Ubi secundum  
Ieronimum in ann(a)libus Hebreorum quindecim sunt signa examinis illius,  
idest diei iudicii. Quorum primum est quod prima die eriget se mare cubitis  
quadraginta supra altitudinem moncium, stans in loco suo quasi murus.  
125 Secunda die tantum descendet quod vix videri poterit. Tercia die belue  
marine apparentes supra mare horribilem dabunt rugitum usque ad celum.

says of her: “I will set my bow in the clouds of heaven, and it shall be the  
sign of a covenant between me and the earth.” If we reflect on the form of the  
rainbow, how it is created by the rays of the sun, blue in color, and bent  
toward us, we can think of three things which Mary has toward us, namely,  
charity, humility, and pity. Explain this. Mary is, secondly, a roadsign  
which like a signpost directs travelers on their ways that they may not go  
astray. Thus she directs sinners to their haven; whence Isaiah 40 declares:  
“The Lord shall set up a standard unto the nations and shall assemble the  
fugitives of Israel.” And thirdly, Mary is a sign that strengthens sinners  
against their enemies, as a standard does in battle; Wisdom 16: “They were  
troubled for a short time for their correction,” that is, proud sinners, “hav-  
ing a sign of salvation,” namely Mary.

And the quoted Scriptural passage continues: “A woman clothed with the  
sun.” If we take “sun” to mean grace, then she was already clothed with the  
sun in this life, because she was totally filled with grace in accordance with  
the words of Luke 2: “Hail, full of grace,” as if the angel were saying: O  
blessed Mary, you are filled with God’s grace, because you are totally detached  
from the triple woe—the woe of fleshly concupiscence, the woe of worldly  
greed, and the woe of devilish pride. The opposite is said in Revelation of  
obstinate sinners who are without any grace: “Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants  
of the earth,” for these are ensnared in the three evils mentioned. If, on the  
other hand, we take “sun” to mean glory, then it is certain that Mary is  
presently clothed with the sun in heaven, where now, according to the Psalm,  
“God has put his tabernacle in the sun.” For if we read of other saints that  
“the just shall shine like the sun,” how much more will this be true of her who  
has clothed the sun with flesh, who gave it to the world, and who held it at  
her breast in Christ’s incarnation, birth, and nursing!

The quoted Scripture text further continues: “And the moon under her  
feet,” that is, the Church or all creation; “and on her head a crown of twelve  
stars,” which are the twelve prerogatives of blessed Mary: her sanctification  
in the womb, her being greeted by the angel, her obedient humility, suitable  
chastity, perfect trust, restorative grace, her conceiving without lust, giving  
birth without pain, her care for her son, her desire to contemplate her son,  
her unique martyrdom for her son, and her salvific rule with her son.

With respect to the second coming of Christ, namely into man’s soul, we  
should know that its signs were the following, according to the Psalm: “He  
struck the rock,” that is, man’s heart that had been quite obstinate, “and the  
waters gushed out, and the streams overflowed,” that is, of confession and  
satisfaction. For these matters, see below, part 5. But the letters were the  
words of Joel 2: “Turn to me with all your heart.” And the messenger was John  
the Baptist calling: “Do penance,” etc.

With respect to Christ’s third coming, namely for the final judgment, its



Quarta die ardebit mare et omnes aque. Quinta die arbores et herbe dabunt rorem sanguineum. Sexta die ruent omnia mundi edificia. Septima die petre adinvicem collidentur. Octava die erit generalis terremotus per totum mundum. Nona die terra planissime equabitur. Decima die exhibunt homines de cavernis nec valebunt loqui. Undecima die surgent ossa [f. 59v] mortuorum et stabunt supra sepulcra. Duodecima die cadent stelle de celo secundum quosdam. Decima tertia die morientur omnes viventes ut iterum resurgant. Decima quarta die celum et terra ardebunt, idest superficies aeris et terre. Et decima quinta die fiet celum novum et terra nova. Set utrum dies isti quibus hec fient sint continui futuri an interpolati, ibidem non exprimitur nec aliquis novit nisi solus Deus.

Legitur eciam in *Cronicis* quod anno ab urbe condita 324 populus Romanus solidam columpnam marmoream in foro statuerunt, super quam statuam Iulii Cesaris stare fecerunt acsi deus adorandus fuisset. Qui tamen Iulius in tota sui nobilitate et pompa tria signa recepit quasi premunitoria. Nam centesimo die ante eius mortem fulmen cecidit ante statuam eius in foro et de nomine et superscriptione litteram capitalem, scilicet I, abrupit. Secundum signum erat quod nocte precedente diem obitus sui fenestre thalami cum tanto strepitu aperte sunt ut Cesar de stratu suo exiliens ruituram domum estimaret. Tercium signum erat quod eodem die obitus sui cum ad Capitolium rediret, sunt ei littere oblate indices sue mortis iminentis. Quas si statim legisset, de morte evasisset; set eodem die quo mortuus fuerat, invente sunt in manu eius adhuc clause.

Spiritualiter sic est ex parte ista: Ut enim superbus et peccator iudicium finale et mortem eternam bene evadat, triplex signum a Trinitate benedicta recipit. Pater enim primo ostendit suam potenciam, secundo Filius eius sapienciam, et tercio Spiritus Sanctus suam clemenciam. Primum ergo signum Iulii Cesaris fuit in delecione capitalis littere sui nominis, per quam litteram intelligo habundanciam diviciarum. Nam hoc precipuum est quod facit hominem nomen habere in terris, scilicet divicie. Nemo enim nominatur aut reputatur in populo, [f. 60] ut manifeste patet, nisi fuerit dives, quia si queratur quis sit maior alicuius ville, statim respondetur quod ille qui habet plures divicias, et sic preponitur aliis eciam si pessimus fuerit. Patet ergo quod divicie sibi nomen inponunt, quia si dives non esset, nomen non haberet nec nominatus tunc fuisset. Venit ergo Filius Dei volens hominem salvare, cui sapiencia attribuitur, et dat sibi signum primum eius divicias subtrahendo; illum in paupertatem deicit, ut sic saltem qui per divicias a Deo recessit, per paupertatem redeat, (quia ut dicitur) in Psalmo: "Pauper et inops laudabunt nomen tuum, Domine." In cuius figura Danielis 4 legitur de Nabugodonosor qui propter suas divicias equalem se Deo reputabat, set depositus et depauperatus illum laudabat. Nota historiam.

signs are those mentioned in Luke 21: "There will be signs in the sun and the moon and the stars." According to Jerome, in the *Annals of the Hebrews*, there are fifteen signs of his judgment, that is, fifteen days of judgment. The first is that on the first day the sea will rise forty cubits above the highest mountain and will stand in its place like a wall. On the second day it will fall so that it can hardly be seen. On the third day sea-monsters will appear on the sea and make a terrible roar that reaches to the sky. On the fourth day the sea and all the waters will burn. On the fifth day the trees and herbs will produce a blood-colored dew. On the sixth day all the buildings of the world will fall. On the seventh day rocks will clash with each other. On the eighth day there will be a general earthquake throughout the whole world. On the ninth day the earth will be absolutely flattened. On the tenth day people will come out of caves and will not be able to speak. On the eleventh day the bones of the dead will rise and stand on their graves. On the twelfth day, according to some, the stars will fall from the sky. On the thirteenth day all living people will die so that they may rise again. On the fourteenth day the sky and the earth will burn, that is, the surface of the air and of the earth. And on the fifteenth day the sky and the earth will become new. But whether the "days" on which these events will happen are to be continuous or at intervals, the quoted source does not say, nor does anyone know except God alone.

We read in the *Chronicles* that in the year 324 after the founding of Rome, the Roman people put up a solid marble column in the Forum, on which they placed a statue of Julius Caesar, who was to be worshipped as a god. But at the height of his dignity and pomp, Julius received three signs as a forewarning. For on the hundredth day before his death, a lightning bolt fell in front of his statue in the Forum and struck off the initial letter, that is, the *J*, from the inscription of his name. The second sign was that in the night before his death the windows of his bedroom were flung open with such force that Caesar rushed from his couch thinking his house was about to fall. And the third sign was that on the day of his death, as he returned to the Capitol, he was handed letters with warnings of his imminent death. If he had read them at once, he would have escaped death; but on the day he died, they were found still unopened in his hand.

Spiritually speaking, in the same way a proud and sinful person receives a threefold sign from the Blessed Trinity that he may escape final judgment and eternal death. For in the first place the Father shows his power, then the Son his wisdom, and thirdly the Holy Spirit his mercy. The first sign given to Julius Caesar was the deletion of the initial letter of his name, by which I understand abundance of wealth. For the latter, that is, wealth, is what primarily gives people a name on earth. For no one, as can be easily seen, has a great name or reputation among the people unless he is rich. If you ask who is the biggest person in some town, you will be told at once that it is so-and-

170 Secundum signum Iulii Caesaris erat tumultus ad eius camere fenestras,  
 sic quod ipse credidit domum suam esse ruituram. Moraliter hec camera est  
 corpus humanum, quod cum homo considerat se esse fortem, pulcrum, et  
 scientem, mox in superbia erigitur et alios per suam fortitudinem deprimit et  
 contempnit, et sic in viam mortis pedem ponit. Et ideo venit Pater celes-  
 175 tis, cui potencia attribuitur, et illum revocat ad viam salutis et sibi dat  
 signum secundum, quando facit tumultum ad fenestras corporis sui, hoc est,  
 quando inmittit infirmitates in omnia membra et sensus suos, in tantum quod  
 ad terram per mortem credit totaliter cadere. Quo facto revera ut sepe per  
 fortitudinem corporalem a Deo recesserunt, per infirmitates revocantur.  
 Psalmista: "Multiplicate sunt infirmitates eorum et post[ea] accelerave-  
 180 runt." In cuius figura Machabeorum 2 capitulo 9 de Antiocho superbo habetur  
 quod pre superbia sibi videbatur fluctibus maris imperare. Dixit eciam se  
 Iherosolimam venturum et illam congeriem sepulcris Iudeorum facturum. Et  
 tamen cum sic a Deo humiliatus esset qui prius sidera celi attingere arbi-  
 trabatur, postea vermes [f. 60v] de eius corpore miserrimo scaturirent, et  
 185 propter fetorem sic ut nec alii tollerare non possent, <ait>: "Iustum est  
 subditum esse Deo et non paria Deo sentire." Unde illud Hester 23: "Domine  
 Deus, in dicione tua cuncta sunt posita, et non est qui possit tue resis-  
 tere voluntati," etc.

Tercium signum Caesaris erat quod littere sue mortis indices erant sibi  
 190 tradite, quas si legisset mortem evasisset. Et hoc est signum Spiritus  
 Sancti, cui attribuitur bonitas, qui tunc litteras nostre mortis nobis  
 tradidit cum sua gracia et bonitate sic consciencias nostras illuminat ut  
 legere possimus per veram confessionem peccata nostra, quibus mortem merui-  
 mus eternam, si velimus. Igitur, o peccator, iam considera in adventu Filii  
 195 [Dei] in carne quomodo opera Trinitatis sunt indivisa. Nam primo habes  
 signum Filii, qui sua sapiencia novit divicias tribuere et eripere. Habes  
 eciam signum Patris, qui novit sua potencia fortem facere et prosternere.  
 Et tercio habes signum Spiritus Sancti, qui vult sua clemencia peccata tua  
 ad memoriam reducere, et totum pro salute tua, quia secundum quod habetur  
 200 Iohannis 3: "Nisi signa et prodigia videritis, non credetis." Sic ergo  
 patent signa triplici(s) Christi adventus ad iudicium, cuius adventus  
 littere scribuntur Apocalipsis ultimo: "Ecce venio cito et merces mea  
 mecum," etc. Set nuncii erunt Enok et Helias, qui tempore Antichristi  
 advenient.

205 Unde pro isto in carnem narratur de quodam imperatore Valerio, quod  
 olim sibi et suis proceribus prophetatum erat quod sibi talis filius nasce-  
 retur qui hostes regni sui strenue debellaret et suo imperio subiugaret.  
 Igitur cum imperatrix concepisset, dictus imperator cum suis proceribus  
 apud deos sacrificiis instabant diligencius sciscitantes si puer talis  
 210 esset pariendus quod alico signo evidenti illis innotescere posset. Quibus  
 tandem responsum est quod si puer ille nasceretur utraque manu clausa vel

so who has great wealth; and thus he is placed before anyone else even if he is  
 a scoundrel. Thus you see that wealth gives him a name; if he were not rich,  
 he would have no name or be mentioned in that case. Therefore the Son of God,  
 to whom we attribute wisdom, comes with the desire to save man and gives him  
 the first sign: he takes away man's wealth and casts him into poverty, so that he  
 who has perhaps abandoned God through his wealth may return through pov-  
 erty, for as it is said in the Psalm: "The poor and needy shall praise your name,  
 Lord." A type of this is Nebuchadnezzar, of whom we read in Daniel 4 that in  
 his wealth he judged himself equal to God, but when he was deposed and made  
 poor, he praised him. Tell this story.

The second sign of Julius Caesar was the great noise at the windows of his  
 bedchamber, so that he thought his house was falling. In moral terms, this  
 chamber is the human body. When a man sees that he is strong, beautiful, and  
 learned, he soon becomes exalted in pride and puts down and scorns others in  
 his strength, and thus he puts his foot on the path of death. Then the heaven-  
 ly Father comes, to whom we attribute power, and calls him back to the way of  
 salvation and gives him the second sign, when he raises a noise at the windows  
 of his body, that is, when he sends sickness to all his limbs and senses, to  
 the point that man thinks he is altogether falling to the ground in death.  
 Thereby it often happens that those who had turned away from God in their  
 bodily strength are called back to him through their sicknesses. The Psalmist  
 says: "Their infirmities were multiplied, and afterwards they made haste." As  
 a type, 2 Maccabees 9 proposes the proud Antiochus, who in his pride thought of  
 himself as commanding the waves of the sea. He also said he was going to go to  
 Jerusalem and turn it into a pile of graves for the Jews. And yet, when he was  
 so humbled by God—he who first thought he could reach the stars of the sky,  
 and afterwards worms crawled from his wretched body, and thus on account of  
 his stench not even other people could stand him—, he said: "It is just to be  
 subject to God and not to feel equal to him." Hence we read in Esther 23:  
 "Lord God, all things are in your power, and there is no one that can resist  
 your will," etc.

The third sign of Caesar was that he was handed letters with a warning of  
 his death; if he had read them, he would have escaped. This is a sign of the  
 Holy Spirit, to whom we attribute goodness; he hands us letters of our death  
 when he enlightens our consciences with his grace and goodness so that we can  
 read—through true confession, if we wish to do so—our sins for which we have  
 deserved eternal death. Therefore, O sinner, reflect now how in the coming of  
 the Son of God the workings of the Trinity are indivisible. For first you have  
 the sign of the Son, who in his wisdom knows how to give wealth and to take it  
 away. You also have the sign of the Father, who in his power knows how to make  
 strong and how to overthrow. And finally you have the sign of the Holy Spirit,  
 who in his mercy wants to bring your sins to your remembrance, and all for your  
 salvation, for as we read in John 3: "Unless you see signs and wonders, you do

aperta, quod non [f. 61] esset ille nobilis puer illis revelatus; set si  
 nasceretur manu dextra aperta et sinistra clausa, quod tunc esset ille.  
 Quod et factum est, quia natus est puer ille dextra manu aperta et sinistra  
 215 clausa. Moraliter ista revelacio seu prophetacio congrue puero Iesu potest  
 adaptari. Ipse autem prenunciatus erat a multis prophetis. Ysaia autem  
 dixit capitulo 7: "Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium." Et Matthei 1:  
 "Virgo in utero habebit et pariet filium," etc. Set puer iste Christus ad  
 modum istius pueri prophetati natus est dextra manu aperta et sinistra  
 220 clausa. Per quas operationes eius intelligo, quia per dextram intelligo  
 opera prosperitatis et consolacionis, et per sinistram opera adversitatis  
 et tribulacionis. Natus [est] ergo puer Iesus dextra manu aperta, quia a  
 tempore sue nativitatis et ortus opera misericordie excercuit et pietatis  
 et consolacionis. Venit ipse misereri, parcere, et mederi contritis corde.  
 225 Set certe hec manus antiquitus erat clausa quando ulciones excercuit et  
 vindictas, set iam in eius nativitate est omnino aperta; Iob 14: "Operi  
 manuum tuarum porriges dexteram"; et Psalmista: "Aperiente te manum tuam,  
 omnia implebuntur bonitate." Et ideo iam clausa est manus sinistra, que est  
 ulcionis et vindicte, eo quod [totum tempus] presens tempus est misericor-  
 230 die. Set adverte quod summe ponderandum est. Dicit enim Psalmista: "Delec-  
 taciones in dextera tua usque in finem." Ad litteram: In fine mundi, idest  
 in iudicio, aperietur manus sinistra ulcionis et vindicte, quia tunc sta-  
 tuet bonos a dextris et malos a sinistris, tamquam per manum sinistram  
 puniendi. Quod utinam advert[er]ent potentes tyranni qui manum sinistram  
 235 tociens aperiunt simplices iniuste torquendo. Non sic, set cum Psalmista  
 dicamus Christo: "Salvum me fecit dextera tua, Domine."

4 superveniet] super me C. 9 et] om O. 14 dicitur] om O. 17 servandum] serenata  
 O. 24 turbaretur(2)] temptaretur M.W. and others. 26 in historia] l capitulo R.M.; ca-  
 pitulo 7 W. 27 adventum] adventus O. 28 rigatura] rigaturam C.M. 29 illud] istud O.  
 quo] qua O. 31 effundit illam] moriendo effundit C. 35-36 Celestis . . . infundit]  
 garbled in C.O. The quotation should probably read: Celestis, inquit, ros aream rigaturus  
 se totum velleri prius infudit. 50 diffidimus] diffidemus O. 51 illam] illum C. libera-  
 bit] libere dabit corr M. 52 fuit] om O. 62 hec] hic C.R. 63 quod] quam O. 71 an-  
 gelus] om O. 80 9] add dicitur O. 82 de] ex O. 85 ut scis] sicut placet M; om R.W.  
 88 signum] add fortissimum C. 90 scilicet] add demones O. 94 gracia(1)] add iuxta il-  
 lud O. 100 tunc] quod C. 111 item] om O. 114 Psalmi] add percussit petram et flu-  
 xerunt aque C. 117 parte] particula O. infra] corr marg from supra; supra O.  
 121 annalibus] annualibus C. Hebreorum] add quod O. 133 omnes] add homines O.  
 resurgant] surgant O. 138 eciam] autem O. 143 nomine et] nominis eius O. 150 est]  
 om O. 151 bene] after evadat O. 164-165 quia ut dicitur] qui dicit C. 167 de-  
 pauperatus] depaupertatus C. 169 Secundum] add autem O. 170 suam] om O.  
 172 superbia] superbiam O. 178 recesserunt] recesserant O. 180 2 capitulo 9] corr  
 marg from 8 C; 8 O. 185 ait] actum C.O. 201 triplicis] triplicia C. 203 mecum] add  
 est O. 211 ille] iste O. 212 ille] iste O. 216 autem(1)] enim O. 217 1] 7 O.  
 223 sue] om O. 224 Venit] add enim O. 234 adverterent] advertent C; advertant W.

not believe." Thus, then, we see the signs of Christ's threefold coming to the  
 judgment. The letter of this coming is written at the end of Revelation:  
 "Behold, I come quickly, and my reward is with me," etc. And his messengers  
 will be Enoch and Elijah, who will come in the time of Antichrist.

With regard to Christ's coming in the flesh, there is a story about a  
 certain emperor Valerius. It was once prophesied to him and his noblemen that  
 a son would be born to him who was to make war on the enemies of his kingdom  
 and subject them to his rule. So, when the empress had conceived, the emperor  
 and his noblemen solicited their gods with sacrifices and implored them eagerly  
 that, should the boy to be born be the prophesied one, it would be made known  
 to them by some clear sign. They finally received the answer that, if this boy  
 were born with both hands either closed or open, it would not be the prophesied  
 noble child; but if he were born with his right hand open and his left closed,  
 then he would be the one. And this is what happened: a child was born with his  
 right hand open and his left closed. Morally interpreted this revelation or  
 prophecy may be rightly applied to the child Jesus. For he had been foretold  
 by many prophets. Isaiah said of him, in chapter 7: "Behold, a virgin shall  
 conceive and bear a son." And Matthew, in chapter 1: "A virgin shall be with  
 child and bring forth a son." But the child Jesus was like that prophesied boy  
 born with his right hand open and his left closed, by which I understand his  
 works. For the right hand indicates works of prosperity and comfort, the left  
 works of adversity and tribulation. Thus the child Jesus was born with his  
 right hand open, because from the time of his birth on he did works of mercy,  
 pity, and comfort. For he came to have mercy, to spare, and to heal the  
 brokenhearted. In former times this hand had been closed, when he sent punish-  
 ment and revenge, but now, in his birth, it has been fully opened; Job 14: "To  
 the work of your hand you shall reach out your right hand"; and the Psalmist:  
 "When you open your hand, all things will be filled with good." And thus his  
 left hand is now closed, the hand of punishment and revenge, because all the  
 present time is a time of mercy. But notice what must be most carefully  
 weighed. The Psalmist says: "At your right hand are delights even to the  
 end." Literally this means: "at the end of the world," that is, in the final  
 judgment, will be opened his left hand of punishment and revenge, for then he  
 will place the good at his right and the wicked at his left, as it were to be  
 punished by his left hand. Oh that our powerful tyrants would pay heed to  
 this, who so often open their left hand to the poor people and torture them  
 unjustly! Let us not do so but say to Christ with the Psalmist: "Your right  
 hand has saved me, Lord."

4 Luke 1.35. 5 Isa. 59.19. 6-7 Matt. 24.27. 10-11 Isa. 7.14. 12 Luke 1.28, 31.  
 14-15 Num. 11.9. 31 Cf. Jth. 9.13. 33 Judg. 6.36-40. 34-35 Ps. 71.6. 35-  
 37 Cf. Bernard, *In laudibus Virginis Matris*, hom. 2, 7 (4:25). 42-43 Perhaps Deut.

## III.xvii CHRISTUS VENIT IN TRIBUS MODIS

[f. 61v] Et nota quod Christus non tantum hiis tribus modis venit in terris set istis similiter: primo venit ut medicus bonus ad nos sanandum, secundo venit ut pia mater ad nos pascendum, tercio venit ut fortis miles ad nos salvandum. Si spiritualiter infirmamur, habemus ipsum medicinam preparantem; si spiritualiter esuriamu(s), habemus ipsum per elemosinam reficientem; si per hostes insidiamur, habemus ipsum defendentem et salvantem.

Circa primum est sciendum quod contra infirmitates nostras spirituales venit Christus tamquam bonus medicus ad nos sanandum. Et ideo Christus facit sicut medicus talis. Nam condiciones (inquiri) infirmi et qualitatem morbi, scilicet tangendo pulsum, videndo urinam. Sic Christus in visitatione peccatoris ipsum primo ad sui ipsius et proprii peccati cognitionem sua gracia illuminat ut de [illis] conterendo caveat; Jeremie 3: "Vide vias tuas et scito quid feceris." Secundo considerata infirmitate secundum infirmantis exigenciam inponit sibi dietam et taxat, scilicet quibus utendum et a quibus cavendum, hoc est, docet occasiones peccatorum vitare et occasionibus virtutum adherere. Tercio dieta inposita et sic ordinata dat syropum, electuarium, vel aliquid aliud tale econtrarium tali morbo et ipsius expulsivum, hoc est, dat sibi contricionem de peccatis, que fit de herbis amaris, sicut patet parte 5, capitulo 6; de qua dicitur: "Erit amara pocio tua." Quarto, curato eo monet quod caveat a residivo et docet quomodo vivere debeat eo quod ponit illum in bono proposito continuandi vitam bonam. Item in multis aliis modis Christus ad modum infirmitatum corporaliu(m) nos sanat, quia primo per contricionis sudorem, qui acquiritur per laborem, qui est cogitacio de peccati vilitate et timore iudicii, etc. (Secundo per minucionem confessionis; unde in Psalmo: "Libera me de sanguinibus, [f. 62] Deus," etc. Tercio per dietam ieiunii et satisfactionis, quo

22.1-3. 47-48 In 1119. 50 Luke 1.30. 53-54 Cf. Exod. 3.2. 57-59 Rev. 12.1. 62-63 Gen. 9.12-13. 63 Judg. 6.36-40. 64 Josh. 2.18. 65 Esther 4.11ff. 65-66 Cf. Isa. 11.1. 71-76 Bernard, *De laudibus Virginis Matris*, hom. 2, 17 (4:35). 81-82 Gen. 9.13. 87-88 Isa. 11.12. 90-91 Wisd. 16.6. 94 Luke 1.28. 98-99 Rev. 8.13. 101-102 Ps. 18.6. 106-107 Rev. 12.1. 114-116 Ps. 77.20. 116-117 *FM* V.xi-xxvi. 117-118 Joel 2.12. 121 Luke 21.25. 121-137 The attribution is standard in medieval works; see William W. Heist, *The Fifteen Signs before Doomsday* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1952), pp. 23-34. The entire passage occurs also in *Legenda aurea*, pp. 6-7. 138-149 Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon*, p. 406. 165 Ps. 73.21. 166-167 Cf. Dan. 4.26-34. 179-180 Ps. 15.4. 180-185 2 Macc. 9.8-10, 14. 185-186 2 Macc. 9.12. 186-188 Esther 13.9. 200 John 4.48. 202-203 Rev. 22.12. 217 Isa. 7.14. 218 Matt. 1.23. 226-227 Job 14.15. 227-228 Ps. 103.28. 230-231 Ps. 15.11. 236 Ps. 137.7.

## III.xvii THREE MANNERS OF CHRIST'S COMING

And notice that Christ comes to the earth not only in those three but also in the following three manners. First he comes as a good physician to heal us, second he comes as a loving mother to nourish us, and third he comes as a strong knight to save us. If we are spiritually sick, we have him to prepare our medicine; if we are spiritually hungry, we have him to feed us with his alms; and if we are oppressed by enemies, we have him to defend and save us.

With respect to the first, we must know that for our spiritual sicknesses Christ comes as a good physician to heal us. Christ acts like a physician in the following way. A doctor investigates the condition of the sick person and the nature of his sickness by such methods as taking his pulse and inspecting his urine. Thus when Christ visits a sinner, he first enlightens him with his grace to understand himself and his own sin, so that he may repent of his sins and shun them; Jeremiah 3: "See your ways and know what you have done." Second, after diagnosing the sickness he gives the sick person a diet as he requires and prescribes what he should eat and what he should avoid; this means that Christ teaches to avoid the occasions of sin and to seek the occasions for practicing the virtues. Third, after he has prescribed and worked out a diet, he gives the sick person some syrup, an electuary, or some other medicine against this sickness to expel it; that is, Christ gives him contrition of his sins, which is made from bitter herbs, as is shown in part 5, chapter 6; of it is written: "Your drink will be bitter." Fourth, when the sick person is healed, he warns him against relapsing and teaches him how to live, so that he fosters in him a good intention to live a good life. Christ further heals us in many additional ways as if from physical illness: first through the sweat of contrition, which one gets into by hard exercise, namely by reflecting on the vileness of sin, on the fearful day of judgment, and so forth. Second, through the bloodletting of confession; whence the Psalm says: "Deliver me from blood,

secundum Ieronimum sanantur pestes corporis. Quarto per emplastrum sive  
 unctionem devote oracionis.) Quinto per humorum superfluum expulsionem,  
 30 que notatur in largicione elemosinarum, que fiunt de omnibus possessis et  
 maxime superfluis; Luce 11: "Date elemosinam et omnia munda erunt vobis."  
 Sexto per instigationem mali consorcii et occasionem peccati, quia iuxta  
 Psalmistam: "Cum sancto sanctus eris," etc. Et septimo per adustionem  
 caritatis. De quibus omnibus nota particulis suis sufficienter, parte 5 de  
 35 caritate et parte 5 capitulo 5.

Circa secundum est sciendum quod contra esuriem spiritualem venit  
 Christus ut pia mater ad nos pascendum. Nam ipse dicit Iohannis 6: "Ego sum  
 panis vivus qui de celo descendi." Et nota quod quinque sunt panes, quibus  
 40 quinque milia hominum pavit et adhuc nos pascit. Primus est panis pauperum  
 grossus et rud(is), quia ordeacius vel de pisis aut fabis, quo difficilime  
 vescuntur plures. Et est panis contricionis, qui valde durus est multis;  
 Psalmista: "Fuerunt michi lacrimae mee panes die ac nocte." Set iste panis  
 in tribus frust(is) dividitur, scilicet in dolore peccatorum preteritorum,  
 presencium, et futurorum. Secundus panis est confessionis; Psalmista: "Sur-  
 45 gite postquam sederitis qui manducatis panem doloris," quasi diceret: vos  
 qui habetis contricionem, moram nimis non trahatis set festinanter surgite  
 ad confessionem. Tres vero partes istius panis sunt: primo quod debet  
 comedi cum festinacione ne putrescat, secundo cum mundicia ne vilescat, et  
 tercio cum discrecione ne tepescat. Tercius panis est penitencie et satisfactio-  
 50 nis, de quo in Psalmo: "Cinerem tamquam panem manducab(am)." Quicquid  
 enim cineres tangunt, fit amarum. Sic ad tempus penitencia hic amarescit,  
 set alibi dulcessit. Et iste panis in tribus dividitur: in ieiunio, oracio-  
 ne, et elemosina. Nota ut supra. Quartus panis est perseverancia sine  
 residivacione; de [f. 62v] qua Ysaie 32: "Erit panis frugum terre uberrimus  
 55 et pinguis." "Uberrimus" autem dicit propter largam voluntatem satisfacien-  
 di, set "pinguis" propter voluntatem continuandi et non residivandi. Et  
 iste panis dividitur in tr(ibus), scilicet in compassione mortis Christi,  
 in consideracione proprii periculi, et in caucione futuri mali. Quintus  
 panis est eucaristie. Et est panis dominorum, [scilicet] eorum qui propriis  
 60 peccatis dominantur et illa castigant et domant. Et ideo hic est panis  
 [vite], de quo Iohannis 6: "Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in eternum." Et  
 iste similiter in tribus dividitur: in cordis mundicia, in fidei constan-  
 cia, in boni operis perseverancia.

Circa tercium est sciendum quod contra hostes nostros spirituales  
 65 venit Christus tamquam pugil et miles fortis ad defendendum, qui sunt caro,  
 mundus, et demon. De quorum insultu et quomodo vincuntur satis nota supra,  
 parte 5, capitulis 12, [13,] 14. Et qui vult hos tres hostes debellare,  
 oportet quod hec tria habeat, scilicet audaciam aggrediendi ne terreatur,  
 secundo astuciam ne decipiatur, tercio constanciam ne inficiatur. Unde de

O God," etc. Third, through the diet of fasting and penance, by which accord-  
 ing to Jerome the illnesses of the body are cured. Fourth, through the plaster  
 or ointment of devout prayer. Fifth, through draining excessive bodily fluids,  
 which means giving alms from all our goods, primarily from those we own beyond  
 our needs; Luke 11: "Give alms, and all things will be clean to you." Sixth,  
 through the surgical removal of evil companionship and the occasion of sin, for  
 according to the Psalmist: "With the holy you will be holy," etc. And sev-  
 enth, through the cautery of charity. On all these matters you will find more  
 in the respective sections of part 5 on love and part 5, chapter 5.

With respect to the second point we must know that for our spiritual  
 hunger Christ comes like a loving mother to nourish us. He himself says in  
 John 6: "I am the living bread that has come down from heaven." Notice that  
 there are five loaves of bread with which he fed five thousand men and is still  
 feeding us. The first is the coarse and simple bread of the poor, made of  
 barley or peas or beans, which hardly feeds many. This is the bread of contri-  
 tion, which for many people is too hard; as the Psalmist says: "My tears have  
 been my bread day and night." But this loaf of bread will be broken into three  
 bites, remorse for our sins of the past, the present, and the future. The  
 second loaf is the bread of confession; the Psalmist says: "Rise after you  
 have been sitting, you that eat the bread of sorrow," as if he were saying: you  
 who are contrite, do not delay overlong but rise quickly to confess your sins.  
 This loaf has three qualities: it must first be eaten in a hurry so that it  
 does not mold, second with purity so that it does not become dirty, and third  
 with discretion so that one does not lose one's appetite. The third loaf is  
 the bread of penance and satisfaction, of which the Psalm says: "I ate ashes  
 like bread." Whatever is touched by ashes turns bitter. In the same way,  
 penance here in time tastes bitter, but elsewhere it is sweet. This, too,  
 falls into three parts: fasting, prayer, and almsgiving. See above. The  
 fourth loaf is perseverance without backsliding; of it Isaiah 32 says: "The  
 bread of the grain of the land shall be most plentiful and fat." He calls it  
 "most plentiful" because of its generous desire to make satisfaction, and "fat"  
 because of its desire to persevere and not relapse. This loaf, too, has three  
 parts: compassion with Christ's death, reflection on one's own danger, and  
 caution about future evil. The fifth loaf is the bread of the Eucharist. This  
 is the bread of masters, that is, of those who master their own sins and chas-  
 tise and overcome them. And thus it is the bread of life, of which John 6  
 says: "He who eats this bread will live forever." And this is likewise di-  
 vided into three parts: purity of heart, constancy of faith, and perseverance  
 in good work.

With respect to the third point we must know that Christ comes like a  
 champion and strong knight to defend us against our spiritual enemies, who are  
 the flesh, the world, and the devil. On their attack and on how to overcome



- 70 Iulio Cesare narratur quod cum devicta regione Pontica triumphasset inter  
fercula, trium verborum tulit titulum dicens: "Veni, vidi, vici." Revera  
sic quicumque vincere voluerit oportet sicut ipse habuit in veniendo primo  
audaciam, quod notatur quando dixit Cesar "Veni," scilicet audacter ad bel-  
lum, quia iuxta Philosophum 3 *Ethicorum* audaces sunt prevalentes. Magnam  
75 ergo audaciam habere deberes cum Filium Dei iam habes propugnatorem.  
Nam contra demonis maliciam superbie, ire, invidie ipse venit pro nobis ad  
bellum cum lorica caritatis, lancea mititatis, et galea humilitatis. Contra  
mundi avariciam venit super equum paupertatis, quasi super crucem. Contra  
carnis lasciviam venit cum gladio sobrietatis, calcaribus vivacitatis, et  
80 cum scuto castitatis. [f. 63] Expone ut placet. Secundo, vide, scilicet  
prudenter, quia iuxta dictum beati Job: "Inimici tui obsederunt tabernacu-  
lum tuum in giro." Set vide ne illis credas vel assencias quamvis tibi  
locuti fuerint placencia, quia pleni sunt dolo. Et ideo inter tot fures  
prudenter videte quomodo "caute ambuletis, quia dies mali sunt." Quod si  
85 feceris, leviter dicere poteris tercium verbum, scilicet "Vici," per forti-  
tudinem et constanciam, scilicet mundi vanitatem, carnis voluptatem, et  
demonis malignitatem. Et hec ad presens de Christi incarnatione sufficiunt.

4-7 Si . . . salvantem] *after the following sentence* C.W. 5 esuriamus] esuriamur C.  
10 inquit] querit C. 15 infirmantis] infirmitatis O. 20 Erit] erat O. 23 in] om O.  
Christus] om O. 26-29 Secundo . . . oracionis] *In C the order of items 2-4 is 4-3-2.*  
27 Deus] add deus salutis O. 32 instigacionem] inscicionem R.W. 40 rudis] rudus  
C.M. 43 frustis] frustris C. 45 postquam sederitis] om O. 50 manducabam] man-  
ducabis C. 52 panis] om O. 57 tribus] tres C. 66 quorum] quo O. 72 habuit] om O;  
*other MSS have habeat or quod habeat.* 83 fures] fraudes O. 84 videte] vide O.

### III.xviii DE CHRISTI PROGRESSU IN HAC VITA

- [C]irca autem Christi progressum sive peregrinacionem in hac vita, que  
fuit secundum Crisostomum *Super Mattheum* per annos triginta tres, et tantum  
quantum est ab eius nativitate usque ad Pascha. Unde dicit ipsum plenarie  
complevisse triginta annos quando venit ad ° baptismum. Et ita secundum eum  
5 Christus vixit in huius peregrinacionis vita triginta et tribus annis cum  
dimidio. Secundum autem evangelium Christus vixit triginta duobus annis,

them you will find more in part 5, chapters 12-14. He who wants to fight these  
three enemies must have the following three virtues: boldness to attack so as  
not to be frightened, shrewdness so as not to be tricked, and constancy so as  
not to be corrupted. Whence the story is told of Julius Caesar that when he  
had subdued the region of Pontus and was celebrating his triumph at a banquet,  
he took the motto of three words, stating: "I came, I saw, I conquered."  
Thus, anyone who wants to overcome must, like Caesar, first be bold in coming,  
which is shown by Caesar's saying "I came," namely boldly to the war; for  
according to the Philosopher in Book 3 of the *Ethics*, the bold prevail. You  
should have great boldness, since you already have the Son of God as your  
champion. For he came to fight for us against the malice of the devil in  
pride, wrath, and envy, with his armor of charity, lance of mildness, and  
helmet of humility. Against the avarice of the world he came on his horse of  
poverty, as it were, on the cross. Against the lust of the flesh he came with  
the sword of soberness, the spurs of liveliness, and the shield of chastity.  
Explain this as you will. Second, "See," namely, with prudence, for according  
to blessed Job: "Your enemies have besieged your tabernacle around you." But  
see to it that you do not believe or give in to them, whatever pleasing things  
they may have told you, for they are full of trickery. Therefore, see pru-  
dently that among so many thieves "you walk with caution, for the days are  
evil." If you do so, you will easily be able to say the third word, "I con-  
quered," namely the vanity of the world and the lust of the flesh and the  
wickedness of the devil through strength and constancy. And this much suffices  
for now about Christ's incarnation.

13-14 Jer. 2.23. 20 FM V.vi-vii; also x, xii. 20-21 Cf. Isa. 24.19. 26-27 Ps.  
50.16. 28 Perhaps Jerome, *Adversus Jovinianum* II.11-13 (PL 23:313-316). 31 Luke  
11.41. 33 Ps. 17.26. 34-35 FM: perhaps III.x.146ff.; and III.v-xxvi. 37-38 John  
6.41. 42 Ps. 41.4. 44-45 Ps. 126.2. 50 Ps. 101.10. 54-55 Isa. 30-23. 61 John  
6.59. 66-67 FM V.xxvii-xxxvii. 70-71 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum* I.37. 74 Ar-  
istotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* III (1116a). The text should probably read *prevolantes*; thus in  
both the *Ethica vetus* (2:39) and Grosseteste's translation (3:192 and 4:423). 81-82 Job  
19.12. 84 Eph. 5.16.

### III.xviii CHRIST'S PILGRIMAGE IN THIS LIFE

Christ's progress or pilgrimage in this life, according to Chrysostom on  
Matthew, lasted thirty-three years altogether, reckoning from his birth to  
Easter. Whence Chrysostom says Christ had completed thirty years when he  
came to be baptized. And in his view Christ lived in the pilgrimage of this life  
thirty-three and a half years. But according to the Gospel, Christ lived for  
thirty-two years and three months. For it says: "Jesus was beginning about



mensibus tribus. Di(c)it enim: "Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta," scilicet quando venit ad baptismum ante suam predicacionem; hoc est, Christus inceperat tricesimum annum. Unde tredecim diebus eiusdem anni  
 10 peractis, eodem anno revoluto convertit aquam in vinum, et in sequenti Pascha incarceratus est beatus Iohannes, et in alio Pascha decollatus est. Unde secundum quod habetur in *Cronicis* Martini et eciam alibi, anno Domini 29 cepit Iohannes predicare baptismum penitencie, et anno 32 idem Iohannes decollatus est. Ita quod secundum aliquos Iohannes erat senior Christo per  
 15 sex menses et ante eum predicavit per unum annum et ante eum mortuus est per unum annum.

Et nota quod in isto toto tempore peregrinacionis Christi in vita ista multa signa caritatis nobis ostendit multipliciter, sicut patet in penis temporalibus quas pro nobis et nostra erudicione sustinuit, cuiusmodi  
 20 fuerunt [f. 63v] esuries, sitis, calor, frigus, et huiusmodi. Similiter plura opprobria et contumelias usque ad mortem, sicut patet manifeste seriem evangeliorum consideranti. Quod autem vita Christi hic in terris fuit quasi peregrinacio quedam ad sui exemplum nos inducens, patet multipliciter pro eo quod ad modum peregrini multis miseriis et penalibus, ut  
 25 dictum est, affligebatur, scilicet fame, siti, etc., iuxta illud Iob 13: "Homo natus de muliere brevi vivens tempore, repletur multis miseriis," etc. Secundo quia a paucis vel quasi a nullis cognoscebatur. Unde ut patet discipuli eius euntes in Emaus [ipsum non cognoverunt], Luce ultimo, dicentes: "Tu solus peregrinus es," etc. Tercio quia cum eo sicut cum peregrino  
 30 sepe iniuste agebatur, sicut patet quod ipsum demonium habere Iudei dicebant et tamquam trutannum populum seducentem reputabant. Quarto quia sicut peregrinus multis periculis ac eciam morti frequenter exponebatur, per quod in terris securam requiem non haberet, sicut patet in conspiracionibus Iudeorum contra eum quando dixerunt quod populum seducebat et templum  
 35 destrueret, et cetera huiusmodi.

Et nota quod in isto (scilicet Iesu) satis aperte patent signa peregrini, que sunt sclavonium, pera, baculus, capellum, solee ferrate, singulum, et gurda. Nam Christi sclavonium album, pelliceum, et depictum fuit cutis sua, que pro nobis in tantum erat depicta et dilacerata quod "a  
 40 planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis non erat in eo sanitas"; Trenorum: "Cutis mea denigrata est." Secundo habuit loco pere vulnus laterale, de quo pro nostra salute exivit sanguis et aqua. Tercio, loco baculi, qui est superius rotundum et *pomelee* vel aliquando transversus superius et inferius satis acutum, [habuit lignum crucis,] ut patet in illius forma; vel iste  
 45 baculus potest esse lancea illa qua post mortem erat lanceatus. Quarto, loco capelli super capud habuit coronam spi- [f. 64] neam. Quinto, pro soleis ferreis et sirotecis habuit clavos ferreos in manibus et pedibus satis acutos et duros. Sexto, pro cingulo habuit cordas, funiculos, et

the age of thirty years," that is, when he came to the baptism before he began his preaching; that is to say, Christ had then begun his thirtieth year. Therefore, after thirteen days of this year, one year later he changed water into wine, and on the following Passover Blessed John was put in prison, and a Passover later he was beheaded. Further, according to what can be found in the *Chronicles* of Martin and elsewhere, John began to preach baptism for the forgiveness of sins in A.D. 29 and was beheaded in A.D. 32. That means, according to some, that John was six months older than Christ and preached one year before him and was killed one year before him.

Notice that during all this time of his pilgrimage in this life Christ showed us in many ways many signs of his love. This is evident in the bodily sufferings he sustained for us and for our instruction, such as hunger, thirst, heat, cold, and the like; and similarly many reproaches and mistreatments including death, as is quite evident when one considers the Gospel narrative. That Christ's life here on earth was like a pilgrimage that invites us to follow his example is clear in many ways from the fact that he was afflicted by many miseries and pains like a pilgrim, as already said, that is, by hunger and thirst and so forth, after the words of Job 13: "Man born of woman, living for a short time, is filled with many woes," etc. Second, he was known to few or hardly any. Thus, as we see, his disciples who went to Emmaus did not know him, for they said, at the end of Luke: "Are you only a stranger," etc. Third, people treated him unjustly, as they treat a pilgrim; for the Jews said he had a demon and considered him a vagabond who was leading the people astray. Fourth, like a pilgrim he was often exposed to many dangers and even death, so that on earth he had no quiet rest; that is shown in the conspiracy of the Jews against him when they accused him of misleading the people and destroying the Temple, and other things of the same kind.

Notice also that in him one can clearly see the typical marks of a pilgrim, which are the pilgrim's robe, his bag, his staff, his hood, his nailed sandals, his girdle, and his gourd. For Christ's robe was white, made of skin, and painted—his skin, which was so painted and torn for our sake that "from the sole of his foot unto the top of his head there was no soundness in him"; Lamentations: "My skin has become black." Second, for a pilgrim's bag he had that wound in his side, from which water and blood issued forth for our salvation. Third, for the pilgrim's staff, which is round on the top and bears a pommel or sometimes has a little crosspiece on top and is pointed at the bottom, he had the wood of the cross, which has the same shape; or else the pilgrim's staff could be that lance with which he was pierced after his death. Fourth, for a hood on his head he wore a crown of thorns. Fifth, for nailed sandals and gloves he wore iron nails in hands and feet that were very sharp and hard. Sixth, for a girdle he had strings, ropes, and scourges with which he was bound, pulled, and beaten in the most cruel way. And seventh, for a

50 flagella, quibus ligatus, tractus, et flagellatus erat durissime. Et septimo, pro gurma offerebant sibi Iudei spongeam felle et mirra impletam. Et sic patent signa eius peregrinationis.

Et notandum quod Christus sicut quilibet bonus Christianus duo fecit. Primo, peregrinando debita sua solvit. Sic Christus generi humano infirmato promiserat dicens: "Amen, dico vobis, veniam et curabo eum." Quod et fecit  
55 ab infirmitate peccati, sicut supra proximo satis patet. Secundo, solutis debitis et de domo et familia ordinat[is], testamentum condidit quando animam suam legavit Deo Patri, discipulis pacem, ac paranimpho matrem, iuxta illud Matthei 25: "Homo quidam peregre proficiscens vocavit servos suos et tradidit illis bona sua, unicuique secundum propriam virtutem et  
60 mercedem." Et nota quod propria virtus cuiuslibet est illud ad quod Deus illum instituit. In signo quod ratio cuiuslibet hominis debet ordinare sensus suos, ad ea scilicet tantum [ad] que sunt a Deo instituta et non ad alia, sicut oculos ad vigilandum, quia ille quasi ianitor anime; de cuius custodia nota parte 7. Et ideo Matthei 25 dicitur: "Homo quidam peregre proficiscens," etc., "ianitori precepit ut vigilet." Similiter aures ad audiendum bona, sicut verbum Dei; os ad Deum laudandum et proximum instruendum et non ad detrahendum. Istis ergo peractis et debito modo ordinatis, non restat peregrino nisi amicis valedicere et iter suum arripere, quod  
70 etiam fecit Christus quando ex hoc mundo ad sanctum Calvarie locum pergens omnia temporalia reliquit et animam Deo Patri reddidit. Et nota quod omnia [f. 64v] que fecit Christus aut in sua peregrinatione huius mundi sustinuit fuerunt amore humani generis et ad eius consolacionem et informacionem.

Et ideo si vere peregrini et eius sequaces esse velimus, oportet quod  
75 habeamus, sicut et ipse habuit, primo sclavonium caritatis contra invidiam, secundo capellum humilitatis contra superbiam, tercio peram largitatis contra avariciam, quarto baculum mititatis contra iram, quinto soleas vivacitatis contra accidiam, sexto singulum castitatis contra luxuriam, septimo gurdam sobrietatis contra gulam, etc.

2 Mattheum] *add* plenarie O. 4 ad] *add* beatum C. 5 peregrinationis vita] vite peregrinatione O. 7 Dicit] dixit C. 12 Unde] item O. 19 et] *add* pro O. 33 haberet] habebat O. 36 scilicet Iesu] *om* O. 41 vulnus] *add* illud O. 44 habuit . . . crucis] *om* C.O; *supplied from* E. 52 notandum] nota O. 56 ordinatis] ordinat C.R.W. 64 7] *add* capitulo O. 25] 7 O. 66 Dei] *add* similiter O. 73 vere] veri O.

### III.xix DE CHRISTI EGRESSU DE HAC VITA

[C]irca autem Christi egressum ° de hac vita est sciendum quod ibi similiter summe suam caritatem nobis ostendit, sicut patet in sua benedicta

gourd the Jews offered him a sponge soaked with gall and myrrh. Thus we see the marks of his pilgrimage.

And notice that just like any good Christian Christ did two things. First, by going on a pilgrimage he made good his vow. Christ had promised mankind in its sickness: "Amen, I say to you that I shall come and heal him." And he did heal us from the sickness of sin, as we saw just above. In the second place, after settling his accounts and making the necessary dispositions for his house and family, he set up his testament when he gave his soul to God the Father, his peace to his disciples, and his mother to the bridesman, after the words of Matthew 25: "A man going into a far country called his servants and delivered to them his goods, to each according to his proper ability and reward." And notice that the "proper ability" of any object is the purpose for which God has created it. Consequently, man's reason must rule its senses only toward the purposes for which they have been created by God and no others; thus the eyes must be used for watching, for they are, so to speak, the doorkeepers of the soul; concerning their guarding, see part 7. Therefore in Matthew 25 it is said: "A man who was going into a far country," etc., "commanded the porter to watch." Likewise, the purpose of the ears is to hear good things, such as the word of God; and of the mouth, to praise God and to teach one's neighbor, not to speak ill of him. After the pilgrim has done these things and put everything in due order, nothing is left for him but to bid his friends farewell and start on his journey; Christ did this when, setting out from this world to the holy place on Calvary, he left all earthly goods behind and returned his soul to God his Father. And notice that everything that Christ did or suffered on his pilgrimage in this world was for the love of mankind and for its comfort and instruction.

Therefore, if we wish to be true pilgrims and followers of Christ, we must have, as he did, a robe of charity against envy, a hood of humility against pride, a bag of generosity against avarice, a staff of mildness against wrath, sandals of liveliness against sloth, a girdle of chastity against lechery, and a gourd of soberness against gluttony.

2-3 Cf. Chrysostom, *In Matthaem*, hom. 10, 1 (PG 57:184). 7-8 Luke 3.23. 12-14 Martin of Troppau, *Chronicon*, p. 408. 26 Job 14.1. 29 Luke 24.18. 34-35 Cf. Matt. 26.59-61. 39-40 Isa. 1.6. 41 Job 30.30 (cf. Lam. 4.8). 54 Matt. 8.7. 58-60 Matt. 25.14. 64 FM VII.ii. 64-65 Cf. Mark 13.34.

### III.xix CHRIST'S EXIT FROM THIS LIFE

With respect to Christ's exit from this life, we must know that there, too, he showed us his love most fully, as can be seen in his blessed Passion

passione et morte, similiter resurrectione, ascensione, et Spiritus Sancti missione. De quibus breviter tractabitur consequenter. Set quia de eius  
 5 passione et morte superius satis diffuse est discussum, ideo hic levius pertransitur.

Narrat tamen pro sua benedicta passione et morte Ovidius magnus de bello Troiano quomodo rapta Helena, uxore Menelay, ab Alexandro filio Priami, fuit prophetatum quod civitas Troianorum numquam caperetur quousque Achilles mortuus esset, miles ille fortis. Quod cum mater eius audisset,  
 10 inter domicellas camere sue illum veste muliebri induit. Ulixes ergo hanc propheciam intelligens se ad querendum Achillem preparavit. P(re)senciens ergo eum inter mulieres absconditum, velut cautus mercator cum mercimoniis suis ad usum dominarum spectantibus in decora classi cum armis militaribus  
 15 <desuper> positus ad castrum matris Achillis applicuit. Publicatis ergo mercimoniis descendit mater cum domicellis in dictam navem illius mercimonia considerare. Cum igitur unaquaque illarum que fuerunt [f. 65] sibi accepta emisset, Achilles quasi instinctu naturali omnibus huiusmodi relictis ad arma accessit, scutum apprehendens hastamque fortiter vibrans. Quo  
 20 viso ipsum esse Achillem ex hoc Ulixes deprehendit. Unde velo navis applicato cum illo affugit et ad bellum Troianorum deduxit. Mortuo igitur Achille capta est civitas et obsides partis adverse libere sunt dimissi.

Spiritualiter per Alexandrum qui Helenam rapuit, filium Priami regis Troianorum, intelligo diabolum, et per Helenam genus humanum a diabolo  
 25 raptum et captivatum. Per civitatem Troianam intelligo infernum. Set Achilles miles optimus Christus est, de quo prophetatum fuit quod genus humanum numquam salvaretur quousque pro omnibus ipse moreretur. Unde Ulixes miles providus et circumspectus, idest Spiritus Sanctus, de nostra salute sollicitus, navem oneravit diversis mercimoniis, idest Virginem Mariam omnibus  
 30 ornavit virtutibus. In quam descendit Achilles, Filius scilicet Dei quando ex Virgine Maria carnem assumpsit. [Set tunc arma assumpsit] et fortiter vibravit quando cum cruce, lancea, et clav(i)s pugnans captus est et occisus. Per cuius mortem statim capta est civitas inferni et eius obsides, idest anime humane ibidem captivate et detente, libere sunt dimisse.

Unde in memoria illius passionis amor accendi deberet in corde cuiuslibet nostrum, sicut solet homo ignem accendere de lapide durissimo. Tunc  
 35 autem accipit homo lapidem cilicinum et illum ferro fortiter percutit, ex quo scintilla egressa in materia sicca recipitur. Quo facto accenditur filus sulphuratus, et sic ignis augmentatur. Revera sic homo qui vult ignem  
 40 caritatis accendere primo debet cor suum a voluptatibus desiccare et post lapidem, Christum, menti incorporare, quomodo scilicet lancea ferrea, [f. 65v] spinis, clavis erat percussus et perforatus. Ipse enim "faciem suam exposuit quasi petram durissimam" Iudeis ipsum percucientibus. Et statim egredietur scintilla amoris et caritatis erga eum, teste Psalmista: "Et in

and death, and likewise in his resurrection, ascension, and the sending of the Holy Spirit. Of these we shall treat briefly in the following; but since we have already spoken fully of his Passion and death above, we will touch on these only lightly.

In connection with his blessed Passion and death, the great Ovid tells that in the Trojan War, after Helen, the wife of Menelaos, had been abducted by Alexander, son of Priam, it was prophesied that the city of the Trojans would never be captured until the strong knight Achilles were dead. When his mother heard this, she put woman's clothes on him and hid him among her chambermaids. Now when Ulysses heard of this prophecy, he set out himself to look for Achilles. Having an inkling that he might be hidden among the women, he sailed with a splendid fleet to the castle of Achilles' mother as a diligent merchant with merchandise for women's use, on top of which he had spread military gear. When the merchandise was being advertised, Achilles' mother came with her maids into his ship to inspect the wares. Now, as each of them bought what was fitting for herself, Achilles by his natural instinct bypassed all the women's stuff and went to the weapons, gripping a shield and brandishing a spear. From this, Ulysses understood it was Achilles; he took hold of him, hoisted the sail, fled away with him, and carried him to the Trojan War. And when Achilles had died, the city was captured and the hostages of the opposing side were allowed to go free.

Allegorically, by Alexander, son of Priam, the king of Troy, who carried off Helen, I understand the devil, and by Helen mankind, which was carried off and held captive by the devil. The city of Troy stands for hell. But Achilles, the foremost knight, is Christ, of whom it was prophesied that mankind would never be saved until he died for all. Whence the provident and shrewd knight Ulysses, that is, the Holy Spirit, in his care for our salvation loaded a ship with all kinds of merchandise, that is, he embellished the Virgin Mary with all the virtues. Into this ship Achilles entered, that is, the Son of God when he took flesh from the Virgin Mary. And he grasped the weapons and brandished them when he fought with cross, spear, and nails and was captured and killed. Through his death the city of hell was taken at once, and its hostages, that is, those human souls that were held captive there, were let go free.

In memory of this Passion, love should be kindled in the heart of each one of us, and this in the same way as one kindles fire with a hard stone. For in that case one takes a flint and strikes it hard with iron, so that a spark falls into some dry material. From that a sulphur thread is lit, and thus the fire is kindled. In the same way, when one wants to kindle the fire of love, one must first dry out one's heart of evil desires and then place a stone, Christ, in one's mind, by remembering how he was struck and pierced with an iron spear, thorns, and nails. For he "set his face as a most hard rock," to

45 meditatione mea exardescit ignis." Quo facto apponantur ligna crucis. Et sic ignis permaximus accenditur, amoris scilicet et caritatis.

Et nota quod Christus mortem crucis magis elegit quam aliam propter duo: Illa enim (mors, scilicet) suspendium in ligno, infligitur propter duo, videlicet furtum et homicidium, quorum utrumque commisit primus pa-  
50 rens. Furtum commisit eo quod furtive comedit contra Dei preceptum; et similiter homicidium, quia non tantum se ipsum occidit set totam suam posteritatem. Volens igitur Filius Dei pro omnibus satisfacere ut nos salvaret, mortem crucis elegit, que fuit mors turpissima, etc.

I egressum] *add* sive peregrinationem *interl* C. 12 Presenciens] persenciens C. 15 de-  
super positus] suppositis C. 17 igitur] ergo O. 25 captivatum] captivum O. 30 ornavit  
virtutibus] oneravit virtutibus et ornavit O. 32 clavis] clavos C. 34 captivate] captive  
O. 44 Psalmista] *add* qui dicit O. Et] *om* O. 45 exardescit] exardescet O. 48 mors  
scilicet] scilicet mors vel C. 50 Furtum] *add* autem O. 52 igitur] ergo O. 53 etc.] *om*  
O.

### III.xx DE CHRISTI RESURRECTIONE

[M]odo de eius benedicta resurrectione est aliquid breviter dicendum, que quasi videtur de sompno et non de vera morte fuisse, cum tamen verissime fuit. Est ergo advertendum quod sicut videmus quando aliquis magnus se reclinat tempore estivo ad dormiendum in meridie super lectum, primo fenestre clauduntur et post ceteri aditus, per quos lumen intrare posset, sic  
5 per omnia Christus fecit in ligno crucis collocatus feria sexta in meridie. Fenestre mundi per quas lumen intrare solet clause fuerunt, quando scilicet "a sexta hora tenebre facte sunt super universam terram usque ad horam nonam," dum scilicet Christus rex universorum sompnum mortis super lectum  
10 crucis suscipere dignabatur, ut patet Matthei 27. Set tunc quasi brevi sopore facto excitatus a Patre surrexit, sicut ipsemet per Psalmistam ait: "Ego dormivi et sompnum cepi et exurrexi quia Dominus suscepit me."

Set quare ita cito surrexit potest ratio multiplex [f. 66] assignari. Videmus enim inter dormientes de tota familia quod ille qui tenetur tardius  
15 cubare et cicius surgere est ianitor, quia illius est diluculo ianuas aperire et alios excitare. Et ideo signanter discretus paterfamilias peregre profecturus "ianitori precepit ut vigilaret," ut habetur in evangelio. [Set Christus ianitor est Ecclesie sive hostiarius,] sicut dicit Augustinus super illud Iohannis: "Huic hostiarius aperit," etc. Et ideo, licet tardius cubasset inter sanctos qui dormitum [mortis] in antiqua lege susceperunt,  
20 voluit tamen primo hostia aperire ut bonus ianitor et alios excitare. Et omnium sic dormiencium erat primus qui surrexit; Corinthiorum 15: "Christus surrexit primicie dormiencium." Alia causa fuit hec. Videmus enim quod

the Jews who persecuted him. Then a spark of love and charity for Christ will at once spring forth, as the Psalmist testifies: "In my meditation a fire shall flame out." After that one must lay to it the wood of the cross, and in this way a great fire will start to burn, a fire of love and of charity.

And notice that Christ preferred death on the cross to any other for two reasons. Death by being hung on the cross is inflicted for two crimes, theft and murder, both of which our first parent had committed. He committed theft when he stealthily ate against God's commandment; and he committed murder, for he killed not only himself but his whole posterity. Therefore, as the Son of God wanted to make satisfaction in all things so that he might save us, he chose death on the cross, which was the most shameful kind of death.

7-22 Ovid, *Ars am.* I.689ff.; see Tubach 43. 42-43 Cf. Isa. 50.7. 44-45 Ps. 38.4.

### III.xx CHRIST'S RESURRECTION

Now we must speak briefly of his blessed resurrection, which seemed more like an awakening from sleep than from true death, though it most certainly was the latter. Notice that we commonly see that when in summertime a nobleman lies down on his couch for a nap at noon, first the windows are closed and then any other openings through which the light might come in. In the same way, when Christ was placed on the wood of the cross at noon on Friday, the windows of the world, through which normally the light enters, were closed, namely when "it grew dark over the whole earth from the sixth to the ninth hour," when Christ, the king of all, consented to suffer the sleep of death on the couch of the cross, as is reported in Matthew 27. But after having, so to speak, taken a little nap, he was wakened by his Father and rose up, as he himself says through the Psalmist: "I have slept and taken my rest, and I have risen up because the Lord has protected me."

Many reasons can be given for his rising so soon. The person that among all who sleep in a household has to go to bed last and to rise first is the doorkeeper, for it is his job to open the doors at daybreak and to wake the others. Therefore the thoughtful master of the household who went on a journey very meaningfully "ordered the doorkeeper to watch," as we find it in the Gospel. But the doorkeeper or porter of the Church is Christ, as Augustine says in commenting on the words of John: "To him the porter opens," and so on. And thus, although he was the last to go to bed among the saints who fell into the sleep of death in the Old Law, he yet wanted like a good doorkeeper to be the first to open the gates and to wake the others. And thus, of all that were

ianitor quiescens in lecto, si amicum pulsantem ad ianuam audit, continuo  
 25 surgit eo quod amicus est. Set revera Christus vocem dilecti sui, scilicet  
 generis humani, indesinenter pulsantis audivit, propter quod diucius dor-  
 mire noluit, tamquam si diceret: "Vox dilecti mei pulsantis, 'aperi mi-  
 chi,' " supple: non sinit me amplius dormire. Unde querenti a Christo causam  
 30 potissimam quare ita cito surrexit convenienter respondere potest et dicere  
 illud Canticorum 5: "Surrexi ut aperirem dilecto."

Et ideo hic advertendum est pro illa admirabili resurrectione post tam  
 diram mortem quod ita erat de Christo secundum sententiam cuiusdam doctoris  
 subtilis sermonem facientis super dictum thema Canticorum 5: "Surrexi ut  
 35 aperirem dilecto," sicut aliquando erat de bellatoribus antiquis. Ait ergo  
 sic: "Cum, inquit, varii sunt eventus belli, non semper illa pars que in  
 principio prosperatur consequetur victoriam. Imo cautela magna est interdum  
 fugam simulare, et precipue quando pars adversa cupida est prede." Unde  
 Sextus Iulius super Trogum Pompeyem libro 3, capitulo 10, narrat quod [f.  
 40 66v] Hanibal nobilissimus bellator et dux Cartaginensium aliquociens gratis  
 castra sua hostibus dimisit in predam et fugam simulavit ad tempus, set  
 post subito quasi superveniens hostes (devicit) et predam, quam amiserat,  
 eciam cum lucro recuperans exercitui distribuerat ut volebat. Revera sic  
 Christus fortis bellator et indeficiens in die Parasceves cum diabolo  
 45 prelium gessit. Videns ergo illum mirabiliter ad predam avidum et advertens  
 quod si ad tempus hostibus predam dimitteret, eam postea cum lucro recupe-  
 rare posset, castrum illud nobilissimum corporis sui purissimo sanguine  
 virginali cementatum hostibus ad tempus concessit et fugam quasi similans  
 ad limbam patrum descendit. Et tunc more cuiusdam nobilis bellatoris, de  
 50 quo refert predictus Iulius libro eodem, capitulo 11, tantum rediit super  
 hostes uno die qua(antum) duobus diebus se simulaverat aufugisse, et sic  
 nobilem illam predam corporis sui benedicti die sue resurrectionis cum  
 lucro immortalitatis recuperans eam sub sacramento velatam nobis curialis-  
 sime distribuit, ut merito dici potest illud Proverbiorum 31: "De nocte  
 55 surrexit deditque predam domesticis suis." Nec mirum quia hic est ille  
 fidelis amicus de quo in evangelio dicitur quod media nocte surgens dedit  
 petenti panes quotquot habuit necessarios. Nam ipse dat nobis corpus suum,  
 quod est panis vivus qui de celo descendit.

Et nota quod secundum astrologos sol in firmamento per plura signa  
 60 discurrit a mense in mensem, inter que est quoddam signum quod Gemin(i)  
 vocatur, et hoc est spiritualiter signum federis et dilectionis Dei. In quo  
 signo Christus, qui est verus sol iusticie, potissime fuit die sue resurrecti-  
 onis. Exemplum. Narrat enim Ovidius *Methamorphoseos* [f. 67] quod Gemini  
 erant duo fratres, quorum unus fuit mortalis et alius immortalis. Set iste  
 secundus suam immortalitatem partitus est fratri suo mortali eo quod tantus  
 65 esset inter eos amor et dilectio vera. Christus enim Filius Dei, qui est

asleep, he was the first to rise; Corinthians 15: "Christ is risen from the  
 dead, the first fruits of them that sleep." Another reason was this. When a  
 doorkeeper who is resting in his bed hears a friend knocking at the door, he  
 gets up at once because it is his friend. In the same way, Christ heard the  
 voice of his beloved, that is, of mankind who kept knocking without ceasing;  
 for which he would not sleep any longer, as if he were saying: "The voice of  
 my beloved knocking, 'Open me,' " add: it does not let me sleep anymore. There-  
 fore, if one were to ask Christ for the true reason why he rose so soon, he  
 could answer fittingly with the words of Canticles 5: "I rose up to open to my  
 beloved."

With regard to this miraculous resurrection after such a painful death, we  
 may notice that in the opinion of a subtle doctor who preached on the quoted  
 theme from Canticles 5, "I rose up to open to my beloved," it was with Christ  
 just as it sometimes was with warriors of ancient days. This is what he says:  
 "Since the outcome of war is changeable, it is not always the party which is  
 successful in the beginning that wins the victory. Indeed at times it is a  
 great trick to pretend that one is fleeing, especially when the other side is  
 very eager for booty." Whence Sextus Julius in commenting on Trogus Pompey,  
 book 3, chapter 10, tells us that Hannibal, a noble warrior and general of the  
 Carthaginians, sometimes willingly left his castle as a booty in the hands of  
 his enemies and pretended for a while that he was fleeing; but suddenly he fell  
 on his enemies and overcame them and recovered the booty he had lost with even  
 greater gain, which he then distributed among his army as he wanted. In the  
 same way Christ, a strong and unfailing champion, as he did battle with the  
 devil on Good Friday, seeing that he was exceedingly eager for booty and aware  
 that, if he left his booty to the enemies for a while he could afterwards  
 recover it with gain, left the most noble castle of his body, which had been  
 built up from the most pure blood of a virgin, for a while in the hands of his  
 enemies and, as if pretending to flee, descended to the limbo of the fore-  
 fathers. And then, like a noble warrior of whom Julius writes in chapter 11 of  
 the same book, he came back against his enemies on a day after he had pretended  
 to flee for two days, and recovering that noble booty of his blessed body on  
 the day of his resurrection with the gain of immortality, he has most cour-  
 teously distributed it to us hidden in the sacrament. Of him can justly be  
 said what is written in Proverbs 31: "She has risen in the night and given a  
 prey to her household." It is no wonder that he is that faithful friend of  
 whom the Gospel says that he rose at midnight and gave him that was asking as  
 much bread as he needed. For he gives us his body, which is the living bread  
 that has come down from heaven.

Notice that according to the astronomers the sun in the sky passes through  
 various signs, month after month, among which is a sign called Gemini, and that  
 symbolizes the bond and love of God. In this sign was Christ, the true sun of



immortalis secundum divinitatem et ex alia parte, scilicet [secundum] humanitatem, caro et frater noster est, partitus est nobis ex magna sui dilectione scilicet et amore suam immortalitatem. Cum prius mortalitati essemus subiecti, tamen per virtutem sui corporis benedicti, quod cotidie  
70 sumimus, post diem iudicii erimus immortales, si tamen rite sumendo trans-  
eamus in naturam eius, quem ad modum truncus convertitur in naturam surculi  
et non e contrario. Nam secundum Augustinum, si primi parentes stetissent  
in innocencia, per esum ligni vite fuissent immortales. Sicut eciam nunc oportet  
75 corpus nostrum corrumpi propter cibum corporalem quem sumimus, sic  
in paradiso erimus celesti immortales propter cibum spiritualem quo ibidem  
nutriemur. Unde de isto cibo dicitur Iohannis 6: "Qui manducat hunc panem  
vivet in eternum."

Est eciam hic notandum quod non solum est corpus Christi benedictum panis set eciam caro delicatissima, prout habetur ibidem: "Panis, inquit,  
80 quem ego dabo caro mea est." Et certe quia caro est, ideo merito preda dici potest generosa et venatica. Nam ut illa caro fieret tenera et delicata diutina venacione, sic voluit Christus fatigari et lacerari ut preda venatica diceretur. Que quidem preda fuit in craticula crucis sufficienter assata aut decocta. Quando experiri volumus utrum caro aliqua fuerit satis  
85 assata aut decocta, parum illam comprimimus, et si nichil sanguinis exeat, dicitur quod satis est. Revera sic erat de carne Christi super craticulam crucis posita: cum ultima gutta sanguinis exivit aqua [f. 67v] in signum quod nichil crudum in illa remanserat. Unde figurative fuit iste agnus assandus, de quo Exodi 12: "Non comedetis ex eo crudum quid nec coctum  
90 aqua, set tantum assatum igni." Similiter hec preda venacione Iudeorum capta bene figurabatur per cibum illum quem Iacob intulit Ysaac patri suo dicens: "Surge, comede de venacione mea," Genesis 26. In quo quidem festo sive cibo deceptus erat Ysaac in omni sensu preterquam in auditu. Revera sic est de illo cibo spirituali: quasi sumus decepti quoad omnem sensum  
95 solo auditu excepto, (nisi) quantum per fidem edocemur.

Et nota quod sicut victores post bella gravia solent cum suis exultari et festa facere, revera sic Christus volens sue resurrectionis victoriam declarare. Ideo sue resurrectionis die nos de preda illa dulcissima sui corporis pascit et festum facit, ut sic cum eo simul letemur ac victores  
100 esse videamur; Ysaie 14: "Letabuntur coram te sicut qui letantur in messe et sicut victores capta preda quando dividunt spolia."

Et nota quod fuit de Christo in sua resurrectione sicut est de viris religiosi quando minuti sunt sanguine. Vid(e)mus ergo quod inter illos talis consuetudo habetur quod, quando de gravi labore venerunt aut sanguine  
105 minuuntur, tocuis noctis quies illis conceditur, quando alii non vexati nec minuti media nocte surgere tenentur. Si quis ergo diligenter considerat, vi(debit) quod Christus triginta tribus annis quibus in hoc mundo vixit

justice, particularly on the day of his resurrection. As an example, Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* tells the following story. The Gemini were two brothers, one mortal, the other immortal. But the latter shared his immortality with his mortal brother, so great was the true love and liking between them. Christ, the Son of God, did the same: being immortal in his divinity, and on the other hand, that is in his human nature, flesh and our brother, he shared his immortality with us out of his great liking and love. Though we were originally subject to mortality, by the power of his blessed body, which we receive daily, we shall yet be immortal after the day of judgment, if indeed by receiving him rightly we change into his nature, just as a stock is changed into the nature of the graft and not the reverse. For according to Augustine, if our first parents had remained firm in their innocence, they would have become immortal by eating from the tree of life. Just as now our body must become corrupted because of the bodily food we eat, so in the heavenly paradise we shall be immortal because of the spiritual food with which we shall be nourished there. Whence John 6 says of this food: "He that eats that bread shall live forever."

And we should notice further that not only is the blessed body of Christ our bread but also his most delicate flesh, as is said in the same place, John 6: "The bread that I will give is my flesh." And since it is flesh, it may rightly be called the flesh of a noble game. For just as game becomes tender and delicate through long hunting, so Christ wanted to be tired out and torn to pieces that he might be called game. That game was thoroughly broiled and cooked on the gridiron of the cross. When we want to try if a piece of meat is sufficiently broiled or cooked, we squeeze it a little, and if no blood comes out, we say that it is well done. This is what happened to Christ's flesh on the grill of the cross: with the last drop of blood water came out as a sign that nothing raw was left in it. Therefore he was figuratively that lamb of Exodus 12 which was to be broiled: "You shall not eat thereof anything raw, nor boiled in water, but only what has been roasted on the fire." Similarly, this prey captured in the hunt of the Jews is prefigured in the dish which Jacob brought his father, Isaac, saying: "Arise, eat of my venison," Genesis 26. In that feast or food Isaac was deceived in all his senses except his hearing. Thus it is also with this spiritual food: we are, as it were, deceived by it in all our senses with the exception of our hearing, unless we are taught by faith.

Notice that just as the winners after a fierce war usually celebrate and feast with their own, so Christ wanted to declare the victory of his resurrection. Therefore, on the day of his resurrection he feeds us with the sweet booty of his body and gives us a banquet, so that we may be happy with him and appear as winners; Isaiah 14: "They shall rejoice before you as they who rejoice in the harvest and as conquerors after taking a prey, when they divide the spoils."



continuis laboribus se afflixit, et non solum hoc set in utroque brachio  
 minutus fuit et ceteris membris, ut patet. Quid ergo mirum si per duas  
 110 noctes quievit et postea surrexit?

Nota eciam quod Christus surrexit multis modis. Primo veraciter,  
 contra falsos et fictos qui in Quadragesima solum surgunt a peccatis [f.  
 68] suis propter famam et iudicium aliorum. Secundo surrexit velociter,  
 contra procrastinantes correctionem vite. Tercio indeficienter, contra  
 115 recidivantes. Et quarto patenter, contra illos qui nulli audent peccata sua  
 detegere set sic obstinantur.

Et nota quod Christus post suam resurrectionem diversis locis et  
 personis se manifestavit, scilicet [primo] in orto ut ortolanus, secundo in  
 via ut peregrinus, tercio in cenaculo ut strenuus bellator, quarto iuxta  
 120 mare ut providus piscator, quinto in castro ut cautus i(o)culator. Primo  
 manifestavit se in orto, ubi aquam copiosam ad irrigandum suum viridarium  
 invenit. Que quidem [aque] lacrimae fuerunt Marie Magdalene, cui post resur-  
 rectionem primo apparuit. Per quam aquam suum viridarium, idest animam  
 125 predictae Marie, irrigavit, cum prius fuit puteus abissi vilissimus. Qua sic  
 inde irrigata, Christus tamquam optimus ortolanus in illa plantavit primo  
 rosam caritatis, secundo lilium castitatis, tercio violam humilitatis,  
 quarto solsequium stabilitatis. Et nota quod solsequium naturaliter ad  
 ortum solis se aperit et ad occasum se claudit; sic fides Marie cum Christo  
 130 <non> aperiebatur, quia <non> statim eum vivum credebat postquam surrexit.  
 Et ideo necesse fuit Christum illud solsequium sua gracia irrigare.

Secundo dico quod Christus aparuit in via sicut peregrinus. Summa enim  
 recreacio et solacium est in via bonas narrationes audire. Et ideo Christus  
 narravit discipulis utilia et eciam mirabilia, compunctiva passionis, et  
 135 inflammativa dilectionis, que omnia satis patent Luce (2)4 de discipulis  
 euntibus in Emaus. Tercio aparuit in cenaculo ut strenuus bellator, et hoc  
 trepidantibus pre timore discipulis, de quibus dicitur quod "erant congre-  
 gati in unum propter metum Iudeorum." Ad quorum solacium primo ostendit  
 pedes quibus vicerat peccata in- [f. 68v] feriora, scilicet gulam et luxu-  
 140 riam; secundo ostendit eis manus, quibus vicerat mundi prosperitatem et  
 adversitatem; tercio latus, quo eciam vicerat diaboli superbiam, iram, et  
 invidiam. Quarto et ultimo aparuit iuxta mare ut providus piscator, sicut  
 patet in evangelio unde dixit stans in litore: "Numquid pulmentarium habe-  
 tis?" Et post dicitur: "Cum in terram ascendissent, viderunt prunas positas  
 145 et piscem superpositum." Quinto aparuit in castro ut cautus i(o)culator.  
 Tunc enim se ostendit plaudentibus, set quia eorum plausus de Christo  
 fuerat vanus, ideo insufflavit in pixidem, idest in eos, et statim dispa-  
 ruit, ut per hoc ostenderet eis eorum gaudium vanum fuisse.

Et nota bene quod pro ista resurrectione secundum Palladium *De agri-*

And notice that in his resurrection it was with Christ as it is with  
 religious when they have been let blood. For we see that among them it is the  
 custom that, when they have done very hard work or are let blood, they are  
 allowed to rest the whole night, whereas others that are not exhausted from  
 labor or bloodletting are required to rise at midnight. Whoever considers it  
 carefully will see that Christ took upon himself constant hard work for the  
 thirty-three years that he lived in this world, and in addition he was let  
 blood in both arms and other parts, as is evident. What wonder, then, if he  
 rested for two nights before he rose?

Notice also that Christ rose in many ways. First, he rose truly, against  
 those false and feigned Christians who rise from their sins only during Lent  
 for the sake of their reputation and other people's opinion. Second, he rose  
 quickly, against those who delay the amendment of their life. Third, he rose  
 without fail, against those who slide back. And fourth, he rose openly,  
 against those who dare not show their sins to anyone and thus become hardened  
 in sin.

And notice further that after his resurrection Christ showed himself in  
 different places and to different people, namely in the garden as a gardener,  
 on the road as a pilgrim, in the supper room as a strong warrior, by the sea as  
 a skillful fisherman, and in the castle as a cautious juggler. First he showed  
 himself in the garden, where he found abundant water to water his park. These  
 waters were the tears of Mary Magdalene, to whom he appeared first after his  
 resurrection. Through this water he watered his park, that is, the soul of Mary  
 Magdalene, which formerly had been a most vile cesspool. When it was thus  
 watered, Christ like an excellent gardener planted first a rose of charity in  
 it, then a lily of chastity, third a violet of humility, and fourth a sunflower  
 of stability. Notice that the sunflower by its nature opens at sunrise and  
 closes at sunset; in the same way, Mary Magdalene's faith closed with Christ,  
 for she believed he was truly dead when he had died, but it did not open with  
 Christ, for she did not right away believe that he was alive after he rose.  
 Therefore it was necessary for Christ to water that sunflower with his grace.

In the second place I say Christ appeared on the road as a pilgrim. The  
 best kind of recreation and comfort on a journey is to listen to good stories.  
 For that reason Christ told his disciples useful and marvelous things that led  
 to compassion and kindled their love. All this can be seen in Luke 24, concern-  
 ing the disciples on the road to Emmaus. In the third place he appeared in the  
 supper room as a strong champion, and he did so before his disciples, who were  
 shaking with fear, of whom it is said that "they were gathered together for  
 fear of the Jews." To comfort them he first showed them his feet, with which  
 he had overcome the lower sins, that is, gluttony and lechery; secondly he  
 showed them his hands, with which he had overcome the prosperity and the  
 adversity of the world; thirdly he showed them his side, with which he had

- 150 *cultura* Christ(us) cum vulneribus resurgens bene amigdalo comparatur, cuius natura est secundum eundem quod, si aliqua scriptura in illa scribatur et postea in terra plantetur, quod in foliis, fructu, et radice in posterum predicta scriptura apparebit. Unde secundum eum illius arboris fructus est cibus precipuus infirmorum. Revera iste fructus Filius Dei bene potest
- 155 dici, per cuius corporis viaticum infirmi per peccata ad vitam reducuntur eternam; Iohannis 6: "Qui manducat hunc panem, vivet in eternum." In isto ergo amigdalo corporis Christi quinque littere scripte fuerunt, scilicet quinque plage. Que littere possunt dici regis Assueri, quibus veteres littere Aman, idest diaboli, iniqui insidiatoris, corriguntur, cuius lit-
- 160 tere fuerunt male suggestiones per quas primos parentes in quinque sensibus peccatis fecit consentire. Set Assuerus, qui beatitudo interpretatur, idest Christus Filius Dei, per litteras vulnerum suorum eius litteras corripit et totaliter delet dum potestate[m] diaboli per dicta vulnera in cruce depressit. Set iste amigdalus in terra plantatur dum Christus in sepulcro
- 165 terre ponitur iuxta illud [f. 69] evangelii: "Erit Filius Hominis in corde terre tribus diebus et tribus noctibus." Set certe tunc crevit quando <Christus> surrexit a mortuis, in quo tunc dicte littere apertissime apparuerunt. Et hoc bene patuit quando dixit Thome: "Videte manus meas et pedes," etc.
- 170 Item ad idem de quodam animali pantera nomine narratur, quod est animal mansuetum et pulcrum valde, eo quod variis coloribus est respersum. Cuius presenciam omnibus animalibus est valde delectabilis preterquam draconum et pullis eius. Cum ergo comederit animal illud et fuerit satiatus, cavernam intrat, ubi tribus diebus et noctibus continue fertur dormire.
- 175 Tercio vero die evigilans clamorem magnum emittit, quem odor suavissimus committitur. Cuius clamorem cum audierint animalia longe aut prope distantia, propter odoris suavitatem sibi occurrunt et secuntur, dracone tamen excepto, qui odio naturali illum cum pullis suis affugit et abscondit. Pantera autem iste propter suam mansuetudinem et pulcritudinem signat
- 180 Christum, qui de seipso ait illud Jeremie: "Ego quasi agnus mansuetus," et in Psalmo: "Speciosus forma pre filiis hominum." Postquam hic Christus comederit et satiatus fuerit penis et miseriis diversis in hoc mundo, post in caverna crucis et monumenti tribus diebus et noctibus dormivit. Cum ergo
- 185 tertia die quasi a mortis dormicione evigilasset et demum surrexisset et per suos predicatores vitam eternam proclamasset, cuncta animalia, idest diversa genera Christianorum, ipsum sequuntur, solo dracone, idest diabolo, cum pullis falsorum Christianorum et aliorum infidelium exceptis et sub terrena cupiditate absconditis.
- 190 Ad idem etiam fertur quod natura leonis est quod cum leena peperit catulum, generat illum mortuum et tribus diebus sic custodit, donec tertia die pater eius venerit et in faciem eius sufflaverit, cuius natura [f. 69v]

overcome the devil's pride, wrath, and envy. In the fourth and last place he appeared by the sea as a skillful fisherman, as can be found in the Gospel when he said on the shore: "Have you any meat?" And then follows: "As soon as they came back to land, they saw hot coals lying and a fish laid thereon." In the fifth place he appeared in the castle as a cautious juggler. For then he showed himself to those who applauded him, but since their applause was vain, he blew in his box, that is, on them, and at once disappeared, in order to show them that their joy was vain.

And notice that because Christ rose with his wounds he can well be compared to the almond, as Palladius describes it in his work *On Agriculture*. According to Palladius the almond has this characteristic that, if one writes something on it and then plants it in the ground, the writing will afterwards appear on its leaves, fruit, and root. Whence according to Palladius the fruit of this tree is excellent nourishment for the sick. This fruit may be said to be the Son of God, through whose body as viaticum those who are sick with sins are brought back to eternal life; John 6: "He that eats this bread shall live forever." On this almond, the body of Christ, were written five letters, that is, the five wounds. These may be said to be the letters of King Ahasuerus, by which the old letters of Haman, that is, of the devil, the instigator of mischief, are corrected. These letters were the evil suggestions through which the devil caused our first parents to consent to sin in their five senses. But Ahasuerus, whose name means blessedness and who stands for Christ, the Son of God, has through the letters of his wounds corrected and wholly erased the former letters when he suppressed the devil's power through his wounds on the cross. This almond is planted in the earth when Christ is laid in a tomb in the earth, according to the Gospel: "The Son of Man shall be in the heart of the earth for three days and three nights." But the almond started to grow when Christ rose from the dead, and then the aforementioned letters appeared in him most openly. This was quite evident when he said to Thomas: "Behold my hands and my feet," etc.

On the same subject we read further about an animal called panther, which is very meek and beautiful because it is sprinkled with various colors. Its company is very delightful to all other animals except the dragon and its offspring. When this animal has eaten its fill, it enters its cave, where it is said to sleep for three days and nights without interruption. But on the third day it awakens and gives forth a loud cry, accompanied by a most sweet odor. When the other animals hear this cry, whether they are far or near, they run toward it because of the sweet smell and follow it, with the exception only of the dragon, who flees from it with its offspring because of its inborn hatred and hides itself. This panther, because of its meekness and beauty, symbolizes Christ, who says of himself the words of Jeremiah: "I am like a meek lamb," and of the Psalm: "Beautiful above the sons of man." After Christ

catulus vivificatur. Sic omnipotens Pater Filium eius in cruce mortuum  
tercia die eius flatu divinitatis a morte suscitavit, dicente Iob: "Dormi-  
vit, inquit, leo et sicut catulus leonis suscitavit," scilicet a mortuis.

2–3 verissime] certissime O. 6 Christus . . . collocatus] christo in ligno crucis collocato  
O. 23 surrexit] add a mortuis O. 31 illa admirabili] ista mirabili O. 36 consequetur]  
consequitur O. 41 devicit] divisit C. 42 exercitui] add suo O. 50 quantum] quam  
C.R.W. 53 merito] add de eo O. 59 discurrit] decurrit O. 59–60 quod Gemini vo-  
catur] geminis M.R; gemima W. 59 Gemini] geminus C. 66 divinitatem] deitatem O.  
68 scilicet] om O. 79 ibidem] add iohannis capitulo 6 O. 88 iste] ille O. 89 quo] om  
O. 94 illo] isto O. 95 nisi] ubi C. 103 Videmus] videamus C. ergo] autem O.  
107 videbit] videlicet C. 115 sua] om O. 118 primo] om R.C. 120 ioculator] iacula-  
tor C. 122 aque] om C.W. Marie] om O. 124 fuit] fuerit O. 126 humilitatis] add et  
O. 127 stabilitatis] M and others add the following: et nota quod solsequium dicitur  
quasi sequens solem sic fidelis debet sequi christum in omnibus factis suis. 130 non(1)]  
canc and marg vero C. non(2)] exp C. 132 sicut] ut O. 135 24] 34 C.R. 143 unde]  
quando O. 145 ioculator] iaculator C. 150 Christus] christi C. 151 eundem] eum  
O. 167 Christus] dixit C. 173 illud] istud O. 175 Tercio] tercia O. 177 tamen] tan-  
tum O. 183 tribus . . . noctibus] om O. 184 mortis] mortuis O. demum] om O.

### III.xxi DE CHRISTI ASCENSIONE

[C]irca autem ascensionem Christi post eius benedictam resurrectionem  
est aliquid breviter dicendum. Circa quod est advertendum quod nobis maxi-  
mam dilectionem ostendit quando nostram naturam in tam sublimi loco pre  
ceteris creaturis dignaretur collocare, scilicet ad dextram Patris in celo,  
5 quasi per hoc innuens quod si veri fideles fuerimus et false nomen Christi  
non usurpaverimus, sicut ipse supra omnem creaturam in nostra natura et nos  
sequemur pre ceteris tamquam filii et heredes ab eo veraciter denominati  
sine fine regnaturi. A Christo enim Christiani nominantur. Et ideo de sua  
benedicta ascensione ante nos in nostra natura bene dici potest illud  
10 Michee 3: "Ascendit iter pandens ante eos," quasi diceret: Christus sicut  
bonus doctor et ductor nos precedit rectam viam nobis ostendens quomodo  
sine devio illum sequemur.

had eaten his fill of divers pains and miseries in this world, he went to sleep  
in the cave of the cross and the tomb for three days and nights. But when he  
woke on the third day and rose, as from the sleep of death, and proclaimed  
eternal life through his preachers, all the animals followed him, that is, the  
various kinds of Christians, except the dragon, that is, the devil, and its  
offspring of false Christians and other unfaithful, who hide in earthly cu-  
pidity.

On the same topic it is said that it is the nature of the lion that, when  
the female gives birth to a cub, she brings it forth dead and keeps it thus for  
three days, until on the third day its father comes and breathes into its face,  
by whose breath the cub comes to life. In the same manner the omnipotent  
Father brought his Son, after he had died on the cross, back to life on the  
third day with his divine breath; as Job says: "The lion has slept, and like  
the cub of the lion he has raised," that is, from the dead.

8–9 Matt. 27.45. 12 Ps. 3.6. 17 Cf. Mark 13.34. 18–19 Augustine, *In Iohannis  
evangelium* XLVI.3 (CC 36:399); on John 10.3. 22–23 1 Cor. 15.20. 27–28 Cant.  
5.2. 30 Cant. 5.5. 38–42 Frontinus, *Stratagemata* III.x.3–4. 53–54 Prov. 31.15.  
55–54 Cf. John 6.41ff. 62–65 *Mythographus Vaticanus III* III.7; based on Ovid, *Met.*  
II.18. 72–73 Probably Bede, as quoted in *Glossa* on Gen. 1.29–30 (CC 118A:30f.).  
76–77 John 6.59. 79–80 John 6.52. 89–90 Exod. 12.9. 92 Gen. 27.31. 100–  
101 Isa. 9.3. 135–136 Cf. Luke 24.32. 137–138 John 20.19. 143–144 John 21.5.  
144–145 John 21.9. 145–148 For a story about a juggler, or rather trickster, who blows  
and makes people blow into a *pixis*, see *Tabula exemplorum*, p. 88 note 6, and No. 50.  
149–154 Palladius, *De agricultura* II.xv.13. 156 John 6.59. 158–161 Cf. Esther 8.  
165–166 Matt. 12.40. 168–169 Luke 24.39. 170–178 The same story and moraliza-  
tion in Brinton, *Sermons* 40, 56, and 107 (pp. 179, 258f., and 494). Cf. *Physiologus*, p.  
124. 180 Jer. 11.19. 181 Ps. 44.3. 189–192 Cf. Isidore, *Etym.* XII.ii.5. 193–  
194 Cf. Gen. 49.9.

### III.xxi CHRIST'S ASCENSION

With respect to Christ's ascension after his blessed resurrection, we must  
briefly say and call to mind that he showed his great love for us when he  
placed our nature in such an exalted place above any other creature, namely at  
the right hand of the Father in heaven. By this he let us know that if we are  
truly faithful and do not take the name of Christ falsely, we shall—just as he  
is above all creation in our nature—follow him before all others as his  
children and heirs, truly named after him, in order to rule without end. For  
Christians have their name from Christ. Therefore the words of Micah 3 can be  
applied to his blessed ascension before us in our nature: "He goes up opening  
the way before them," as if he were saying: Christ goes before us as a good  
teacher and leader, showing us the right way by which we shall follow him  
without going astray.

Et nota: quando via aliqua non est usitata, non sufficit solum quod aliquis doceat nudo verbo per illam volentem transire, verum etiam cum  
 15 doctore indiget ductore. Set modo via celi ante Christi ascencionem non fuit multum usitata, et ideo Christus non solum docuit viam illam verbo aut signo, sicut multi faciunt protensa manu quamvis per eam non incedant, sicut faciunt ypocrite, de quibus (Mattheus): "Dicunt et non faciunt"; set  
 20 Christus primo cepit facere et postea docere, precedens scilicet ante nos viam quam docuit secundum illud Deuteronomii: "Dux itineris fuisti in conspectu eius."

Exemplum. Elephas autem secundum Solinum huius nature est quod si per desertum a casu hominem vagabundum viderit, usque ad notas vias ducatum prebet. Et secundum Ambrosium, si viderit hominem timere eum, a via di- [f.  
 25 70] vertit quousque sit ante eum, et sic precedit quousque ad viam rectam perduxerit.

Ad idem etiam narrat Sextus Iulius de quodam duce Zenophilus nomine, qui dum exercitum per ardua itinera incedere precepisset et illi murmurando dixerunt facile esse sedentem precipere difficilia, statim equum ascendens in dictis itineribus precessit alios animans ut eum constanter sequerentur. Revera sic fuit de Christo duce nostro. Ipse enim precessit nos per viam penitencie ducens ad celum, iuxta illud Psalmi: "Ego custodivi vias duras."

Avis enim ascendens sursum segura est ab ancupe doloso, et quanto  
 35 alcior tanto securior; set quamcito descendit ad terram ut quiescat vel ut cibum capiat, tunc est in periculo ne forte illaqueatur. Et tamen verum est quod non sentit laqueum dum comedit aut quiescit, set quando vellet recedere et ascendere, tunc primo se sentit illaqueatam et detentam. Revera sic in proposito. Homo enim volans ad Deum per contemplacionem securus est, set  
 40 quamcito descendit ad terram, hoc est ad quietem deliciarum terrenarum, in periculo est (ne) forte in peccato illaqueatur. Et tamen ibi quamdiu delicie durant nullum sentit periculum aut laqueum, set quando a mundo vellet recedere et ad Deum redire, tunc sentit laquea peccatorum ipsum detinencia, iuxta illud Iob 18: "Tenebitur planta eius laqueo." Et ideo Christus  
 45 volens nos ab huiusmodi periculis precavere, ad modum aquile pullos suos ascendere et volare docentis nos instruit; (Deuteronomii 32): "Sicut aquila provocans ad volandum pullos suos," supple: sic Christus nos instruit periculis cavere.

Natura autem aquile talis est quod secum portat [escam] pro pullis  
 50 suis et ante eos gradatim, non subito nec statim, elevat se in sublimi quantum posset, set primo iuxta eos prope volat, secundo aliquantulum supra eos, et tercio ad supremum ascendit. Revera sic in proposito. [f. 70v] Quantum ad divinitatem Christus [est] esca nostra, per quam spiritualiter pascimur et fovemur. Igitur ob nimium amorem nos instruit et docet gradatim

And notice: when a road is unknown, it is not enough for the would-be traveler to get verbal instructions, but with the teacher he also needs a leader. Now, before Christ's ascension the road to heaven was not much in use; therefore, Christ did not merely point it out with a word or sign, as many people do by pointing with their hand, even though they themselves never use that road, as hypocrites do, of whom Matthew says: "They say and do not do"; but Christ first began to do it himself and only afterwards to teach it, thus going before us on the way he taught, in accordance with the words of Deuteronomy: "You were the guide of its journey in its sight."

As an example: according to Solinus the elephant has this characteristic that, if by chance he sees a man wandering through the desert, he will lead him to some well-known road. And according to Ambrose, if the elephant sees that man to be in fear, he turns away from the road until he is in front of the man and then goes before him until he has led him to the right road.

On the same subject, Sextus Julius tells of a general named Zenophilus; when he commanded his troops to march through rough territory and they grumbled, saying it is easy for a man at rest to order difficult things, he at once got on his horse and went before them on the rough roads, encouraging them to follow him bravely. Thus it was likewise with Christ, our leader. For he went before us, leading us on the way of penance to heaven, according to the Psalm: "I have kept hard ways."

When a bird flies up high, it is safe from the deceitful fowler, and the higher it flies, the safer it is; but as soon as it comes down to the ground to rest or to catch some food, it is in danger of being ensnared. And yet it is true that this bird does not feel the snare while it is eating or resting; but when it wants to go back and fly up high, then it finds itself snared and held fast. The same is true in spiritual matters. When a man flies to God in contemplation, he is safe, but as soon as he comes down to the ground, that is, to rest in earthly delights, he is in danger of becoming ensnared in sin. And yet, as long as his delights there last, he feels no danger or snare; but when he tries to leave the world and return to God, then he feels the snares of sin holding him fast, according to the words of Job 18: "His sole shall be held in a snare." Therefore, since Christ wants us to beware of such dangers, he teaches us as an eagle teaches its young to rise up and fly; Deuteronomy 32: "As an eagle enticing her young to fly," add: thus Christ teaches us to beware of dangers.

It is the custom of an eagle, when he carries some food for his young, not to rise suddenly before them as high as possible but rather at first to fly close to them, then to fly somewhat above them, and thirdly to rise up high. In moral terms, in his divine nature Christ is our food, with which we are spiritually fed and nourished. Therefore, in his great love he teaches us to rise after him by steps. First through contemplation and prayer, wherein any

55 post illum ascendere. Et primo per contemplacionem et oracionem, ubi quilibet devotus invenit refectionem spiritualem delicatissimam; ad quem gradum ipsemet Christus sicut bonus ductor primo ascendit, iuxta illud Matthei 34: "Ascendit in montem solus orare." Secundus gradus est per penitenciam, idest per passionem penitencie, quando scilicet homo ita elevatus est a

60 terrenis et carnalibus quod tantum in operibus penitencie gloriatur, iuxta illud Ad Galatas 6: "Michi autem absit gloriari nisi in cruce (Domini nostri Iesu Christi)." Et certe hunc gradum similiter Christus ascendit, quando scilicet in cruce pro nobis elevatus est et mortem pro nobis subire voluit. Unde istam arborem ascendere oportet quod hoc fiat, eciam cum magno

65 labore "reptando manibus et pedibus" sicut fecit Ionathas post David, sicut habetur I Regum 14. Nota historiam. Sic enim fecit Christus ante nos, quando lignum crucis ascendit manibus et pedibus in illa affixis, ad quam si attingere poterimus, maximam contra inimicos securitatem inveniemus.

Unde refert Gamaleel in *Historia Iherosolomitana* quod quedam naturalis inimicia est inter aquilam et serpentem. Et ideo aquila volens sibi et

70 pullis suis securitatem providere ponit nidum suum non deorsum in terra set superius in aliqua arbore vel rupe serpenti inaccessibili. Quod (cum) avertit serpens, instinctu naturali ex opposito ascendit super aliquem montem altum, quando scilicet ventus dirigitur versus locum illum ubi pulli latent, et ibi aerem secundum posse suum inficit ut sic per venenum missum in aere dictos pullos possit interficere. Set hanc maliciam supernaturaliter presciens aquila lapidem quemdam querit, amatistum nomine, et illum in nido cum pullis ponit, cuius virtute pulli salvantur. Spiritualiter per

75 istam aquilam Christus [f. 71] intelligi potest, qui supra human(u)m fertur obtutum. Set per illum serpentem intelligitur hostis antiquus; sicut ergo videmus, inter Deum et hunc serpentem fuerunt inimicie ab inicio creacionis. Pulli autem in nido Christi sunt homines in hac vita, quos continue dictus serpens insidiatur ut interficiat. Volens ergo Christus pullis suis providere locum securum et altum, in arbore quadam, idest in ligno crucis

80 in monte Calvarie, propter omnem securitatem nostram elegit. Si ergo serpens iste per malas suggestiones in mente per audita, dicta, aut facta aerem nostri intellectus per flatum elacionis et superbie infecerit, per quam pullos bonorum operum nostrorum interficeret, capiamus h(u)nc lapidem amatistum, idest Christum, in exemplum humilitatis omnimode, et contra

85 omnia mala per hoc salvemur.

Tercius gradus fuit quando in celum videntibus discipulis ante nos ascendit, ubi certe tenet cibum illum delicatissimum pro nobis, scilicet corpus suum benedictum, per quem hic in enigmate set ibi facie ad faciem depascemur sine fine; Ieremie 49: "Ecce aquila ascendet et volabit et expandet alas suas."

90

Et nota: homo ascendens in sublimi potest a remociori videre quam

devout person finds the most delicate spiritual nourishment; to this step Christ himself climbed first, like a good guide, according to Matthew 34: "He went into a mountain alone to pray." The second step is through penance and through the suffering of penance, that is, when a person has risen so high above earthly and fleshly things that he finds his glory only in works of penance, after Galatians 6: "God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Certainly, Christ rose to this step in like fashion when he was raised on the cross for us and wanted to undergo death for us. Therefore it is necessary to climb this tree, and this is done by "creeping on hands and feet" with great labor, as Jonathan did after David, as in 1 Kings 14. Tell this story. Christ did the same before us when he climbed on the tree of the cross and was nailed to it with his hands and feet; if we can come to this cross, we shall find absolute safety from our enemies.

Therefore Gamaliel in his *History of Jerusalem* reports that there is a natural hostility between the eagle and the snake. Consequently, when the eagle wants safety for himself and his young, he puts his nest not on the ground but high up in a tree or on a rock which is out of the snake's reach. But when the snake notices this, by its natural instinct it creeps up on some high mountain that stands against the eagle's nest, and when the wind blows in the direction of the nest where the young birds are hidden it poisons the air as much as it can, so that it may kill the young birds with its poison released in the air. But the eagle has some supernatural presentiment of such mischief and looks for a certain stone called amethyst, which it puts in the nest together with his young, by whose power the young birds are saved. Allegorically, by this eagle we may understand Christ, whose sight is said to be keener than man's. But that serpent stands for our ancient enemy; as we see, there has been enmity between God and this serpent from the beginning of creation. The young birds in Christ's nest are men in this life, whom that serpent constantly tries to kill. Therefore, in his care for his young, Christ chose a safe place high up in a tree for our safety, namely in the tree of the cross on Mount Calvary. But if this serpent has poisoned the air of our mind by its breath of arrogance and pride and has blown evil suggestions into our mind through things we hear, say, or do, through which it might kill the offspring of our good works, then let us hold on firmly to this stone, Christ, as our example of humility, and we shall be safe from all evils.

The third step was his ascension into heaven before us, with his disciples looking on. There he certainly holds that most delicate food for us, his blessed body, through which we shall be fed, here under a veil but there face to face, in order to live without end; Jeremiah 49: "Behold the eagle shall come up and fly and spread his wings."

And notice that when a person climbs onto a high place he can see farther than those who remain below. Thus, when a person has overcome earthly and



inferius commorantes. Revera sic homo superatis terrenis et carnalibus et in monte virtuose operacionis et humili contemplacione celestium constitutus potest videre a remotis ex omni parte que sunt bona et que sunt mala, que fugienda et que amplectenda. Exemplum. Si enim respiciat ad orientem  
 100 sui ortus, ibi propriam miseriam satis intuetur; si ad occidentem sue mortis, hoc idem prospiciet; si ad aquilonem, bene consideret iudicium et penam inferni; si quarto ad aliam partem, scilicet austrum, respexerit, ibi considerabit gloriam et gaudium beatorum. Et certe sicut per humilem contemplacionem omnia predicta in monte devocionis [f. 71v] considerare optinebit, sic certe [in] valle cupiditatis et avaricie latens non tantum istorum set eciam sui ipsius noticiam perdet, scilicet quomodo fuit in sui primordio sperma vilissimum, in sui medio vas stercoreum, et in sui termino nichil aliud quam esca vermium. "Attendat ergo homo peccator," dicit Bernardus, "sua primordia et erubescat, media et ingemiscat, ultima et contremiscat." Et ideo vocatur homo ab humo, quasi de vili materia, propter sui humiliacionem; Job: "Homo natus de muliere brevi vivens tempore repletur multis miseriis," etc. Ascende ergo, o homo, ad montem contemplacionis cum Christo et considera quomodo homini existenti deorsum et inferius omnia  
 105 superiora videntur parva, scilicet sol et luna et huiusmodi. Considera e contrario quomodo homini existenti superius in altissimo monte similiter omnia inferiora videntur minima. Revera sic qui superius ascendunt ad Deum per caritatem parum curant de terrenis, et e contrario, sicut patet intuenti. Set caveant homines, quia certe mundus ducit in invio et non in via  
 110 recta set erratico, ita quod numquam permittit hominem per rectum iter ad celum, quantum in illo est, pervenire.

Set ecce remedium quod numquam a via recta versus celum deviabis. Oportet te facere sicut isti marinarii faciunt quando sunt longe in mari et de nocte nescientes quo se divertere debent. Accipiunt autem parvum acum et  
 125 ponunt per medium parvi straminis, et tunc utrumque ponunt in vase cum aqua, ut sic levitate straminis simul in aqua natent. Quo facto accipiunt lapidem magnetem, cuius natura est ferrum attrahere, et vas illud cum dicta acu et stramine circueunt ab extra, et semper lapidem sequitur ferrum naturaliter. Quo facto quasi instantanee retrahit manum cum lapide, et tunc  
 130 ferrum velociter circuit quasi querens lapidem. Set quando natura lapidis in ferro re- [f. 72] cepta consumitur, tunc natans requiescit versus orientem naturaliter et occidentem, et tunc sciunt ad quam partem divertere debent. Revera sic in proposito. Ferrum istud ponderosum corpus humanum signat, set leve stramen animam signat, ex cuius levitate corpus vivit.  
 135 Mare est mundus, set vas cum aqua est cor contritum. Si ergo fuerimus extra viam versus celum, capiamus lapidem, scilicet Christum, et giramus bene istud corpus, scilicet meditando iugiter de eius vilitate et fragilitate, ut superius est dictum, et (quam) levis, pura, et perfecta in se est anima,

fleshly values and lives on the mountain of virtuous deeds in humble contemplation of heavenly things, he sees farther in all directions what is good and what is evil, what is to be shunned and what is to be embraced. For example, if he looks to the east of his birth, he will see his own wretchedness; if he looks to the west of his death, he will see that there; if he looks to the north, he will clearly see the judgment and the pain of hell; and if, lastly, he looks to the south, he will see the future glory and the joy of the blessed. And just as, in humble contemplation, he thus reflects on all these things on the mountain of devotion, so a person that hides in the valley of cupidity and avarice will lose the knowledge not only of these things but even of himself, that is, how at his beginning he was vile sperm, in mid-life a vessel of dung, and in his end nothing else but food for worms. "Let the sinner therefore think of his beginnings and blush," says Bernard, "let him think of his mid-life and sigh, and let him think of his end and tremble!" For this reason, *homo*, "man," is so called from *humus*, "earth," that is, a vile matter, in order to become humble; Job: "Man born of woman, living for a short time, is filled with many miseries," etc. Therefore, climb up, man, to the mountain of contemplation with Christ and consider how to a person that lives below, all higher things, such as the sun and the moon and so on, seem small. Consider, on the other hand, how to a person that lives above, on a high mountain, similarly all things below seem tiny. Thus, those who climb up high toward God in charity care very little for earthly things, and vice-versa, as one can see. But let men beware, for the world certainly leads us where there is no path, not on the straight road but astray, so that it never lets a man come to heaven by the right way, as much as this lies in its power.

But here is a remedy so that you will never stray from the right way to heaven. You must do as sailors do when they are far at sea in the night without knowing in which direction to sail. They take a small needle, put it through the middle of a small piece of straw, and place both in a dish of water, so that the needle and straw float in the water because of the lightness of the straw. Next they take a magnetic stone, which naturally attracts iron, and move it around the outside of the dish with the water and the straw, and the iron needle always follows the stone by its natural impulse. Then they suddenly withdraw the hand holding the stone, and the iron needle turns fast in a circle as if it were seeking the stone. But when the magnetism which the needle had received from that stone is spent, by the force of nature the needle floats to rest pointing toward east and west, and then the sailors know in which direction they must sail. In moral application, this piece of iron, which is heavy, symbolizes man's body, but the light straw is his soul, by whose light nature the body lives. The sea is the world, but the dish with water is a contrite heart. If we have strayed from the way to heaven, let us take that stone, Christ, and make our body turn around, namely by meditating



140 quia ex propria natura ipsum statim celum ascenderet nisi esset a ponderositate impedita acus tui corporis. Quo facto retrahe manum, et statim consideres orientem tue nativitatis, quomodo scilicet mundum intrasti, sicut dictum est, et ubi erit occidens, scilicet quomodo per mortem transibis. Et revera istis bene consideratis numquam per peccatum deviabis, iuxta illud: "Memorare novissima tua et in eternum non peccabis."

145 Narrat autem inspector naturarum quod coturnix quando intendit transire mare explorat ventum ut cum illo volare possit, et si non possit uno volatu transire, descendit in mare ut paulatim quiescere possit. Et tunc elevat unam alam contra ventum, quia nisi sic fecerit, statim submergetur. Sic nos qui mare tribulationis huius mundi transire debemus, ex quo  
150 non possumus uno volatu ad celum venire, oportet quiescere parum et expectare et unam alam elevare, scilicet affectionem nostram ad Deum vel ad ventum Spiritus Sancti. Et tunc iuxta dictum Psalmiste: "Spiritus tuus bonus deducet me in terram rectam."

Sic ergo patet quomodo Christus celum ascendit sicut bonus dux ante  
155 nos et quomodo eum sequi possemus. Et nota, sicut patet ex serie evangelii, quod Christus conversatus in terris quadrupliciter ascendit: in montem ut sciolus informator [f. 72v] ad docendum quatuor scibilia; in navem ut providus gubernator ad transeundum [maris] quatuor pericula; in Iherosolimam ut strenuus propugnator ad vincendum quatuor prelia; ad celi curiam ut  
160 largus remunerator ad largiendum quatuor stipendia.

Primo dico quod Christus docuit in monte quatuor scibilia, que sunt quatuor virtutes cardinales, videlicet iusticia, prudentia, temperancia, et fortitudo, de quibus satis nota parte 5 locis suis.

165 Secundo, in navi transivit quatuor maris pericula, que sunt scopuli, scirces, syrene, etc., de quibus eciam nota parte 5, capitulo 12. Et nota quod quatuor de causis solent homines navem ascendere, scilicet ad diluvium evitandum, [ad transfretandum, ad mercandum, ad piscandum. Primo ergo dico ascendunt homines navem ad diluvium evitandum;] Genesis 8: "Inundaverunt aque super terram," idest peccata. Peccatum autem solebat habere duas  
170 ripas, scilicet timorem Domini et pudorem seculi; set modo aque peccatorum per tales rivul(o)s dirivantur, quia iuxta dicta Osee 4: "Maledictum, furtum, homicidium inundaverunt." Et ideo ab isto diluvio peccati liberari Psalmista dicens: "Non me demergat tempestas aque." Secundo (ascenditur) navis ad transfretandum; Mathei 9: "Ascendit naviculam et transfretavit et venit in civitatem suam." Sic et nos si volumus ad civitatem nostram pervenire supernam oportet hanc navem, scilicet fidem Ecclesie, ascendere, cuius malus (Christus) est, quem "Deus exaltavit et dedit ei nomen quod est super omne nomen." Et in Psalmo de Christo dicitur: "Dextera Domini fecit virtutum, dextera Domini exaltavit me." Cuius velum Maria dici potest, nam sicut  
175 malus per velum, sic Christus per Mariam flectitur ad misericordiam et  
180

rightly on its vile and weak nature, as we said earlier, and on how light, pure, and perfect in itself our soul is, because of its own nature it would at once rise to heaven were it not hindered by the heavy needle of your body. Then withdraw your hand, and you will at once direct your attention to the east of your birth, namely in what way you entered the world, as we have said, and to the west, namely in what way you will pass on in death. And indeed, once you have paid attention to these things, you will never go astray through sin, according to the words: "Remember your last end, and you shall never sin."

An observer of the nature of animals tells us that when the quail plans to cross the sea, it checks the wind so that it can fly with it, and if it cannot cross the sea in one flight, it comes down on the water in order to rest for a spell. And at that point it raises one wing against the wind; if it did not do so, it would at once drown. So should we act who must pass over the troublesome sea of this world. Since we cannot get to heaven in a single flight, it behooves us to rest and wait a while and to raise one wing, that is, our affection, to God or to the breeze of the Holy Spirit. And then, in the words of the Psalmist, "Your good spirit shall lead me into the right land."

Thus we see how Christ ascended to heaven before us as a good leader and how we can follow him. And notice that according to the Gospel narrative Christ ascended four times while he was on earth: on the mount, as a learned instructor to teach us four points; on the ship, as a skilled pilot to sail through the four perils of the sea; into Jerusalem, as a strong champion to win four tourneys; and to the court of heaven, as a generous recompenser to bestow four rewards.

First I say Christ taught four points on the mount, which are the four cardinal virtues: justice, prudence, moderation, and strength; they will be treated in part 5, in their respective chapters.

Second, he sailed on the ship through the four perils of the sea: rocks, sandbanks, sirens, and so forth, which are also discussed in part 5, chapter 12. And notice that men go aboard for four reasons: to escape from a flood, to sail across the sea, to do business, and to fish. In the first place, men go aboard in order to escape from a flood; Genesis 8: "The waters overflowed the earth," that is, their sins. Sin used to be contained between two banks, the fear of the Lord and worldly shame; but nowadays the waters of sin break through their banks in many streamlets, since according to the saying in Hosea 4 "cursing, theft, and killing have overflowed." Therefore, the Psalmist prayed to be delivered from this flood when he said, "Let not the tempest of water drown me." In the second place, one goes aboard in order to ferry across some body of water; Matthew 9: "He entered into a boat and passed over the water and came into his city." We too, if we wish to come to our eternal city, must go aboard this ship, namely the faith of the Church, whose mast is Christ, whom "God has exalted and given a name which is above all names." And in the

ducitur ad adiuvandum. Dicit enim Bernardus: "Cum, inquit, mater ostendit filio pectus et ubera, filius Patri latus et vulnera, non poterit esse repulsa ubi tot sunt amoris insignia." Ventus prosper sit devota ad matrem Dei supplicatio. Rector est Spiritus Sanctus; et gubernaculum gracia divina. [f. 73] Quibus bene dispositis per hanc navem ad portum salutis secure deveniemus. Tercio ascenditur navis ad mercandum. Unde de anima devota dicitur Proverbiorum ultimo: "Facta est quasi navis institoris de longe portans panem suum." Quando vero huiusmodi anima ad portum bonis virtutibus advenerit, optime recipitur ac bonis patrie, scilicet gloria et honore, adimpletur. Et ideo de tali anima dicitur ibidem: "Gustavit et vidit quia bona est negociatio eius." Quarto ascenditur navis ad piscandum, sicut patet de beato Petro, Iohannis ultimo. Sic nos debemus navem, idest doctrinam Ecclesie, ascendere ad piscandum peccatores de aquis peccatorum attrahendo verbo pariter et exemplo. Et nota quod Christus nostram naturam assumens quodammodo navem ascendit ad piscandum naturam lapsam hominum ad Dei Patris convivium preparandum. Et merito dicitur eius incarnatio quasi cuiusdam naviculae ascensio, quia leg(em) nature tunc supergrediens et ipsam totaliter sibi supponens, lucem limo, summa ymo, vermem Deo, iustum reo eterno federe copulavit. In qua navicula habemus per oppositum ad navem diaboli loco mali humilitatem altissimam, loco veli caritatem amplissimam; habemus loco funiculi doctrine veritatem, loco gubernaculi iusticie equitatem °; habemus insuper in ista navicula corporis Christi tres ordines remorum, quia ex una parte remum vite puritatis contra luxuriam, remum victus parcitatis contra gulam, remum operis se(du)litalis contra accidiam; ex alia parte remum humilitatis contra superbiam, remum paupertatis contra avariciam, remum benignitatis contra invidiam. Et de istis omnibus satis patet locis suis. Et nota quod sicut qui sunt in periculo maris ad salvationem navis unusquisque sollerter occupatur—quia iste navem exonerat, ille aquam exhaurit, iste rupturas obstruit, ille anchoram iacit, [f. 73v] iste velum deponit, ille gubernaculum sumit—; sic spiritualiter. Ne iste navis anime pereat, paupertas navem exonerat ne per divicias submergatur; Thimothei 5: "Qui volunt divites fieri," etc., "cum mergunt hominem in interitum." Secundo confessio aquam peccatorum exhaurit; Trenorum 2: "Esfunde sicut aquam cor tuum." Tercio contritio rupturas obstruit; Ecclesiastici 7: Hic obstruit foramina (sensuum) per que mors intrat. Quarto fides anchoram iacit stabilitatis. Quinto humilitas velum deponit superbie. Et sexto caritas omnia gubernat (ipsa), prout habetur 1 Corinthiorum 13: "Omnia suffert, omnia potest, non emulatur, non inflatur," etc., sine qua quicquid fecero nichil prodest.

220 Tercio principaliter ascendit Iesus Iherosolimam ut strenuus propugnator ad vincendum quatuor prelia, que sunt contra mundum, carnem, diabolum, et propriam [voluntatem]. De quibus tribus primis nota parte [5] in fine, et similiter principalibus particulis suis, puta ubi agitur de superbia,

Psalter it is said of Christ: "The right hand of the Lord has wrought strength, the right hand of the Lord has exalted me." The sail of this ship may be said to be Mary, for just as the mast is bent by the sail, so is Christ through Mary bent to be merciful and to give us help. For Bernard says: "When the mother shows her son her bosom and breasts, the son his Father his side and wounds, there can be no refusal where there are so many tokens of love." Let the favorable wind be our devout prayer to the Mother of God. The helmsman is the Holy Spirit; and the rudder is divine grace. When all these are in good order, we shall on this ship safely come to the harbor of salvation. In the third place, one goes aboard for business. Therefore, at the end of Proverbs it is said of the devout soul: "She is like the merchant's ship, bringing her bread from afar." When such a soul arrives with good virtues in the harbor, it is well received and is filled with the goods of her homeland, that is, with glory and honor. And then it is said of her, as in the same place: "She has tasted and seen that her traffic is good." In the fourth place, one goes aboard in order to fish, as Blessed Peter did, at the end of the Gospel of John. In the same way should we enter the boat, that is, the teaching of the Church, in order to fish sinners from the waters of their sins, drawing them by word and example. And notice that when Christ took our human nature he entered, as it were, a boat in order to catch man's fallen nature for the banquet of God the Father. His incarnation can thus rightly be called a "going aboard," for by overstepping the law of nature and subjecting it completely to himself, he united in an eternal bond light and dust, height and depth, God and worm, the just and the sinner. In this ship, in contrast to the ship of the devil, we find as a mast the most profound humility, as a sail the most far-reaching charity, as a rope the teaching of truth, as a rudder the equity of justice. And above all, in this ship of Christ's body we find three orders of oars: on one side the oar of a pure life opposed to lechery, the oar of restraint in food opposed to gluttony, and the oar of eager work opposed to sloth; and on the other side, the oar of humility opposed to pride, the oar of poverty opposed to avarice, and the oar of kindness opposed to envy. All these virtues and vices are fully treated in their respective parts. And notice further that in the peril of the sea every sailor is diligently busy about the safety of the vessel, for one casts burdens overboard, another bails out water, this one stops leaks, that one casts the anchor, one takes down the sail, and another mans the helm. In the same way allegorically, lest the ship of the soul be wrecked, poverty unburdens the ship so that it may not be drowned by wealth; Timothy 5: "They who will become rich," etc., "drown man into destruction." Second, confession bails out the water of sin; Lamentations 2: "Pour out your heart like water." Third, contrition stops the leaks; Ecclesiasticus 7: he stops the holes of our senses through which "death enters." Fourth, faith casts the anchor of stability. Fifth, humility takes down the sail of pride. And sixth, charity steers all these, as is said in 1 Corinthians 13: "It bears

225 parte 1; et ubi agitur de avaricia, parte 4; et ubi de concupiscencia,  
parte 7. Set de quarto [prelio], scilicet [contra] propriam voluntatem,  
nota parte [1] ubi agitur de superbia et humilitate.

Set quarto principaliter ascendit Iesus ad celi curiam ut largus  
remunerator ad largiendum quatuor stipendia, que sunt vita sine morte, dies  
sine nocte, sacietas sine esurie, gaudium sine fine.

230 Et nota quod Christus in sua benedicta ascensione ad maximum honorem  
generis humani fecit ad modum ciconie. Ipse enim quando pulli avolaverunt  
de nido quos prius tantum dilexerat, tactus dolore redit ad nidum et illum  
terra implet. Revera sic Christus fecit. Eius autem pulli fuerunt angeli  
lucentes. Qui cum per superbiam a nido celorum avolassent, quasi quodam  
235 dolore tactus Deus ipse hominem de terra formavit ad locum illorum imple-  
ndum. In cuius signum Christus Filius Dei in humana [f. 74] natura primo  
seisinam in celo accepit pro se et suis. Et hic nota cartam, ut supra.  
Similiter nota narrationem de milite peregrino dicente: "Quem quesivi hic  
inveni," etc.

5 Christi] christiani O. 18 Mattheus] multi C. 25 sic] tunc O. 28 dum] cum O.  
41 ne] nec C. 46 Deuteronomii 32] matthei C. 50 suis] om O. sublimi] sublime O.  
53 divinitatem] deitatem O. est] om C.M. 61–62 Domini . . . Christi] etc C. 66 14]  
18 O. 72 cum] tamen C. 75 et ibi] ubi O 77 prescens] presenciens O. 79 hu-  
manum] humanam C. 83 ergo] igitur O. 88 hunc] hanc C. 89 amatistum idest] om  
O. 93 quem] quam M.W; quod R. 96 nota] add quod O. 99 potest videre] videt O.  
106–107 optinebit] potest M; om R.W. 109 ergo] igitur O. homo] om O. 132 tunc]  
om O. 133 debent] om O. 134 signat(2)] om O. 136 scilicet] om C. 138 quam]  
quamvis C.R. 139 ipsum] ipsa O. 171 rivulos] rivulas C. dicta] dictum O. 173 as-  
cenditur] transgreditur C. 174 Ascendit] add in O. 177 Christus] duplex C. 178–179  
Dextera . . . virtutem] om O. 196 preparandum] om O. 197 legem] legis C.W. 201–  
202 equitatem] add etc C. 204 sedulitatis] servilitatis C. 209 ille . . . iacit] om O.  
210 iste(2)] om O. 212 etc. cum] om O. 215 sensuum] secundum n.m C.R.  
217 ipsa] propter ea C. 218 etc.] om O. 226 superbia] obediencia O. 231 Ipse] ipsa  
O. 232 tactus] tacta O. 234 avolassent] evolassent O. 237 ut supra] om O. 238 di-  
cente] om R.W; scilicet M. 239 etc.] om O.

### III.xxii DE SPIRITUS SANCTI MISSIONE

[C]irca missionem Spiritus Sancti ad nos a Patre et Filio, qui amor est  
medians tam Patris quam Filii, sciendum est quod tunc eciam maxima caritas

all things, it can do all things, it does not envy, it is not puffed up," and  
so on; whatever I do without it, it profits me nothing.

With respect to my third main point, Jesus went up to Jerusalem as a  
strong champion in order to win four tourneys, namely against the world, the  
flesh, the devil, and self-will. The first three will be discussed near the  
end of part 5; they are likewise treated in the respective parts on their  
related chief sins, that is, under pride in part 1, under avarice in part 4,  
and under concupiscence in part 7. But for the fourth tourney, that against  
self-will, see the discussion of pride and humility in part 1.

And with respect to my fourth main point, Jesus ascended to the court of  
heaven as a generous recompenser in order to grant four rewards, namely: life  
without death, day without night, fullness without hunger, and joy without end.

And notice that in his blessed ascension Christ conferred the greatest  
honor on mankind in a way similar to the stork. For the latter, when its  
offspring which it had formerly loved so much have left the nest, returns to  
the nest in grief and fills it with earth. Indeed Christ did the same. His  
offspring were the shining angels. When these had flown out of the nest of  
heaven in their pride, God himself, as if in grief, formed man from earth in  
order to fill their place. As a token of this, Christ the Son of God in human  
nature took possession of heaven for himself and for his own. Notice his  
charter discussed earlier, and similarly the story about the knight-pilgrim  
that said, "Whom I have sought I have found here."

10 Mic. 2.13. 18 Matt. 23.2. 20–21 Ps. 79.10. 22–24 Solinus, *Coll. rerum memo-  
rabilium* XXV.6. 27–31 Frontinus, *Stratagemata* IV.vi.2. 32–33 Ps. 16.4. 44 Job  
18.9. 46–47 Deut. 32.11. 58 Matt. 14.23. 61–62 Gal. 6.14. 65–66 1 Sam.  
14.13. 69–78 Cf. Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum naturale* XVI.35 (1178), attributed to  
"Jorath." 94–95 Jer. 49.22. 109–111 Bernard, *De diversis*, sermo 12, 1 (6.1:127).  
112–113 Job 14.1. 144 Eccclus. 7.40. 145–149 The same story without source ap-  
pears in Brinton, Sermon 76. 152–153 Ps. 142.10. 163 *FM* V.xv, xxxi, xxxiv, and xx-  
xvii. 164–219 A close parallel appears in *GR* 17, pp. 308–310. 165 *FM* V.xxix.  
168–169 Gen. 7.6. 171–172 Hos. 4.2. 173 Ps. 68.16. 174–175 Matt. 9.1. 177–  
178 Phil. 2.9. 178–179 Ps. 117.16. 181–183 Arnaud de Bonneval, *De laudibus  
Beatae Mariae Virginis* (PL 189:1726); see Wenzel, "A Latin Miracle with Middle En-  
glish Verses," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 72 (1971), 77–85. 187–189 Prov.  
31.14. 190–191 Prov. 31.18. 192 John 21.1–14. 206–207 *FM* VII, VI, V, I, IV,  
and III, respectively. 212–213 1 Tim. 6.9. 213–214 Lam. 2.19. 215 Cf. Jer. 9.21.  
218 Cf. 1 Cor. 13.1–8. 222 *FM* V.xxvii–xxxvii. 223 *FM* chapters as indicated in  
text. 237 *FM* II.vii, near end. 238–239 *FM* III.vii.60–70.

### III.xxii THE SENDING OF THE HOLY SPIRIT

With respect to the sending of the Holy Spirit to us from the Father and  
the Son, who is the love between Father and Son, we should know that in this

et dilectio generi humano est ostensa, eo quod in illa missione contra omne malum summe remedium nobis advenit. Si enim consideremus intensum amorem Iesu Christi Filii Dei benedicti erga nos, aperte videbimus quod omnia fecit ad merchandum amorem hominis. Scivit enim Christus quod naturaliter omnes homines diligunt munera et secuntur retributiones. Et ideo dedit primo homini corpus et animam rationalem super bruta et exterius omnia habundancia, scilicet solem, lunam, et stellas, in ministerium sui. Et tamen videtur quod maxima ingratitude sit ex parte hominis, eo quod magis dona quam datorem diligit secundum Augustinum: "Ac datorem ingrate deserendo donis inhesit." Set certe adhuc circumscripta Christi Dei dilectio ac circumspecta intime videri potest satis quod propter hoc adhuc non cessavit Deus et dator iste Christus quin ad se hominem reducere conatur. Unde quia naturaliter homo munera affectat, consideravit ergo et fecit seipsum donum, ut sic ad nostrum amorem alliciendum simul esset et dator et donum, ut sic donum diligamus et ipsum diligamus. Si datorem diligamus, in consimile incidamus. Igitur hac eadem occasione, ut predictum est, prius misit Deus Pater Filium suum in terris et dedit nobis eundem cum ipso Deo carnem [assumentem], iuxta illud Iohannis: "Sic Deus dilexit mundum ut Filium suum unigenitum daret." Ubi advertendum quod aliter natura humana per illud donum ad amorem Dei erat inclinata quando Patri celesti exhennium nostre nature in Filio suo transmisit, ut sic [f. 74v] amicitia per mutua munera firmaretur. Quod quidem exennium fecerunt primi parentes, Adam cum sua posteritate, qui in limbo tot annis fuerant (incar)cerati. Tunc enim redemptionem Deo Patri optulerunt per quam pace sic facta plene reconciliati fuerunt. Apparet igitur (super)abundans amor et dilectio Dei Patris ad nos, ut fiat continuacio mutui amoris inter ipsum et nos, quando iterum post benedictam Filii sui ascensionem munus aliud eiusdem nature, scilicet Spiritum Sanctum, nobis misit. Quod donum tam Patris quam Filii nominatur. Sic enim canit sancta Ecclesia: "Qui Paraclitus diceris, donum Dei altissimi."

Et ideo est hic advertendum quod Christus Deus, qui est caritatis infinite, qui secundum Apostolum dilexit nos antequam essemus et ad vitam preordinavit eternam, vidit quod a nostra beatitudine septem peccatis mortalibus impedimur. Ideo in eius remedium septem dona nobis contulit, que septem dona Spiritus Sancti dicuntur. Et adverte: Videmus autem de quocumque ab aliquo dilecto quod sua dilectio maxime apparet in donis, quia secundum Gregorium probacio dilectionis est exhibicio operis. Revera sic in proposito. Si velimus scire quis in Spiritu Sancto est dilectus, ecce patebit quod ille est qui habet dona que Spiritus Sanctus confert dilectis Ecclesie, ut sic certissimum argumentum sit quod qui illa dona habet, similiter et Spiritum Sanctum habet. Et sunt hec septem dona, scilicet sapiencia, intellectus, timor, concilium, sciencia, pietas, fortitudo.

Et ista dona bene possunt esse illuminationes anime septem ad melius

sending mankind was shown the greatest charity and love, because in it the supreme remedy for every ill has come to us. For if we consider the intense love which Christ, the blessed Son of God, has for us, we shall readily see that he did everything to purchase man's love. For Christ knew that all men naturally love gifts and go after rewards. Therefore he gave the first man a body and a rational soul (above what animals have) and abundant external gifts, such as the sun, the moon, and the stars, to serve him. Yet in this it appears how great man's ingratitude is, that he loves the gifts more than their giver—in Augustine's words, "ungratefully leaving the giver, he has become attached to the gifts." But this love on the part of Christ, our God, may still appear to be limited and considerate, because on account of it God and this giver, Christ, has still not ceased trying to call man back to himself. Therefore, since man by nature craves gifts, God took this into consideration and made a gift of himself, so that he would be at once giver and gift in order to draw our love, that we may love the gift and with it himself. If we love the giver, we meet what is exactly like him. Therefore, as we said earlier, God the Father first sent his Son to earth on that occasion and gave him to us when he took flesh with his divinity, according to the words of John: "God so loved the world that he gave his Only-Begotten Son." In this we must notice that on account of that gift human nature was differently inclined to love, when it sent to its heavenly Father a present of our nature in his Son, so that in this way friendship might be cemented through mutual gifts. This present was offered by our first parents, Adam and his offspring, who had been imprisoned in Limbo for so many years. For at that moment they offered God the Father the redemption, through which they were fully reconciled when peace had been made. Now, God the Father's overabundant love and affection toward us appears in the continuing exchange of love between him and us, when after the blessed ascension of his Son he sent us another gift of the same kind, namely the Holy Spirit. This is called a gift from both the Father and the Son, and the Church therefore sings: "You are called Paraclete, the gift from God the Most High."

Here we should note that Christ, who is God of unlimited love, who according to the Apostle has loved us before we existed and has foreordained us to eternal life, saw that we are kept from our bliss by the seven deadly sins. Therefore he gave us seven gifts against them, which are called the seven gifts of the Holy Spirit. And notice: We see by experience that if someone is loved by someone else, this love appears foremost in gifts, for according to Gregory the proof of love lies in open deeds. So it is also in our spiritual life. If we want to know who is beloved by the Holy Spirit, it evidently will be the person who has the gifts which the Holy Spirit gives to those he loves in the Church. Hence, it is safe to deduce that whoever has these gifts has the Holy Spirit. And the seven gifts of the Spirit are these: wisdom, understanding, fear, counsel, knowledge, piety, and strength.

45 videndum et operandum contra septem mortalia peccata que nos infestant. Nam sicut ad sensum patet, illorum quorum noticiam haberi oportet sunt quedam supra nos, quedam infra nos, quedam subter nos, quedam ante nos, quedam post nos, quedam a dextris, et [f. 75] quedam a sinistris. Si ergo fueris illuminatus ad cogitandum de illis rebus que sunt supra nos, scilicet de gaudiis celi et beatorum, tunc incipis sapere et cogitare quam gloriosum et quam iocundum est cum beatissimis spiritibus glorie conditoris assistere, presentem Dei vultum cernere, etc. Et certe sic generatur in te donum sapiencie, hoc est donum sapide sciencie, quod directe vadit contra peccata ire; Proverbiorum 2: "Dominus dabit sapienciam et ex ore eius scienciam," scilicet benignitatis et iocunditatis contra iram et rancorem. Secundo autem, si illuminatus fueris ad considerandum illa que sunt infra te, scilicet propriam conscienciam et miserias humanas, tunc incipis habere donum intellectus. Intelligere autem dicitur quasi intus legere. Et istud donum bene vadit contra gulam. Gulosi autem, ut videmus, cum inebriati fuerint omnem intellectum amittunt; et ideo contra hoc petit Psalmista: "Da michi intellectum et scrutabor mandata tua." Si autem tercio illuminatus fueris ad considerandum illa que sunt subter te, scilicet tormenta inferni, quam multa scilicet sunt, quam dura, et quam diuturna, tunc incipies habere donum timoris, quia iuxta evangelium: "Timete eum qui potest et animam et corpus perdere in iehennam," scilicet timore filiali. (Nam) ille timor facit hominem humilem et perfectum. Et istud donum vadit directe contra peccatum superbie; Ecclesiastici 25: "Beatus homo ° cui donatum est habere timorem Dei." Si vero quarto illuminatus fueris ad considerandum illa que sunt ante te, scilicet mortem et iudicium, tunc acquies tibi donum concilii. Quilibet autem talis frequenter mortem et iudicium precogitans vult sibi ipsi consulere contra peccata ne subito in illis capiatur. Et istud donum vadit contra luxuriam; (Proverbiorum) 12: "Qui tenent pacis concilia, sequitur eos gaudium." Numquam anima pacificatur ubi corpus per luxuriam coinquinatur; secundum ergo concilium Apostoli, [f. 75v] Corinthiorum 6: 75 "Fugite fornicacionem," etc. Si vero quinto illustratus fueris ad considerandum illa que sunt post te: commissa scelera et Christi beneficia in sua incarnatione, passione, et resurrectione, etc., ut predicatur, que quamvis fuerunt preterita, non tamen debent oblivisci (oblivio autem est proprie de preteritis) set semper sunt in memoria retinenda—quod si feceris, tunc 80 adquiris donum sciencie, quod directe contra peccatum vadit invidie, que in nullo beneficia recordatur set hominem execat ne peccata commissa consideret. Contra quam dicitur Sapiencie 9: "Dedit illi scienciam sanctorum," scilicet ad recordandum Christi beneficia et propria delicta. Si autem sexto illuminatus fueris ad considerandum [ea] que sunt a dextris, per que 85 (pro)spera intelliguntur, et compati[tur] aliis qui sunt in angustiis et illorum indigenciis condescendens, tunc adquiris donum pietatis, que bene

These seven gifts can well be considered seven illuminations of the soul, which make us see and act better against the seven deadly sins that attack us. For we can see that among the objects that we should have knowledge of, some are above us, others within, others below, others before, others behind, others to our right, and others to our left. So, if you have been enlightened in your reflection on the things that are above us, that is, on the joys of heaven and the blessed souls, then you begin to know and to meditate on how glorious and joyful it is to stand with the blessed spirits in the glory of our Creator, to behold directly God's face, and so forth. And then the gift of wisdom grows in you, that is, the gift of knowing and savoring, which directly opposes the sins of wrath; Proverbs 2: "The Lord shall give wisdom, and out of his mouth shall come knowledge," that is, of kindness and joy against wrath and anger. In the second place, if you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are within you, that is, on your own conscience and human wretchedness, then you begin to have the gift of understanding. *Intelligere*, "to understand," means as it were *intus legere*, "to read inside." This gift opposes gluttony, for gluttons, as one can see, lose all their understanding when they are drunk; therefore, the Psalmist prays for help against it: "Give me understanding and I will search your commandments." If in the third place you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are below you, that is, the torments of hell, how many they are, how hard, and how prolonged, then you will begin to have the gift of fear, for according to the Gospel: "Fear him," that is, with filial fear, "who can destroy both soul and body in hell." This kind of fear makes a person humble and perfect. And this gift directly opposes the sin of pride; Ecclesiasticus 25: "Blessed is the man to whom it is given to have the fear of God." If in the fourth place you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are before you, that is, death and judgment, then you shall acquire the gift of counsel. For whoever thinks often of his coming death and judgment will provide himself against sins so that he may not be suddenly caught in them. This gift opposes lechery; Proverbs 12: "Joy follows them that take counsels of peace." The soul never attains peace where the body is stained by lechery; for according to the advice of the Apostle in Corinthians 6, "Flee fornication," etc. If in the fifth place you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are behind you: the sins you have committed, and Christ's benefits of his incarnation, Passion, resurrection, and so on, as we discussed them earlier—but although they occurred in the past, they must not be forgotten (the act of forgetting belongs to things of the past) but must always be kept in memory—; if you do so, then you acquire the gift of knowledge, which directly opposes the sin of envy. This sin does not remember any benefits received from anyone but makes a person blind so that he does not consider the sins he has committed. Against it is said in Wisdom 9: "She gave him the knowledge of holy things," that is, to remember Christ's benefits and



vadit contra peccatum avaricie; Luce 6: "Date mutu(um) nichil inde sperantes." Pietas, prout dicitur Ad Timotheum 4, "ad omnia utilis est, promissionem habens vite que nunc est et future." Septimo, si fueris illustratus ad  
 90 considerandum ea que sunt a sinistris, per que intelligo adversa, cuiusmodi sunt infirmitates, amissio bonorum, mors amicorum, etc., tunc cogitares quod per angustias et tribulationes regnum celorum adquiritur, et quod per talem portam sancti patres, cuiusmodi sunt apostoli et martires, illud  
 95 intraverunt. Quod si fecerimus paciencia et exemplo eorum, tunc adquirimus donum fortitudinis, que bene vadit contra accidiam; contra quod dicitur Ysaie 40: "Dabo lasso virtutem, et hiis qui non sunt <sup>o</sup> fortitudinem"; et Psalmista: "Dominus dabit virtutem et fortitudinem plebi sue," etc.

Expositor autem Virgilio super illud "Fillidis ignes" narrat quomodo ipsa Fillis erat regina Tracie, que Demofontem [f. 76] revertentem de bello  
 100 Troiano in coniugium requisivit. Qui primo se in patriam iturum et post ad illam reversurum fideliter repromisit. At illa, cum ipse nimium tardaret, tacta dolore cordis laqueo se suspendit. Unde prout fabulatur, in arborem amigdalina foliis carentem est conversa. Quod cum predictus miles Demofons intellexisset, ipsum truncum est amplexus, quo facto ipsa de trunco folia  
 105 pulcherrima emisit virencia. Regina illa Fillis animam signat Christianam, que Demofontem, idest Christum, de bello mortis resurgentem, in coniugium adoptavit. Cuius sponsalia in eius corporis suscepcione meruit. Set Christus se in patriam suam, idest celum, iturum et postea rediturum, hoc est post eius ascensionem in Sancti Spiritus missione plenam coniugii iunctionem, repromisit. Que quidem regina, idest anima Christiana, ob nimiam moram  
 110 Sancti Spiritus adventus laqueo inimici capitur, idest in peccato, et sic vita spirituali privata in aridum truncum obstinacionis convertitur. Set redeunte Christo et dato Spiritu Sancto, ut predicatur, quasi a sponso est amplexata, ex cuius gaudio ad vitam redit et folia pulcherrima bonarum  
 115 virtutum emittit iuxta illud Iohannis: "Venit hora et nunc est quando mortui audient vocem Filii Dei, et qui audierint vivent."

Narrat Ovidius *Metamorphoseos* libro 3 prope finem de quadam virgine nomine Athlanta, que cum a magnis in coniugium peteretur, omnibus hac  
 120 condicione apposita respondit quod siquis illam currendo vinceret, eius coniugio potiretur. Quod audiens iuvenis quidam Ypomenes dictus, et secundum alios Adonydes, a Venere, dea amoris, tria poma aurea accepit et cum illis ad locum certaminis pervenit. Cum ergo cum illa cucurrisset et ex doctrina dicte dee primo, secundo, et tercio dicta poma ante virginem proiecisset et illa capta pul- [f. 76v] critudine pomorum divertisset a  
 125 cursu, retardatur et vincitur. Et sic in coniugium [ab] Ypomene ducitur. Moraliter hec virgo naturam signat humanam, que ideo cursu velocissima dicitur quia numquam in eodem statu permanet, quia modo puer, modo iuvenis, modo adolescens, modo senex, modo sanus, modo eger, modo dives, modo pauper

one's own faults. If in the sixth place you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are to your right, by which we understand prosperity, and you have compassion on others who are hard pressed and you bend down to their needs, then you acquire the gift of pity, which opposes the sin of avarice; Luke 6: "Lend without hoping to gain anything thereby." As is written in the Letter to Timothy, chapter 4: "Pity is profitable to all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." And in the seventh place, if you have been enlightened to reflect on the things that are on your left, by which I understand adversity, such as sickness, the loss of possessions, the death of friends, and the like, then you think that through hardships and tribulations one gains the kingdom of heaven, and that through this door our holy fathers, such as the apostles and martyrs, have entered into it. If we do this, in patience and by following their example, then we acquire the gift of strength, which opposes sloth; against it is said in Isaiah 40: "I will give strength to the weary and force to them that are not"; and the Psalmist says: "The Lord will give strength and force to his people," etc.

The commentator on Virgil, where he treats the words "The fires of Phyllis," tells us that Phyllis was the queen of Thracia, who wanted Demophon as her husband when he returned from the Trojan War. He promised her faithfully that he would first go to his own country and then return to her. But when he tarried too long, she hanged herself out of great grief and according to the fable was changed into an almond tree without leaves. When the aforementioned knight Demophon learned of this, he embraced this trunk, and as a result she at once sent forth beautiful green leaves from the tree trunk. Queen Phyllis stands for the Christian soul, who desired Demophon as her husband, that is Christ, when he rose from the battle of death. She took her bridal gift in receiving his body. But Christ promised her that he would go to his own land, that is, heaven, and afterwards return, that is, by sending the Holy Spirit after his ascension, and thus complete the marriage. But because of the delayed coming of the Holy Spirit, this queen, the Christian soul, is caught by the snare of the enemy, that is, in sin. And therefore, deprived of her spiritual life, she is changed into the dry trunk of obstinacy. But when Christ returns and gives her the Holy Spirit, as was explained earlier, she is, as it were, embraced by her spouse and in great joy comes back to life and sends forth the beautiful leaves of good virtues, after the words of John: "The hour comes and is now, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear shall live."

Near the end of Book 3 of his *Metamorphoses*, Ovid tells of a maiden by the name of Attalanta. As she was desired by mighty men in marriage, she set for all of them this condition that whoever defeated her in a race would gain her in marriage. A certain youth named Hypomenes—by others called Adonis—heard this and got three golden apples from Venus, the goddess of love, with which he



- existit. De qua velocitate Iob 9 dicitur: "Dies mei (velociore)s sunt cursore," etc.; "pertransierunt quasi naves poma portantes." Set iste Ypomenes Deus est, qui cursum istius virginis de peccato in peccato impedire peroptat. In antiqua ergo lege primum pomum aureum proiecit, quando ex Dei Patris potencia per eius signa, mirabilia, et prodigia que fecit erat homo aequaliter a peccato retardatus. Videns ergo Deus quod hoc non obstante quamplures proni erant ad malum, ut notabilius eos retardaret secundum pomum tunc proiecit quando Filium incarnari instituit, per quod eos ad eius amorem magis excita[vi]t. Set nondum perfecte, quia adhuc nec eius apostoli perfecte Deum dilexerunt quousque tertium pomum, idest Spiritum Sanctum, ad illos proiecit. Quod quidem pomum longius erat proiectum, quando scilicet gracia Spiritus Sancti ultra Iudeam et in nationes diffusa est; Ioel: "Effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem." Quo facto omnes in amorem Dei victi [eum Christum] in coniugium eternum sunt po(t)iti. Dicit ergo Christus Deus homini peccatori illud Cantorum 7: "Omnia poma (nova) et vetera, dilecte mi, servavi tibi."
- 145 Fingunt poete, sicut Esyodus et Oracius, quod deus Promotheus, postquam fecerat homines de luto, deam Minervam adiit, cuius auxilio celos ascendit et adhibita facula ad rotam solis ignem extraxit et hominibus demandavit. Moraliter iste deus Promotheus, qui [a] "providencia" dicitur, Dei sapienciam signat, qui Christus est. (Hic) autem (Minervam), que et Pallas dicitur, adiit, que eciam secundum fabulas semper [f. 77] virgo manere asseritur, et signat Beatam Virginem Mariam, de qua Christus carnem assumpsit, in qua celos ascendit eamque carnem tamquam faculam divinitate lucentem rote solis adhibuit dum medius dextra sedit, et Spiritum Sanctum visibiliter in specie ignis misit (et suos in perfecta caritate reformavit,
- 155 ut merito de illo dicatur) illud Jeremie: "De excelso misit ignem," idest Spiritum Sanctum.

Nota eciam si placet devotam narrationem de Spiritu Sancto ubi agitur contra desperationem de duobus sociis de banco, parte 2, capitulo 3.

5 Iesu] om O. 11 diligit] diligent O. 25 incarcerati] macerati C.R. 27 superhabundans] circumabundans C. 31 sancta] om O. 35 remedium] oppositum M.W; opposicione R. 36 autem] add experimentaliter O. 37 aliquo] add magno O. 39 ecce] ecclesie O. 48 et] om O. 51 quam] om O. 52 sic] tunc O. 65 Nam] vere C. 67 homo] add qui timet et C. 68 illuminatus] illustratus O. 72 Proverbiorum] *canc and marg* parabola sa. 12 C. 77 et] om O. 78 fuerunt] fuerint O. 84 que] quam O. 85 prospera] aspera C. 87 mutuum] mutuo C. 90 que(2)] quam O. 91 cogitare] cogitare C. 93 sunt] om O. 96 sunt] add fortes C. 102 fabulatur] fabulantur O. 105 pulcherrima] add continuo O. 110 idest] scilicet O. nimiam moram] nimia mora O. 120 potiretur] petiretur M.R; peteretur W. 125 ab] om C.R. 129 velociore] longiores C. 142 potiti] positi C.M.W. 143 nova] vana C. 149 Hic] hec C.M; om W. Minervam] minerva C.O. 151 Mariam] om O. 152 divinitate] deitate O. 153 sedit] consedit O. 154-155 et . . . dicatur] secundum C. 158 3] 4 O.

came to the place of trial. As he was racing with her and, on the advice of Venus, cast the first, second, and third apple in front of the maiden, and she, attracted by the beauty of the apples, diverted from the course, she was slowed down and defeated. And thus she became Hypomenes' wife. Morally interpreted, this maiden stands for human nature, which runs very fast, for it never stands still; now it is a child, a youth, an adolescent, then an old man; now healthy, then sick; now rich, then poor. Of this swiftness says Job 9: "My days are swifter than a runner," etc.; "they have passed by as ships carrying apples." But Hypomenes is God, who wishes to halt this maiden's racing from sin to sin. He therefore cast the first golden apple in the Mosaic Law, when by the power of God the Father man was somewhat slowed down in his sinning through the signs and wonders God worked. But when God saw that nonetheless many were prone to sin, he cast the second apple in order to slow them down even more and decreed that his Son become man, whereby he challenged them to greater love. But even this was not yet perfect, because not even the apostles as yet loved God perfectly. Then at last he cast the third apple before them, that is, the Holy Spirit. This apple was cast farther than the others, for the grace of the Holy Spirit spread out beyond Judea and to the Gentiles; Joel: "I will pour out my spirit upon all flesh." In consequence, they were all overcome for God's love and gained Christ for their eternal spouse. For Christ, our God, says to sinful man those words of Canticles 7: "All apples, the new and the old, my beloved, I have kept for you."

Such poets as Hesiod and Horace claim that after the god Prometheus had made men from mud, he approached the goddess Minerva, with whose help he went up to heaven, put a torch to the disk of the sun, extracted fire from it, and brought it to mankind. Morally interpreted, the god Prometheus, whose name is derived from "providence," stands for God's wisdom, who is Christ. He approached Minerva, who is also called Pallas and according to the myths is affirmed to have always been a virgin; she stands for the Blessed Virgin, from whom Christ took flesh. In this flesh he ascended to heaven, and he put it, like a torch shining with its divinity, to the disk of the sun when he sat to the right hand of God; and then he sent the Holy Spirit visibly in the form of fire and reformed his own children in perfect charity, so that of him the words of Jeremiah are justly spoken: "From above he has sent fire," that is, the Holy Spirit.

You may also, if you wish, tell the pious story concerning the Holy Spirit and the two lawyer companions, in the section against despair, in part 2, chapter 3.

20-21 John 3.16. 31 Stanza 2 of the Pentecost hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus"; Chevalier 21204. 38 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 30, 1 (PL 76:1220). 54 Prov. 2.6. 61-62 Ps. 118.115. 64-65 Matt. 10.28. 67-68 Eccclus. 25.15. 72-73 Prov.

## III.xxiii DE BENEDICTA TRINITATE

[D]ict(o) de caritate Christi erga genus humanum quoad eius incarnationem, peregrinationem, passionem, resurrectionem, ascensionem, ac Spiritus Sancti missionem tam a Patre quam a Filio, iam de benedicta illa Trinitate et unitate est aliquid breviter advertendum. Secundum ergo mentem sancti Augustini 14 *De Trinitate*, mens humana est ipsa ymago Dei et similitudo Trinitatis, que capax est eius. Ex quibus verbis accipio duo. Unum est quod Trinitas potest cognosci, et aliud est quod Trinitas in anima in mente potest recipi. Et ideo sollempnitatem de Trinitate propter ista duo facimus, ut scilicet Trinitatem benedictam melius cognoscamus et cognitam amplius diligamus. Si igitur ipsam Trinitatem videre velimus, ipsam maiestatem perscrutari in se sicuti est non temptemus, quia Proverbiorum 2[5] dicitur: "Qui [per]scrutator est mag[estat]is, opprimetur." Et ideo animam nostram solummodo intueamur.

Narratur enim iocose de quodam existente super ripam maris et pro scapha proclamante. Quem cum nauta quidam interrogaverat quisnam esset, et ipse respondisset: "Ut quid nomen meum queris cum nemo alius noticiam mei habet?" dixit nauta ad socium: "Ecce vis mirum audire: Here is one come þat no man wote." Et alius quasi de eo non curans set subridendo hoc modo dixit: "Ye, þe deuyll in thynn eye, rowe forth þe boote." [f. 77v] Et sic illum permittentes ad loca nociora remigabant. Spiritualiter per istas nautas per mare remigantes in scapha intelligo animas hominum corpora nostra tamquam scaphas in mari huius mundi remigantes, et per illum ignotum, benedictam Trinitatem, cuius noticiam aut nomen si queratur respondit illud Exodi: "Quare queris nomen meum quod est mirabile?" quasi diceret: ad noticiam mei, quomodo scilicet sum Deus trinus et unus, numquam in hac vita nisi in enigmate et in fide Ecclesie deveniet homo, nec unde sum, unde veni, aut quo vado aut ex quibus procedo, quia dicitur Ysaie 53: "Generationem eius quis enarrabit?" quasi diceret, nullus. Ita enim ineffabilis est processus Trinitatis benedictae quia secundum beatum Ambrosium *Contra hereticos*: "Mens deficit, vox silet, non tantum hominis set et angelorum." Cum ergo eius processus, quid scilicet sit aut unde sit, similiter de Christo scire quomodo de virgine poterat nasci aut quomodo virgo et mater esse posset, et cetera huiusmodi Dei misteriorum omnem sensum exsuperant,

12.20. 75 1 Cor. 6.18. 82 Wisd. 10.10. 87–88 Luke 6.35. 88–89 1 Tim. 4.8. 96 Cf. Isa. 40.29. 97 Ps. 67.36. 98–105 Servius, Commentary on Virgil, *Eclogues* V.10. 115–116 John 5.25. 117–125 Ovid, *Met.* X.560–580. 129–130 Job 9.25–26. 141 Joel 2.28. 143–144 Cant. 7.13. 145–148 Hesiod, *Works and Days* 54–105; Horace, *Carmina* I.xvi.13ff. The actual source is Servius, Commentary on Virgil, *Eclogues* VI.42, who mentions both classical authors. 155 Lam. 1.13. 156–157 *FM* II.iii.101–136.

## III.xxiii THE BLESSED TRINITY

After we have spoken of Christ's love for mankind that is shown in his incarnation, pilgrimage, Passion, resurrection, ascension, and the sending of the Holy Spirit from Father and Son, we must now say a few words of the Blessed Trinity and Unity. In the thought of Blessed Augustine, in Book 14 of *On the Trinity*, the human mind itself is an image of God and a likeness of the Trinity, which it is capable to receive. From these words I gather two things: one, that the Trinity can be known, and the other, that the Trinity can be received in the mind. Therefore we celebrate the feast of the Holy Trinity for these two purposes, namely that we may know the Blessed Trinity better, and that after knowing it we may love it more fully. But if we desire to see this Trinity, we must not attempt to search its majesty as it exists in itself, for in Proverbs 25 is said: "The searcher of majesty shall be overwhelmed." Therefore, let us examine our soul alone.

There is a joke about someone who stood on the seashore and called for a ferry. When a sailor asked him who he was, and he replied, "Why do you want to know my name since nobody else knows me?" the sailor said to his companion: "You want to hear something strange? Here is one come whom no one knows." And the other, as if he did not care much for him, answered laughingly: "Yeah, the devil in your eye. Row forth the boat!" And thus they left him and rowed on to better-known places. Spiritually speaking, by these sailors that row their boat on the sea I understand men's souls who row their bodies like boats on the sea of this world; and by that unknown person, the Blessed Trinity. If one asks for his name or any information about him, he will say those words of Exodus: "Why do you ask for my name, which is marvelous?" as if he were saying: in this life, man will never come to the knowledge of me, that is, that I am God in Three and One, except darkly and in the faith of the Church—nor whence I am, where I come from, where I go, or from which I proceed. For Isaiah says in chapter 53: "Who shall declare his generation?" as if to say, no one. For the procession of the Blessed Trinity is so ineffable that according to Blessed Ambrose in *Against the Heretics*, "the mind fails and the voice is silent, not only of man but even of the angels." Since therefore the knowledge of the Trinity, what it is and whence it is, and likewise the knowledge of how Christ could have been born of the Virgin or how she could be

35 permittamus i[s]ta stare cum fide vera Ecclesie et ad nociora naviculam  
 nostri intellectus remigemus et animam nostram tantum, que est ymago Trini-  
 tatis, intueamur.

Et nota quod sol tanti splendoris est quod oculus excecatur ipsum lim-  
 pide intueri volentem. Et ideo astrologi qui corpus solare in suo eclipsi  
 40 vel alias intueri volentes speculum ponunt in pelvim, et sic aqua coopertum  
 radiis solis obiciunt, et sic solis radios considerant, quamvis in quanti-  
 tate multipliciter pelvim excedat et speculum. Et sic sine oculorum  
 lesione per ymaginem de ipso iudicant, set imperfecte quantum ad omnia.  
 Spiritualiter etiam loquendo benedicta Trinitas, que (sol est) nostre  
 intelligencie, tam resplendentis glorie et claritatis existit quod si in  
 45 eam sicuti est [f. 78] visum prefigere presumimus, oculos nostri intellec-  
 tus excecatur. Quia Ecclesiastici (4)3 dicitur: "Sol triplex exurens cum  
 radiis suis excecatur oculos." Et ideo istius veri solis inspectores, idest  
 prudentes theolog(i), in quodam speculo aqua cooperto huius solis ymaginem  
 contemplantur. Per quod speculum animam humanam intelligo, quia sicut  
 50 speculum uniuscuiusque rei speciem in se recipit et omnibus rebus ad quas  
 se convertit assimilatur, sic anima humana capax est omnium ad que se  
 converterit per amorem. Unde istud speculum aqua gracie coopertum ac veri  
 solis radios ex opposito per amorem in se recipiens in eandem ymaginem  
 transformatur; Corinthiorum: "Gloriam Domini speculantes in eandem ymagi-  
 55 nem transformamur." Et propter hoc isti sancti doctores qui de Trinitate inves-  
 tigare desiderant, istud speculum intuentur; Corinthiorum 13: "Videmus nunc  
 per speculum in enigmate, tunc autem facie ad faciem." Ex quibus patet quod  
 illam parvam noticiam quam de benedicta Trinitate habere valemus non de  
 ipsa directe set per eius ymaginem, scilicet animam humanam, accipere  
 60 debemus, alioquin excecari faciliter poterimus, sicut de Sabellio, Arrio,  
 et multis aliis hereticis ante nunc accidit manifeste.

Et sic, si Deum trinum et unum amare velimus, studeamus illum in  
 animam recipere, que capax est ac suum habitaculum est. Set quomodo? Vide-  
 mus autem quod aliter accipit mariscallus regis hospicium pro domino suo  
 65 tempore pacis, in loco scilicet inhabitato et repleto, cuiusmodi sunt  
 civitates et ville, et aliter tempore guerre, in loco deserto et vasto. Nam  
 in locis bene edificatis non oportet aliquid edificare, set tantum ibi  
 ponitur signum armorum domini sui. Et sic ingressi habitant ibi. Set in  
 locis desertis, ubi super faciem campi morari coguntur, hoc modo [f. 78v]  
 70 ordinatur: nam campum marescallus in certas areas dividit, et cum unicui-  
 que domino ordinata fuerit certa porcio secundum eius statum, ibi statim  
 tentoria et alia habitacula eriguntur.

Revera spiritualiter loquendo ipsa benedicta Trinitas, Deus et Dominus  
 noster, qui est "rex regum et dominus dominancium," duo regna possidet,  
 75 unum scilicet animarum sanctarum, quod est regnum pacis, et aliud animarum

virgin and mother, as well as the other mysteries of God thus pass all under-  
 standing, let us let these things stand, in the true faith of the Church, and  
 row forth the boat of our understanding to better known places and examine our  
 soul, insofar as it is the image of the Trinity.

Notice that the sun has such great brightness that it blinds the eye when  
 people want to see it clearly. Therefore, when astronomers want to observe the  
 sun in its eclipse or otherwise, they place a mirror in a basin, cover it with  
 water, and put it so as to reflect the sunbeams; and in this way they observe  
 the sunbeams, even though the sun by far surpasses the basin and mirror. In  
 this fashion they can without damage to their eyes study the sun by its image,  
 however imperfectly in every respect. Spiritually speaking, the Blessed Trini-  
 ty, the sun of our understanding, has such a great brightness and clarity in  
 its glory that, if we dare direct our sight to it in order to see it in its  
 nature, it blinds the eyes of our understanding. For in Ecclesiasticus 43 it  
 is said: "The sun, burning three times as much with its beams, blinds the  
 eyes." Therefore students of this true sun, that is, prudent theologians, look  
 at its image in a mirror covered with water. By this mirror I understand man's  
 soul. For just as a mirror receives in itself the picture of any object and  
 thus becomes like the objects to which it turns, thus man's soul is able to  
 receive anything to which it turns in love. Therefore, when this mirror is  
 covered with the water of grace and receives in itself through love the beams  
 of the true sun against which it places itself, it becomes transformed into  
 that same image; Corinthians: "Beholding the glory of the Lord, we are trans-  
 formed into the same image." For this reason, the holy doctors who desire to  
 investigate the nature of the Trinity examine that mirror; Corinthians 13:  
 "Now we see through a glass darkly, but then face to face." From this follows  
 that what little knowledge we are able to have of the Blessed Trinity we must  
 receive from it not directly but through its image, that is, man's soul. Other-  
 wise we could easily become blind, as it manifestly happened to Sabellius,  
 Arius, and many other heretics before our time.

And thus, if we want to love the triune God, we must strive to receive him  
 in our soul, which is capable of receiving him and is his dwelling place. But  
 how? We observe that the king's marshal prepares quarters for his lord in one  
 way in time of peace, namely in an inhabited, built-up place, such as a city or  
 a town, and in a different way in time of war, namely in a deserted and open  
 place. For in built-up places there is no need to put up any buildings but  
 only to place his lord's escutcheon; and so they enter and dwell there. But in  
 deserted places, where they are compelled to rest on open ground, quarters are  
 prepared as follows. The marshal divides the field into areas, and after an  
 area is assigned to each lord according to his rank, then tents and other  
 dwellings are put up there.

In spiritual terms, the Blessed Trinity, our God and Lord, who is "king of

in hac vita existencium, quod est regnum belli. Unde in anima generaliter loquendo quasi familiare hospicium suum ipsa benedicta Trinitas ab inicio creacionis hominis accepit. In cuius signum ibi similitudinem armorum suorum (depexit) quando dixit illud Genesis: “Faciamus hominem ad ymaginem et similitudinem nostram.” Nam sicut in benedicta Trinitate tres sunt persone et tamen non est nisi unus Deus, ubi Patri potencia, Filio sapientia, Spiritui Sancto clemencia attribuitur, sic correspondenter tres sunt potencie in anima, scilicet memoria, intellectus, et voluntas, et tamen non est nisi tantum una anima. Ymaginemur igitur quod anima humana est sicut locus aptus in quo habitaculum sancte Trinitatis edificari possit. Quia in animabus b(eat)orum iam habitat sicut in edificiis eternorum castrorum, in quibus sunt omnes virtutes et gracie eternaliter confirmate. Set certe in nobis non habitat nisi sicut in quodam campo deserto et vasto, eo quod sumus in bello continuo. Ergo oportet quod campus anime nostre pro eius recepcione quasi in tres areas et porciones dividatur, scilicet in memoriam pro Patre, in intellectum pro Filio, et in voluntatem pro Spiritu Sancto. Cum ergo ista benedicta Trinitas quasi in nostro bello nobiscum commorari dignatur, et “non hic habemus manentem civitatem” in qua valeat honeste recipi set tantum manet cuilibet homini sua porcio pro figendis [f. 79] tabernaculis assignata, ideo secundum concilium Matthei 17 “faciamus hic tria tabernacula.” Que quidem tria tabernacula dici possunt tres virtutes theolog[c]e, de quibus Ad Corinthios 13: “Nunc autem manent fides, spes, et caritas, tria hec.” Et causa quare iste virtutes tabernacula dici possunt est quia huiusmodi tabernacula non deserviunt nobis nisi tempore belli et non pacis, nec eciam diu durant set aliquando vix una nocte vel duabus ad plus; revera sic nec iste virtutes nobis non deserviunt nisi in bello presentis vite. Et ideo videtur michi quod ista sunt [illa] tabernacula pulcra de quibus Ysaie 54 dicitur: “Dilata locum tentorii et pelles tabernaculorum extende.”

105 Si ergo de erectione istorum tabernaculorum loqui velimus, est breviter sciendum: primo in area nostre memorie erigendum est tabernaculum fidei quantum ad Patris potenciam; secundo in area nostri intellectus erigendum est tabernaculum spei quantum ad Filii sapientiam; tercio in area nostre voluntatis erigendum est tabernaculum caritatis quantum ad Spiritus Sancti clemenciam. Circa primum est advertendum quod si homo de articulis fidei temptetur, melius refrigerium haberi non potest quam ad Patris potenciam. Quia si queratur quomodo Deus potest esse homo, mater virgo, et huiusmodi, respondeo quod Deus est infinite potencie et quod plus potest facere quam nos intelligere. Ad hoc igitur tabernaculum contra huiusmodi temptaciones curramus, et cito certe levamen inveniemus. Et nota quod istud tabernaculum debet debite mensurari et solide collocari, ne scilicet sit nimis amplum [nec nimis artum. Nam quidam illud habent nimis amplum,] nam cum hoc

kings and lord of lords,” has two kingdoms: one of blessed souls, which is the kingdom of peace, and another of souls in this life, which is a kingdom of war. In general, the Blessed Trinity has, as it were, taken homelike quarters in the soul from the beginning of man’s creation. To indicate that, he painted there a likeness of his escutcheon when he said in Genesis: “Let us make man to our image and likeness.” For just as in the Blessed Trinity there are three persons and yet only one God, where to the Father is attributed power, to the Son wisdom, and to the Holy Spirit mercy, thus there are three corresponding faculties in the soul, namely memory, intellect, and will, and yet there is only one soul. Let us then imagine that the human soul is like a fitting place in which the dwelling of the Holy Trinity can be built. For in the souls of the blessed the Trinity already dwells as in the buildings of the eternal camps, in which all virtues and graces are confirmed forever. But in us the Trinity dwells only as in a deserted and open field, because we are engaged in an ongoing war. Therefore, in order to receive him it is necessary to divide the field of our soul as it were into three areas and shares, namely into memory for the Father, intellect for the Son, and will for the Holy Spirit. Since then the Blessed Trinity deigns to dwell with us, as it were in our own war, and since “we have here no permanent city” in which the Trinity can be worthily received, but everyman only has his plot, assigned to him to put up his tabernacles, therefore let us, according to the advice of Matthew 17 “make here three tabernacles.” These three tabernacles can be said to be the three theological virtues, of which is written in Corinthians 13: “But now remain faith, hope, and charity, these three.” The reason why these virtues can be called tabernacles is that such tabernacles serve us only in time of war, not in peace, nor do they last long but sometimes hardly for a night or two at the most. In the same way these virtues serve us only in the war of this life. Thus I think these are the beautiful tabernacles of which Isaiah 54 says: “Enlarge the place of your tent and stretch out the skins of your tabernacles.”

If we are to speak about putting up these tabernacles, we must briefly indicate that first we have to build the tabernacle of faith in the lot of our memory, with respect to the power of the Father; second we have to build the tabernacle of hope in the lot of our intellect, with respect to the wisdom of the Son; and third we have to build the tabernacle of charity in the lot of our will, with respect to the mercy of the Holy Spirit. Concerning the first we must know that if someone is tempted with regard to the articles of faith, he can find no better comfort than in the Father’s power. For if anyone questions how God can be man, a mother a virgin, and so forth, I answer that God has infinite power and can do much more than we can understand. Let us therefore hasten to that tabernacle against temptations of this type, and surely we shall quickly find relief. But this tabernacle must be duly measured and put up firmly, so that it may be neither too wide nor too narrow. For some have it

quod multi credunt que Ecclesia credit, mult(a) etiam fatua credunt a latere; cuiusmodi sunt sortilegi et nigromantici et huiusmodi. Et alii sunt qui  
 120 habent istud tabernaculum fidei nimis artum et strictum, scilicet qui sequuntur hereses, similiter dicentes [f. 79v] Deum nullum hominem eternaliter velle dampnare, eo quod ita bene peccatorem suo precioso sanguine redemit sicut et iustum, et huiusmodi.

Contra quos Seneca sexto libro *Declamacionum*, capitulo 3, narrat quod  
 125 antiquitus talis erat lex, scilicet quod filius ancille hereditatem post mortem patris participaret cum filio libere. Alia lex erat etiam quod senior frater patrimonium divideret et minor eligeret. Accidit quod quidam predives duos habuit filios, unum de libera et alium de ancilla. Mortuo ergo patre, filius libere, qui erat senior, patrimonium sic divisit: posuit  
 130 autem ex una parte omne patrimonium et ex alia parte pauperem matrem fratris sui. Quo facto gratitudine ductus iunior, cui electio competebat, matrem tantum elegit. Conquestus tamen est quod senior fraudulenter divisit. Respondit alius quod non, allegans legem quod si patrimonium elegerit suum fuisset; cum ergo dimisso patrimonio matrem elegit, nulla sibi esse  
 135 facta iniuria. Revera sic in proposito. Dives iste Deus Pater est, qui habet duos filios, unum scilicet de libera, Christum Filium [eius], et alium de ancilla, scilicet hominem peccatorem, cuius mater terra est de qua omnes nascimur et ad illam revertemur. Vult tamen Pater celestis ut omnes cum Christo, si velimus, partem habeamus de hereditate celesti. Set lex est  
 140 quod senior [dividet et iunior eliget. Christus igitur, qui senior] est secundum Apostolum Romanorum 8, qui dicit: "Ipse sit primogenitus in multis fratribus," sic dividit: Ponit enim ex una parte totum patrimonium, scilicet celeste gaudium, et ex alia parte carnales voluptates et terrena bona. Si ergo homo, qui iunior est, matrem terre eligat, cum sit liberi arbitrii,  
 145 quid imputandum est Christo? Dico: certe nichil. Revera tunc respondeo: Quando dicunt [Christum] neminem velle dampnare, concedo: ° illorum qui sanio rem partem eligunt et aliam [f. 80] dimittunt. Tunc ad argumentum "Christus sanguinem fudit pro peccatore sicut pro iusto," concedo: de peccatore contrito, et simpliciter nego de peccatore obstinato.

150 Si ergo, karissimi, in isto tabernaculo fidei velimus Patrem celestem manere, oportet primo quod sit debite mensuratum, quia dicit Apostolus Romanorum 12: "Non plus sapere quam oportet," etc., supple de fide, nec minus quam oportet. Secundo oportet quod istud tabernaculum sit solide collocatum, contra illos qui secundum Matthei 8 "ad tempus credunt et in  
 155 tempore temptacionis recedunt." Non sic, set iuxta concilium Ysaie 22 "vade ad eum qui habitat in tabernaculo," scilicet ad Deum Patrem per solidam fidem. Et certe tunc bene de te dicitur quod ibidem sequitur: "Excidisti in excelso memoriale diligenter (in petra) tabernaculum."

Secundum tabernaculum, scilicet spei, debet erigi in nostre intelli-

too wide, when they, together with many who believe as the Church believes, also believe many foolish things in error, as is the case with soothsayers and necromancers and such. Other people have this tabernacle of faith too narrow and tight, namely those who follow heresies and people who say that God will not condemn anybody for eternity because he has redeemed the sinner with his precious blood as well as the just person, and so forth.

Against such people Seneca tells us in Book 6 of his *Declamations*, chapter 3, that in olden times there was a law to the effect that the son of a servant woman would, after his father's death, share the inheritance with the son of a free woman. There was also another law that the older brother would divide the inheritance and the younger would take his choice. Now it happened that a very rich man had two sons, one by a free woman, the other by a servant girl. After the father's death the son of the free woman, who was the older, divided the inheritance as follows: on one side he put all the inheritance, and on the other the poor mother of his brother. At this, the younger brother, who had the right to choose, picked his mother only, as he was led by gratitude. However, he complained that the older brother had cheated in making such a division. But the other replied that this was not so and cited the law that, if the younger brother had chosen the goods, they would have been his; but since he picked his mother and not the goods, no injustice was done to him. If we apply this to the spiritual life, the rich man is God our Father; he has two sons, one by a free woman, who is Christ his Son, and another by a bondwoman, namely sinful man, whose mother is the earth from which we all are born and to which we shall return. However, our heavenly Father wants that we all, if we so wish, share with Christ in the heavenly inheritance. But there is a law that the older will divide and the younger will take his choice. Therefore, Christ, who is the older according to the Apostle who says in Romans 8: "That he might be the firstborn among many brethren," divides as follows: he puts the entire inheritance to one side, that is, the joy of heaven, and on the other side he puts fleshly delights and earthly goods. So, if man, who is the younger brother, picks his mother, the earth, since he has free will, what then is Christ to blame for? Certainly nothing whatsoever. Hence my answer to the saying quoted earlier is this: when these people claim that Christ will not condemn anybody, I agree that this is true of all who choose the better portion and leave the other alone. And with respect to the argument that "Christ has shed his blood for the sinner as well as for the just man," I agree that this applies to a sinner who is repentant, but not to one who is not.

Therefore, dearly beloved, if we wish that our heavenly Father stay in this tabernacle of faith, we must see to it, first, that it be duly measured, for the Apostle says in Romans 12: "Not to be more wise than it behooves," etc., add: regarding our faith, nor less than is necessary. Second, we must see to it that this tabernacle be put up firmly, in contrast to those who, in

160 gencie area, que est locus sapiencie Filio Dei deputatus. Filius enim Dei  
 istud tabernaculum habet pro loco [suo], quia non sufficit quod tartum eius  
 habeamus memoriam. Immo si inter personas divinas comparacionem facere  
 liceret, quicquid fecit Filius, fecit et Pater et Spiritus Sanctus; set  
 165 ultra hoc Filius est homo tantum illarum personarum et naturam humanam  
 assumpsit, in qua suo benedicto sanguine nos redemit et a peccato mundavit,  
 ut merito de eo apud nos erigatur [eius] tabernaculum actualis et incensi-  
 bilis intelligencie, que est locus et area sua. Psalmista: "Intelligite qui  
 obliviscimini Domini," quasi diceret: Vos ingrati, pro quibus tanta feci,  
 170 intelligite vulnera et angustias, verbera et iniurias que pro vobis susti-  
 nui, et confidenter sperate in me. Set timeo quod pluribus dicere potest  
 Christus illud Psalmi: "Oblivioni datus sum tanquam mortuus a corde,"  
 propter illorum ingratitude, quamvis in corporibus illorum [videatur]  
 vivere, dum ita horribiliter per membra eius iurant; et cum indi- [f. 80v]  
 175 guerint, ad eius auxilium clamant, set necessitate cessante apud illos  
 moritur, ut manifeste patet. Patet ergo quare intelligencia est locus  
 tabernaculi Christi Filii Dei.

Set iam rogo quare est spes tabernaculum eius? Respondeo: Cum enim  
 speramus omnes venire ad celum, nullum colorem habemus ex meritis nostris  
 aut spem, set [per] merita passionis [Christi]. Et ideo ibi erigamus illud  
 180 tabernaculum sibi, [et] quocienscumque nobis aliquid temptacionis occurre-  
 rit, quasi scilicet merita nostra non sufficiant nobis pro regno celesti  
 habendo, recurramus ad illud tabernaculum spei de meritis passionis Chris-  
 ti, scilicet quod illa sufficiant, et revera omnem securitatem ibi invenie-  
 mus iuxta illud Ysaie 4: "Tabernaculum erit in umbraculum diei ab estu et  
 185 securitatem a turbine et a pluvia."

Et nota quod in erigendo [istud tabernaculum] duo sunt attendenda.  
 Unum est quod non erigatur sine aliquo solido ligno cui innitatur, quia  
 numquam tentorium aliquod extendi potest sine ligno; Job 14: "Lignum habet  
 spem"; sic nec aliquod tentorium spei sine ligno bonorum operum, iuxta  
 190 illud Psalmi: "Spera in Domino et fac bonitatem." Valde mirabile est spera-  
 re quod aliter Christus concederet nobis celum quam matri sue et aliis  
 sanctis, vel aliter quam ipsemet quesivit in terris. Set ipse per tribula-  
 ciones et passiones sicut et ceteri sancti celum adquisivit; et tamen  
 nichil de illis set tantum de gaudiis celi participare vellemus, cum tamen  
 195 "regnum celorum vim patitur." Et hic nota contra tales parte 5, ubi agitur  
 de accidiosis satis, capitulo 3. Secundo in erigendo [tentorium], prout  
 dicunt experti, attendendum est quod semper contra ventum erigatur et cum  
 vento deponatur. Revera ventus iste significat adversitatem temporalem,  
 cuiusmodi sunt mors, amissio bonorum, infirmitas, et huiusmodi. Cum ergo  
 200 ventus te agitaverit, tunc audacter [f. 81] tentorium spei erige. Set si  
 ventus prosperitatis tecum sit et nullus ventus adversitatis contrarius

the words of Matthew 8, "believe for a while, and in time of temptation they  
 fall away." Let us not act thus, but after the counsel of Isaiah 22 "go to him  
 that dwells in the tabernacle," that is, to God the Father, in firm faith.  
 Then it will certainly be said of you what follows in the same passage: "You  
 have hewn out a monument carefully in a high place, in the rock a tabernacle."

The second tabernacle, that of hope, must be built in the lot of our  
 intellect, which is assigned to the wisdom of the Son of God. The Son of God  
 has this tabernacle as his dwelling place, because it is not enough only to  
 remember him. If one may make any comparison between the divine persons at  
 all: whatever the Son has done, the Father and the Holy Spirit have done as  
 well; but beyond this, of these three divine persons only the Son is man and  
 has taken a human nature, in which he has redeemed us with his blessed blood  
 and cleansed us from sin, so that his tabernacle of knowing him concretely and  
 in our mind may be rightly built within us, which is his proper dwelling place  
 and lot. The Psalmist says: "Understand these things, you who forget the  
 Lord," as if to say: you ungrateful ones, for whom I have done so much, under-  
 stand the wounds and hardships, the blows and injuries I have suffered for you,  
 and confidently put your hope in me. But I fear that to many people Christ can  
 say the following words of the Psalm: "I am forgotten as one dead from the  
 heart," because of their ingratitude, even though he seems to be alive in their  
 bodies since they swear so horribly by his members; and when they have need,  
 they call for his help, but when their need is over, he dies in them, as can be  
 clearly seen. Thus it is manifest why our understanding is the place for the  
 tabernacle of Christ, the Son of God.

But I ask why is this tabernacle hope? I answer: While we all hope to  
 come to heaven, we have no color or hope from our own merits, but rather  
 through the merits of Christ's Passion. Therefore, let us build him this  
 tabernacle there, and whenever we run into any temptation, namely when we are  
 tempted to think that our merits may be insufficient for the heavenly kingdom,  
 let us take refuge in that tabernacle of hope built on the merits of Christ's  
 Passion, thinking that they will suffice us, and thus we shall find there  
 complete safety, according to the words of Isaiah 4: "There shall be a taber-  
 nacle for shade from the heat in daytime, and for safety from the whirlwind and  
 from rain."

And notice that in building this tabernacle two things need to be attended  
 to. One is that it must not be put up without some solid wooden pole for  
 support, for without a wooden pole one can never stretch out the tent; Job 14:  
 "A tree has hope"; thus, this tent of hope cannot be put up without a pole of  
 good works, according to the Psalm: "Trust in the Lord and do good." It is  
 very strange that someone hopes Christ would grant us heaven in any other way  
 than that by which he granted it to his mother and the other saints or by which  
 he sought it himself when he was on earth. But he himself as well as the other



sit, <tunc> timeas et non nimis istud tentorium erigere presumas. Unde consulendum est quod nemo quantumcumque [bonus] in tantum presumat de Dei misericordia quin aliquando timeat, nec aliquis quantumcumque malus, quin  
 205 aliquando speret. Et revera si sic istud tentorium paraverimus, nulli dubium quin contra omnia adversa iuvabit ille Filius; unde Thobie 13 dicitur: “Confitere Domino in bonis et benedic Deum celorum, ut re[ed]ificet in te tabernaculum suum,” scilicet recte spei sine presumptione aut desperatione.

Tercium tabernaculum, scilicet caritatis, erigendum est in area nostre voluntatis, que est locus deputatus Spiritui Sancto. Ipse enim est caritas et dilectio tam Patris quam Filii. Et ideo istud tabernaculum pro semper durabit; <Iob> 5: “Scias quia pacem habebit tabernaculum tuum.”

Est autem hic notandum quod ad tabernaculum erigendum quatuor requiruntur, videlicet meremium, pannus, paxilli, et corde. Si ergo de isto  
 215 tentorio caritatis loqui velimus, timeo quod meremium non potest coniungi, quod panni sunt lacerati, quod corde sunt false, fracte, et rupte, et quod paxilli amittuntur. Et ideo numquam tale tentorium erigetur. Et nota quod istius tabernaculi meremium dici possunt persone ordinate in caritate Dei et proximi. Panni vero qui extenduntur super ligna [sunt] affectiones bone,  
 220 quibus desideras Deo honorem et obedienciam, et proximo que sibi competunt et expediunt, [sicut] tibi ipsi. Paxilli sunt beneficia que quilibet pro alio in necessitate facere tenetur; set corde verba amicabilia et educata loquela. Set timeo quod Spiritus Sanctus ab illo tabernaculo expellitur et iacet sub divo, sicut ipse conqueritur Ieremie 4: “Tabernaculum meum vastatum est, omnes funiculi disrupti sunt, non est qui extendat [f. 81v] tentorium meum et erigat pelles me(a)s.” Nam ligna tentorii, scilicet homines qui in caritate esse debent, nolunt aptari, quia nec sunt coniuncti Deo per humilitatem et obedienciam, nec proximo per benignitatem et amiciciam. Vix enim tres in una civitate inveniuntur qui veraciter se mutuo diligunt, set  
 230 quilibet alium quasi continue inpugnat. Unde mirabile valde videtur quod iam minor dilectio invenitur inter homines quam inter demones. Legimus autem Luce 8 quod una legio demonum, scilicet sex milia sexcenti sexaginta sex, in uno homine adinvicem habitabant, et tamen nullus eorum alium expulit. Quomodo ergo sex tantum vicini caritative in una civitate sine inpugnatione habitare non possunt ex invidia? Similiter per istam invidiam panni sunt totaliter lacerati, in tantum quod vix remanet una particula integra. Unde hec est causa quare ex omni parte intrant ventus et pluvie falsitatis et nequicie. Paxilli eciam beneficiorum fracti sunt et deperditi vel a vermibus impietatis erga proximum corrosi et destructi. Corde eciam educationis per loquelam irrisionibus, contencionibus, et huiusmodi dirupte sunt, vel saltem per verba falsa et ficta putride et corrupte, ut sic istud tabernaculum Sancti Spiritus, quod per caritatem in voluntate hominis regere deberet, prosternitur per invidiam et destruitur. Non sic, set istud

saints gained heaven through tribulations and sufferings; should we, then, want not to share in them but only in the joys of heaven while “the kingdom of heaven suffers violence”? With respect to such people see part 5, chapter 3, where I shall discuss the slothful. The second thing to attend to in putting up a tent, as the experts tell us, is that it must always be set up against the wind and taken down with the wind. This wind symbolizes worldly adversity, such as death, the loss of our belongings, sickness, and the like. Therefore, when this wind blows at you, bravely set up your tent of hope. But when there is a favorable wind of prosperity and no wind of adversity blows against you, then you must be cautious and not too eager to put up this tent. Therefore it is advisable that no one, however good he is, should trust so much in God’s mercy that he does not sometimes fear; nor should anyone, no matter how evil he is, live without having some hope. If we then set up this tent in this way, God the Son will without doubt help us against all adversity; whence it is written in Tobit 13: “Give glory to the Lord for your good things and bless the God of heaven, that he may rebuild in you his tabernacle,” namely that of true hope without presumption or despair.

The third tabernacle, that of charity, must be built in the lot of our will, which is the space assigned to the Holy Spirit. For he is charity and love of both Father and Son. And therefore this tabernacle will stand forever; Job 5: “You shall know that your tabernacle is in peace.”

We must note that four things are required for building a tabernacle: timber, cloth, pegs, and ropes. Speaking of this tent of charity, I fear the timber cannot be joined, the cloth is tattered, the ropes are deceptive, broken, and in pieces, and the pegs are lost. Such a tent can never be set up. Notice that the timber of this tabernacle can stand for persons who are well ordered in their love for God and their neighbor. The cloth which is stretched over the poles are good affections with which one desires that God may receive honor and obedience, and one’s neighbor whatever is fitting and useful for him, as much as oneself. The pegs are the good deeds which anyone is held to do for another in his need; and the ropes are friendly and uplifting words. But I fear that the Holy Spirit is driven out of this tabernacle and lies in the open, as he himself complains in Jeremiah 4: “My tabernacle is laid waste, all my cords are broken, there is none to stretch out my tent any more and to set up my curtains.” For the tent poles, that is, people who should be charitable, do not fit together, because they are not joined to God in humility and obedience, nor to their neighbor in goodwill and friendship. Hardly three can be found in a city who truly love each other, but everybody fights someone else almost all the time. Therefore it is astonishing that among humans one finds less peace than among devils. For we read in Luke 8 that a legion of devils, that is, 6666, were dwelling together in one person, and yet none of them drove another one out. How, then, can a mere six neighbors not live charitably in

245 tabernaculum cum munda voluntate pro recepcione eius (e)rigamus firmiter, ut sibi dicere possimus illud Ysaie 33: "Oculi tui videbunt civitatem Ierusalem opulentam, tabernaculum quod n(equa)quam transferri poterat, nec auferentur clavi in sempiternum et omnes funiculi eius non rumpentur."

Ista ergo tabernacula Patri et [f. 82] Filio et Spiritui Sancto parare et erigere non cessemus, ut cum per mortem secundum dictum beati Luce 16 defecerimus, "recipiant nos in eterna tabernacula," que ipsi parabunt diligenter se.

Et hec de invidia et caritate Dei et hominis ad presens iam dicta sufficiant. Et sic terminatur tertia pars principalis huius libelli.

1 Dicto] dicta C. 4 sancti] beati M.R.; om W. 17 one] om R.M.; for the whole English clause M gives: hic venit huc quod nullus de eo scit; vel sic: iste ad tantam etatem venit et tamen adhuc nemo nomine nec de eo aliquid scit. 19 dixit] respondit O. Ye . . . boote] forte ipse est diabolus vel eius pedellus vel eius nuncius M. 41 excedat] excedit C. 42 ymaginem] add solis O. set] licet M.W.; quamvis R. 43 que] qui O. sol est] solem C. 46 43] 93 C. 48 theologi] theologe C. 50 et] add etiam M; add in R.W. 58 valem] volemus C. 62 Et sic] secundo O. velimus] volumus M.W.; om R. 63 animam] anima O. 65 inhabitato] habitato O. 70 campum marescallus] campus per marescallum O. dividit] ordinatur M; dividitur R; om W. 75 sanctarum] beatarum O. 79 depixit] depixerit C. 86 beatorum] bonorum C.R. 90 porciones] porciones M.W.; om R. 92 ergo] igitur O. 96 tria(2)] om O. 97 13] add dicitur O. 98 et] om O. 111 refrigerium] refugium M corr. 117 nec . . . amplum] om C.O. 118 multa] multi C. 123 et] add cetera O. 126 etiam] add talis O. 146 concedo] add opinionem C. 147 sanioerem] senioerem R.W. 158 memoriale] corr C; memoria O. in petra] impe-tratur C. tabernaculum] corr C; tabernaculi O. 160 est . . . deputatus] sapientie Filii Dei deputatur O. 166-167 incensibilis] incessabilis O. 178 colorem] thus C.W and others; valorem M; calorem R. 179 illud] istud O. 182 habendo] om O. illud] istud O. 189 aliquod] istud O. 192 quesivit] adquisivit O. 199 sunt] est M; om R.W. mors] add amicorum O. 202 tunc] et sic C. 206 ille] iste O. 212 Iob] iohannis C. habebit] habeat M.W; habebat R. 223 illo] isto O. 226 meas] meos C. 231 dilectio] pax O. 235 ex] et O. 238 beneficiorum] benefactorum O. 240 per . . . contencionibus] in loquela per irrisiones contenciones O. 243 regere] erigi M. 244 tabernaculum] om O. erigamus] irrigamus C. 246 nequaquam] numquam C. 253 huius] istius C.

one city without fighting and envy? Similarly, through the same envy the tent cloth is totally torn, so that hardly one small part of it remains whole. This is the reason why from all sides the wind and rain of deceit and wickedness come in. Likewise, the pegs of good deeds are broken and lost or gnawed and destroyed by the worms of pitilessness toward our neighbor. Also the ropes of uplifting speech have become broken through derision, strife, and the like, or perhaps have become rotten and useless through deceitful and feigned words, so that this tabernacle of the Holy Spirit, which should stand fast through love in man's will, is overthrown and destroyed through envy. Let it not happen thus, but let us instead build it up firmly with our pure will in order to receive him, so that we may be able to say to him the words of Isaiah 33, "Your eyes shall see Jerusalem, a rich city, a tabernacle that cannot be removed, nor shall its nails be taken away for ever, nor shall any of its cords be broken."

Let us therefore not cease from preparing and setting up these three tabernacles for the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, so that, when we come to our death, according to the words of Blessed Luke 16, "they may receive us into everlasting tabernacles," which they prepare for those that love them.

And this discussion of envy and of the love of God and man should suffice for now. And thus ends the third main part of this book.

5-6 Cf. Augustine, *De Trinitate* XIV.viii.11 (CC 50A: 436) and passim. 12 Prov. 25.27. 24 Judg. 13.18. 27-28 Isa. 53.8. 46-47 Ecclus. 43.4. 55-54 2 Cor. 3.18. 56-57 1 Cor. 13.12. 74 Deut. 10.17, etc. 79-80 Gen. 1.26. 93 Hebr. 13.14. 95-96 Matt. 17.4. 97-98 1 Cor. 13.13. 103-104 Isa. 54.2. 124-135 Seneca, *Declamationes* VI.3. 141-142 Rom. 8.29. 152 Rom. 12.3. 154-155 Luke 8.13. 155-158 Isa. 22.15. 167-168 Ps. 49.22. 171 Ps. 30.13. 184-185 Isa. 4.6. 188-189 Job 14.7. 190 Ps. 36.3. 195 Matt. 11.12. 195-196 FM V.i, iii-iv. 207-208 Tob. 13.12. 212 Job 5.24. 224-226 Jer. 10.20. 232-233 Cf. Luke 8.26-39. 245-247 Isa. 33.20. 250 Luke 16.9.

## PARS IV

### De avaricia

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#### IV.i QUID SIT AVARICIA

[E]xpeditus de particulis tribus spiritui maligno specialius deservientibus, scilicet de superbia, ira, et invidia, que sunt fili(e) diaboli propinquiores, et etiam de virtutibus illis contrariis et eas expugnantibus, scilicet humilitate, paciencia, et caritate; restat iam quarto pertractare de illis que mundo miserabili specialius deserviant, scilicet de avaricia et cupiditate, et de virtutibus similiter [sibi] contrariis, scilicet de contemptu mundi et voluntaria paupertate.

5 Circa avariciam ergo sic procedam: primo quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo de eius proprietatibus et a quibus progreditur; tercio de eius membris et quare iuste contempnitur.

10 Dico ergo primo quod avaricia secundum Augustinum *Super Genesim* est qua quis aliquid appetit amplius quam oportet propter excellenciam et quendam proprie rei amorem. Item avaricia (dicit ipse) est “am(or) specialis pecunie et inmoderatus appetitus habendi.” Que secundum Magistrum *Sentenciarum* libro 2, distinctione 22, “non tantum est inmoderata pecunie cupiditas set (dicit ipse) altitudinis et sciencie, cum supra modum sublimitas ambitur.” Et nota quod huiusmodi avariciam hoc modo describit Innocencius: “Avarus, inquit, naturaliter ad petendum est promptus, ad dandum tardus, ad negandum frontuosus. Magnificat datum, vilificat dandum, dat ut 20 lucratur set non lucratur ut det, largus in [f. 82v] alienis, parcus in propriis, gulam evacuat ut archam impleat, corpus extenuat ut lucrum ostendat. Et cum adipiscit quod optaverat, desiderat ampliora.” Hec ille.

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2 filie] filii C; filia W. 5 deserviant] deserviant O. 13 amor] amator C. 15 22] 21 O. 20 lucratur] lucretur M.R.

## PART IV

### Avarice

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#### IV.i THE MEANING OF AVARICE

After treating in three parts the vices that especially serve the evil spirit, namely pride, wrath, and envy—the direct offspring of the devil—, as well as the virtues that oppose and combat them, namely humility, patience, and charity; we now come, in the fourth part, to treat of those vices that are more directly in the service of the wretched world, namely avarice and cupidity, as well as their opposite virtues, namely contempt of the world and voluntary poverty.

With regard to avarice I shall proceed as follows: first I shall discuss what it is and how it is defined; second, its qualities and from whence it comes; and third, its members and why it is rightly despised.

First, then, I say that according to Augustine in his book *On Genesis* avarice occurs when one desires something more than befits its value and the love the object deserves. He says further that avarice is “in particular the love of money and the immoderate desire to possess.” According to the Master of the *Sentences*, book 2, distinction 22, it is “immoderate desire not only for money but also for rank and knowledge, when one strives for a high position beyond measure.” Innocent describes such greed as follows: “An avaricious person is naturally eager in grasping, slow in giving, and shameless in denying. He praises what is given and puts down what he should give; he gives in order to gain, but does not gain in order to give; he is generous with what belongs to others, but niggardly with his own; he avoids gluttony in order to fill his coffer, and he starves himself in order to show his wealth. And when he obtains what he had wished for, he wants even more.”

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11–14 Cf. Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 16, 2 (PL 76:1136). 15–17 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II. xxi.5 (1:436). 18–22 Innocent III, *De miseria* II. xvi.1 (p. 51). 22 Ibidem, II. vi.1 (p. 43).

#### IV.ii DE PROPRIETATIBUS AVARICIE: LABOR IN PERQUIRENDO

Circa autem proprietates a quibus progreditur est secundo sciendum quod iste sunt, scilicet: labor in perquirendo, timor in possidendo, et dolor in amittendo, ut patet in hiis versibus:

5 Dives divicias non congregat absque labore,  
Nec tenet sine metu, nec desinit absque dolore.

Quod enim prima proprietas patet, sic probatur: Si enim loqui velimus de avaro et quantum laborem sustinet bona temporalia perquirendo, ad sensum videre poterimus quod nichil audibile, cogitabile, visibile, aut loquibile ymaginari potest quin huiusmodi avarus miserabili modo concupiscit, in  
10 tantum quod numquam cessat de die ac nocte, sero an mane, itinerando, equitando, navigando, suis inordinatis imo miserabilibus oculorum concupiscenciis satisfacere, cum tamen sint in periculis maximis tam corporalibus quam spiritualibus. De qua Ecclesiastici 5 dicitur: "Avarus numquam implebitur peccunia." Nam sicut Bernardus: "Cum omnia creata a Deo suis  
15 limitibus terminantur, sola avaricia finem non habet." Nam si lucratus fuerit totam terram, maria appetit; et si illud, mox aerea concupiscit. Et sic ascendendo finem non habet.

Et ideo bene dicitur ignis ille infernalis qui numquam dicit "sufficit." N(am) ignis iste sic accenditur et inflammatur per ligna cupiditatis, rapacitatis, (dis)ensionis, et impietatis, et cetera huiusmodi, quod  
20 nequaquam ab aqua universa extingui potest.

Et ideo de illa avaricia sic inflammante narrat Beda *De gestis Anglorum* libro 3 quod cum semel sanctus Furseus exutus esset a corpore et ab angelis in altum [f. 83] deportatus, ad inferiora respiciens vidit vallem  
25 terribilem et tenebrosam a quatuor igni[bus] succensam, et cum interrogaret quid hec significarent, respondit angelus: "Vallis, inquit, tenebrosa mundus est, set quatuor ignes sunt quatuor peccata que mundum consumunt. Quorum primus est ignis mendacii, eo quod iam homines non implent quod in  
30 baptismo promiserunt, scilicet credere firmiter in Deum, munde vivere, diaboloque et pompis eius abrenunciare. Secundus ignis est mundi cupiditas, propter quam amor celestium postponitur. Tercius est ignis discordie et discensionis, sicut patet in bellis et pugnis que propter mundum et eius avariciam tociens accenduntur. Set quartus est ignis impietatis, per quem simplices destruuntur." Est ergo hec mundi avaricia ignis inextinguibilis,  
35 qui numquam dicit "sufficit." Unde versus:

Cum sitim sedare possit tunc altera crescit.  
Crescit amor nummi cum ipsa pecunia crescit.

#### IV.ii THE PROPERTIES OF AVARICE: HARD WORK IN ACQUISITION

With respect to the qualities from which avarice arises, we should know that there are three, namely: hard work in acquiring, fear in possessing, and pain in losing, as is shown in the following verses:

Not without hardships great does a rich man gather his riches,  
Not without fear does he hold them, nor without pain are they lost.

The truth of the first quality can be shown as follows. Speaking of an avaricious person and the great hardships he endures in acquiring temporal goods, we know from experience that one cannot imagine anything audible, thinkable, visible, or speakable that an avaricious person does not in his wretched way crave to possess, so that he never ceases by day or night, early or late, to satisfy the disorderly, indeed wretched lust of his eyes, whether by journeying about or riding or sailing, whereby he places himself in the greatest physical as well as spiritual dangers. Of him is said in Ecclesiasticus 5: "The covetous man will never be satisfied with money." For as Bernard claims: "Whereas all created things have their limits set by God, avarice alone is without a limit." For when it has gained the whole earth, it wants the sea; and after that, it soon craves for what is in the air. And by rising thus it knows no limit.

Therefore, avarice may well be called that hellfire which never says "Enough!" For that fire is so much kindled and lighted with the sticks of covetousness, craving, strife, pitilessness, and other vices of this kind that it can never be quenched by all the water in the world.

Of this burning avarice Bede reports in book 3 of *The Deeds of the English* that at one time Saint Furseus left his body and was carried by angels to the depth of hell. There he saw an awesome, dark valley burning with four fires, and when he asked what these things meant, an angel replied: "The dark valley is the world, and the four fires are four sins which consume it. The first is the fire of lying, because people now do not fulfill what they promised in baptism, that is, to believe firmly in God, to live in purity, and to renounce the devil and his pomp. The second fire is worldly covetousness, by which the love of heavenly things is set aside. The third is the fire of discord and strife, as can be seen in wars and fights that are so often kindled for the sake of the world and its avarice. But the fourth is the fire of pitilessness, by which poor people are ruined." Thus the avarice of the world is an unquenchable fire which never says "Enough!" Hence the verses:

One's thirst perhaps is quenched, but soon it comes anew.  
One's love of money grows the more one's riches grow.

Unde Bernardus: "Ancipiter, inquit, avis rapacissima est, tamen contentus in aere, et lupo in silva, lucius in aqua, set miser homo omnibus  
 40 hiis rapacior, quia terram et aera et aquam si posset suis nutrimentis spoliaret." "Et non tantum hoc (dicit Gregorius), imo petit celum. Quod si ei daretur, vellet equari Deo et post, si posset, supra eum quereret." Et revera per istam miserabilem pestem oriuntur tot pugne, tot bella, tot  
 45 clades, tot pericula, tot casus, et tot infortunia. Et non tantum hec, set mediante avaricia destruitur in terris veritas et sciencia; Osee 4: "Non est veritas, non est misericordia, non est iusticia, non est sciencia Dei in terris," supple propter mundi avariciam, et per consequens habundant falsitas, crudelitas, et fatuitas.

Et ideo timendum est ne modernis [f. 83v] temporibus hominibus dici  
 50 posset quod quondam dictum erat et revelatum cuidam (s)enatori Romano querenti causam a deo suo quare tot miseriis infestabantur, sicut per bella, pestilencias, et fames. Cui responsum erat quod iret ad portas civitatis et diligenter inspiceret que ibi scripta inveniret. Qui cum ibi accessisset, has literas sic invenit: SSS, PPP, RRR, FFF. Quarum intellectum  
 55 [cum] non intellexisset, iterum deum consuluit pro intellectu. Et hoc modo sibi responsum fuit:

Seculum sapienciam sustulit.  
 Pax patrie perditur.  
 Regnum Rome ruet,  
 60 Ferro, fame, flamma.

[Anglice:

(Oure) wysdam þis world haþ byraft,  
 Pes of londe is loste and lafte.  
 þe kyndam of Rome betȝ for-lore  
 65 With swerd, hongur, and fuyre þer-fore.]

Nonne hiis diebus simili modo seculum cum eius cupiditate et avaricia veram sapienciam abstulit ab hominibus? Credo quod sic. Et hoc tam in clero quam  
 70 eciam in populo. Quia si de clero [loquamur], videmus quod [tantum] nituntur temporalia acquirere quod pro illis habendis unus miser cuiuscumque condicionis extiterit potest in falsitatibus et aliis miseriis iacere, sicut in luxuria, symonia, et huiusmodi, eciam usque ad finem vite, qui iuste ab illis per veram sapienciam graviter redargui ac corrigi debet. Si autem loquamur de populo, et maxime de regnorum gubernatoribus, cuiusmodi sunt iuriste, iusticiarii, et huiusmodi, qui in omni sapiencia et veritate  
 75 populum regere deberent, ibi eciam credo quod ordine retrogrado vadit

Whence Bernard says: "The hawk, which is a very rapacious bird, is yet content in the air; so is the wolf in the forest and the pike in the water. But wretched man is greedier than all these, because if he could, he would rob earth and air and water of their nourishment. And not only this, but beyond it he strives for heaven. If that were given to him, he would want to be God's equal, and after that, if it were possible, he would even seek to climb higher than God." Indeed, through this miserable pestilence arise so many fights, wars, clashes, dangers, tragedies, and mishaps. And not only do these things happen, but by means of avarice truth and knowledge are ruined on earth; Hosea 4: "There is no truth, there is no mercy, there is no justice, and there is no knowledge of God in the land," add: because of worldly avarice, and as a result deceit, cruelty, and folly abound.

Therefore we must fear that the same could be said to the people of our times that was once said and revealed to a Roman senator who asked his god why they were being troubled by so many miseries, such as wars, pestilences, and famines. In response he was told to go to the city gates and read carefully what he might find written there. As he arrived there, he found the letters SSS, PPP, RRR, FFF. Since he did not understand their meaning, he asked his god again for clarification. And he received this answer:

The world has taken away wisdom.  
 The country's peace is lost.  
 The realm of Rome shall fall  
 With the sword, hunger, and fire.

In English:

Oure wysdam þis world . . .

Has not in our days the world with its covetousness and greed similarly taken away true wisdom from the people? I believe so. And this among the clergy as well as among the layfolk. Speaking of the clergy, we see them striving so much for temporal goods that in order to acquire these, a wretched person of whatever social rank can, to the very end of his life, lie in falsehood and other forms of wretchedness, such as lechery, simony, and the like, who by right should be firmly reprov'd and corrected by the clergy in true wisdom. But speaking of the lay people, and particularly of such leaders of the country as lawyers and judges and the like, who should rule the people in all wisdom and truth, I believe that here, too, the world is going backwards. It should be marching straight with wisdom in the direction of truth; but nowadays it goes astray through avarice and covetousness in the direction of falsehood and injustice.

mundus. Quia quod cum sapientia a parte vera procedere deberet, iam per avariciam et cupiditatem declinatur ad partem falsam et iniustam, etc.

Unde satis [patet quod] verum est quod seculum sapientiam sustulit. Et hoc probatur per talem narrationem. Fertur quod quidam iudex a quodam paupere, ut ipsum in [vera] causa iuvaret, bigam in precio suscepit, quia  
80 forte pecunia caruit. Cuius adversarius venit et eidem iudici pro sua causa falsa promovenda iuga boum maioris [f. 84] valoris dedit. Cum vero ad discusionem cause pervenissent, iudex contra pauperem propter mundi lucrum tenuit. Cui pauper: "Domine, inquit, domine, plaustrum male vadit." Et  
85 iudex: "Nec mirum. Boves tam fortes sunt quod [illud] extra viam rectam extraxerunt." Et ideo de talibus bene dici potest illud Ysaie 59: "Iusticia longe stetit, quia corrui in platea veritas." Unde apud tales iam similiter verificatur illud Sapientie 9: "Error tamquam lex custoditus est."  
Tales enim vilissime errant dum bona simplicium tamquam per legem veritatis  
90 tam laboriose colligere non cessant mala simulantes, qui prius per veram scienciam et legem positivam delicta malorum haberent corrigere, scientes quia "iustis non est [lex] posita" secundum iura.

Et ideo est de talibus sicut de quibusdam infantibus qui nullo modo sciunt sonare hanc literam R set pro illa, ut communiter, accipiunt hanc  
95 literam L. Qui si dicere deberent hoc nomen "Rogerum," dicunt "Logelum," et cetera huiusmodi. Revera sic in proposito. Iura enim omnia iudices, advocatos, et huiusmodi informant per omnia defectus per veram sapientiam corrigere. Set quod dolendum est, sicut pueri vertunt literam R in L quando mala dissimulant corrigere et temporalia tam avide non cessant colligere.  
100 De quibus Baruc 1 dicitur: "Colligerunt pec(cuniam) secundum uniuscuiusque (manus)." Et ita permittunt malos in suis erroribus inpunitos pertransire, quia iuxta Psalmum "dextra eorum repleta est muneribus," nam "pecunie" et donis "obediunt omnia."

Et ideo de talibus sicut trufando legitur<sup>o</sup> de quodam vicario, qui cum  
105 esset correptus a suo episcopo eo quod asinum suum sepulture tradidisset, respondit: "Karissime, inquit, domine, nescitis quantum asinus meus in testamento suo vobis legavit?" Qui cum respondisset, "Non"—"Certe, domine," ait, "quadraginta solidos." Quo audito respondit episcopus, "Requiescat in pace!" Patet ergo quomodo [f. 84v] seculum, hoc est bona seculi,  
110 abstulit sapientiam.

Et certe hec est causa potissima quod iam secunda propositio verificatur, scilicet quod "Pax patrie perditur," sicut manifeste patet. Nam cessante vera sapientia et doctrina, nec invenitur vera pax in civitate vel regno, familia vel domo, imo—quod peius est—nec [inter] patrem et filium,  
115 matrem et filiam, quin unusquisque mortem alterius pro bonis temporalibus habendis affectat. Nec mirum ergo si iusto Dei iudicio istud regnum ruat, sicut actenus visum est, modo ferro, modo fame, modo flamma.

Therefore it is patently true that the world has taken away wisdom. This is borne out by the following story. In order to help a poor man in his just cause, a certain judge is said to have accepted a cart in payment, perhaps because the man had no money. Then the poor man's adversary came and gave the same judge a yoke of oxen of much greater value, in order to further his unjust cause. As they came together to hear the case, the judge, for worldly gain, decided against the poor man. Then the latter said: "My lord, the cart is running poorly." And the judge replied: "No wonder. The oxen are so strong that they have pulled it from the right road." To such people the words of Isaiah 59 may well apply: "Justice has stood far off, because truth has fallen down in the street." And about such men the saying of Wisdom 9 has come true: "Error was kept as a law." For they err most shamefully when they unceasingly and with such effort collect the goods of poor people as if in agreement with a true law and invent some crime, they whose task it is to correct the crimes of the wicked through true knowledge and the established law, knowing that "for the just there is no law" according to the laws.

These people behave like some small children who cannot in any way pronounce the letter *r* but instead say *l* as a rule. If they should say "Roger," they pronounce it "Logel," and so forth. To the case in point: all the laws require that judges and advocates and the like always correct failings with true wisdom. But alas, like little children they turn *r* into *l* when they pretend to *correct* failings and never cease in their greed to *collect* worldly goods. Of them is said in Baruch 1: "They made a collection of money according to everyman's power." And thus they allow the wicked to continue with impunity in their crimes, for according to the Psalm "their right hand is filled with gifts," for "all things obey money" and gifts.

To them also applies a joke we read about a vicar. When he was censured by his bishop for giving burial to his ass, he answered: "Dear lord, do you not know how much my ass has left for you in his will?" As the bishop replied, "No," the vicar said: "Forty shillings, to be sure." At which the bishop answered: "May he rest in peace!" Thus it is evident how the world, that is, the goods of the world, has taken away wisdom.

This is the strongest reason why the second pronouncement also has come true, namely that "the country's peace is lost," as can be clearly seen. Because once true wisdom and teaching are gone, no real peace is found in city or realm, family or house, not even—what is worse—between father and son, mother and daughter, for indeed each one desires the other's death in order to gain his temporal goods. No wonder, then, that after the just judgment of God this realm is falling, as we have seen, now by the sword, now by hunger, and now by fire.

Let these people therefore pay attention to what is reported of a Parisian lawyer of this kind. As was his habit, he once planned to take the stand



Attendant ergo tales quod narratur de quodam tali avvocato Parisius  
 120 qui, ut semper consueverat, propter munera semel proposuit contra personas  
 innocentes et religiosas falso stare. Cuius nomen erat Iohannes vel Wilhelmus  
 Malemortis. Accidit ergo ut quadam die cameram suam intravit quo melius  
 rationes et cavillationes veritati contrarias ad dampnum eorum proponeret.  
 125 Cumque in crastinum ad comparandum vocaretur nec inveniretur, socii eius  
 hostium camere fregerunt, et ecce ipsum subito a demone strangulatum inve-  
 nerunt et corpus eius totum redactum in pulverem, de cuius fetore multi  
 accedentes interierunt. Unde unus literatus de sociis metrica sic ait:

Morte cadunt subita mala mors simul et mala vita.

[Anglice:

130 þourgh ferly deth to-gedur arn fald  
 Bothe euel lyf and euel deth cald.]

Cui alius respondit metrica sic:

Hanc vitam vita, ne moriaris ita.

[I rede such lyf þou forsake,  
 Wyth suche deth lest þou be take.]

135 Et hic nota narrationem de illo falso iudice nomine Gayus, qui tandem  
 captus a demonibus horribiliter clamavit et sic dixit:

Heu, heu, ° prothdolor, sicut iudicavi sic iudicor!

[Anglice sic:

140 Alas, alas, þat I was boren,  
 For dome with dome I am forloren,]

quasi diceret: sicut false innocentes iudicavi propter munera, sic iuste  
 iam iudicor a Deo, qui per Psalmistam dicit: "Cum accepero tempus, ego [f.  
 85] iusticias iudicabo."

145 Unde de talibus qui sic circa t[empor]alia laborant bene dicitur illud  
 Ysaie 56: "A dextris et a sinistris accipiunt et [in] iniusticiam semper  
 esuriunt." Et tamen in fine verificatur illud Ecclesiastici 5: "Infirmis  
 pessima quam vidi sub sole: divicie conservate in manu domini sui, quia  
 sicut nudus egressus est de utero matris sue, sic revertetur et nichil

falsely against innocent and religious people for the gifts he had received.  
 His name was John or William Malemorte. It happened that one day he entered  
 his chamber to prepare ruses and arguments contrary to the truth in order to  
 convict them. As on the following day he was called to appear and could not be  
 found, his companions broke the door of his chamber, and behold, they found him  
 strangled by a demon and his body totally reduced to dust, from whose stench  
 many people died when they came near. One of his companions who was literate  
 then said in verse:

Both Evil Death and evil life  
 Are felled at once in sudden death.

In English:

þough ferly deth . . .

To whom the other responded in verse as follows:

Avoid such life that thou not end  
 Like he in such a death!

In English:

I rede such lyf . . .

And remember the story of the false judge called Gayus, who finally was  
 caught by demons and cried out horribly and said:

Alas, alas, what pain! I'm judged as I have judged!

In English thus:

Alas, alas . . .

as if he were saying: as I have falsely sentenced the innocent for gifts, so am  
 I now rightly sentenced by God, who says through the Psalmist: "When I shall  
 take the time, I shall judge justices."

Therefore, of such people who work hard in this fashion for temporal goods  
 it is well said in Isaiah 56: "They take from right and left and always hunger  
 for injustice." But in their ending the words of Ecclesiasticus 5 will come  
 true: "The worst evil I have seen under the sun: riches kept to the hurt of  
 the owner. As he came forth naked from his mother's womb, so shall he return,

150 a(u)feret secum de labore." Et Ecclesiastici 4 scribitur: "Unus est et si non habet filium nec fratrem, laborare tamen non cessat nec saciantur oculi eius divitiis, nec recogitat in corde suo dicens, 'Cui laboro et fraudo animam bonis?' In hoc quoque vanitas et afflictio spiritus pessima," etc.

19 Nam] non C. 20 discensionis] excensionis C. 21 extingu] add non C. 25 ignibus] ignis C.M. 36 Cum] dum O. 37 cum] quantum O. 39 et] om O. 40 rapacior] rapacior C; raptior M; rapior W. 50 senatori] cenatori C. 61-65 Anglice . . . perfore] text from R. Verse 33, in B1.B3.E.Go1.L1.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 62 Oure] pure R. 68 eciam] om O. 70 aliis] ceteris O. 77 etc.] om O. 87-88 similiter] super after verificatur R.W; om M. 88 9] 19 O. 91 positivam] positam apparently O. 92 quia] quod O. iustis] iusto O. 95 Logelum] logerum O. 100 Colligerunt] collegerunt O. pecuniam] pcca C.O. 101 manus] viam C; munus corr M. 104 legitur] add sicut C. 114 inter] om C.M. 116 iudicio] add si O. 128-134 Anglice . . . take] text from R. Verse 34, in B1.B2.B3.E.Go1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V. 137 heu] add heu C. 138-140 Anglice . . . forloren] text from R. Verse 35, in B1.B3.E.Go1.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.etc. 147 manu] malum R. 149 auferet] afferet C.

#### IV.iii TIMOR IN POSSIDENDO

Secunda proprietates avaricie est timor in possidendo. Unde Ieronimus: "Avarus, inquit, semper insidiantes metuit; aspicit potentiores se et putat esse violentem; conspicit pauperem et putat esse furem; et sic (dicit ipse) in possidendo numquam securus est." Unde legitur de timido avaro habente  
5 uxorem sanctam et devotam, ad cuius instigationem concessit ipse Deum laudare pro bonis sibi collatis et ipsum sepius exorare. Accidit tamen quod latenter avarus iste habuit in sua capella ollam quamdam subterraneam, tabula coopertam, quam timore aliorum ibi abscondebatur; super quam omni die missam audiens genuflexit, hoc modo oracionem profundens: "Rogo te, Domine  
10 Iesu Christe, ne permittas hanc ollam a me alienari neque me mori quousque illam pecunia adimplevero totaliter." Tandem olla impleta in sua sanitate mortuus est. Cum autem cito post uxorem suam cepisset maritum, iuvenem largum et lascivum, et illum eodem modo ad devocionem et oraciones instigasset, accidit quadam die dum in dicta capella missam audiret et in eodem  
15 oratorio supra dictam ollam genuflexisset, [f. 85v] clavus in tabula supra ollam infixus illum ledebat in genu. Ipse autem gravatus arrepto securi volens clavum corrigere extraxit tabulam et coopertorium olle predictae. Quam cum impletam sic invenisset, (s)ilenter genua flectens hoc modo oravit: "Rogo te, omnipotens Deus, ut numquam permittas hanc pecuniam a me  
20 alienari neque me mori quousque ollam istam evacuavero et cum bona societate consumpsero." Quo facto duxit dies letos et ad petitionem spero devenit.

and he shall take nothing away with him of his labor." And in Ecclesiasticus 4 is written: "There is but one, and if he has no son or brother, he yet does not cease to labor, nor are his eyes satisfied with riches, nor does he reflect in his heart and say, 'For whom do I labor and defraud my soul of good things?' In this also is vanity and a grievous vexation of the soul," etc.

2-3 This pattern also in Innocent III, *De miseria* I.xv.3 (p. 21). 4-5 *Prov* 6059 et al. 13-14 *Eccles.* 5.9. 14-15 Cf. Innocent III, *De miseria* II.vi (pp. 43-44). 22-34 *Tubach* 2229, from Bede, *Hist. eccl.* III.19. 36-37 Cf. Ovid, *Met.* III.415; and Juvenal, *Sat.* XIV.139. 41-42 Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo* 48 (PL 40:1330). 45-47 *Hos.* 4.1. 50-65 *Tubach* 1150; for further occurrences, see *Verses*, p. 170. 79-86 *Tubach* 2851; similarly Bromyard, "Advocati," A.XIV.4. 86-87 *Isa.* 59.14. 88 *Wisd.* 14.16. 92 I *Tim.* 1.9. 100-101 *Bar.* 1.6. 102 *Ps.* 25.10. 102-103 *Eccles.* 10.19. 104-109 *Tubach* 376; cf. Bromyard, "Dedicacio," D.IV.13, and Rutebeuf, *Testament de l'asne* (ed. Adolf Kressner, *Rustebuefs Gedichte*, Wolfenbüttel, 1885, pp. 109-113). 118-134 *Tubach* 3002; for further occurrences, see *Verses*, p. 171. 135-140 See Wenzel, "The 'Gay' Carol and Exemplum," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 77 (1976), 85-91. 142-143 *Ps.* 74.3. 146-149 *Eccles.* 5.12-14. 149-152 *Eccles.* 4.8.

#### IV.iii THE FEAR OF POSSESSION

The second quality of avarice is the fear one has in possessing property. Jerome says on this: "An avaricious person is always afraid that people are laying plots for him. He sees a man who is stronger than himself and thinks he will be violent; he sees a poor man and thinks he is a thief. And thus he is never at rest in his possessions." On this point we read of a fearful miser who had a saintly and devout wife, to whose urging he yielded so far as to praise God for the goods he had received and frequently to make his petitions. It happened that this miser secretly kept a pot in the ground of his chapel, covered with a plank, which he was hiding there out of fear of other people. He knelt above this pot every day and heard Mass, pouring forth his prayers as follows: "I ask you, Lord Jesus Christ, do not let this pot be stolen from me, nor let me die until I have totally filled it with money." At last, when the pot was filled, the man died in his health. Soon thereafter his wife took another husband, a generous and lusty young man, and urged him in the same way to make his devotions and prayers. One day it happened that he was hearing Mass in the same chapel and was kneeling in the same oratory above that pot, when a nail from the plank over the pot hurt his knee. Bothered by it he took his knife in order to fix it and pulled up the plank and the cover of the pot. As he found it so full, he knelt down and silently prayed: "I ask you, Almighty God, that you never let this money be taken from me, nor let me die until I have emptied this pot and used it up in good fellowship." And he spent

Figura[m] eciam ad hoc, scilicet quem fructum reportat avarus de congrega-  
 cione diviciarum, habemus Iosue 7 de Achor qui concupivit aurum et abscon-  
 dit, propter quod postea lapidatus est. Et ideo dicit Augustinus: "Qui,  
 25 inquit, terrenis inhiant, celestia contempnunt et utrisque carebit in  
 fine."

Non est ergo timor ponendus in amissione temporalium, set tantum in  
 Deum, quia ut dicit Sapiens: "Initium sapiencie timor Domini." Unde Beda:  
 "Timentibus, inquit, Deum vilescit gloria presens, flos iuventutis concul-  
 30 catur, generositas non reputatur. Si ergo sapis (dicit ipse), si cor habes,  
 si est tecum lumen oculorum, desine ea sequi que sequi miserum est." Hec  
 ille. Set hodie magis timent honore privari quam a Deo separari. Simul(a)nt  
 enim mortem pati pro Christo; pro seculo cotidie gratis mortem paciuntur.  
 Unde plus timent [amittere] bovem aut asinum quam illorum largitorem; unde  
 35 Psalmista: "Non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum." Unde narratur in *Vitas*  
*Patrum* quod frater quidam quendam senem interrogavit quomodo venit timor  
 Domini in homine. Qui respondit: "Si, inquit, habeat homo paupertatem,  
 humilitatem, et non iudicet alterum, sic veniet in eo timor Domini." Hec  
 ille.

[Et] nota quod tantum iam moderni timent bona amittere quod propter  
 illum timorem veritas et iusticia conculcatur, in tantum quod non [f. 86]  
 audent facere veritatem aut iusticiam, verum eciam nec dicere. Unde iam est  
 sicut erat antiquitus apud Egipcios. Narrat enim Augustinus *De civitate*  
*Dei*, libro 8, capitulo 5, quod olim Egipcii volentes deificare Ysidem et  
 45 Serapem hoc modo fecerunt. Statuerunt enim primo quod quicumque diceret eos  
 esse homines vel aliquid de eorum geneologia narraret, capite plecteretur.  
 Secundo, ut lex predicta nullum lateret, in omni templo in quo eorum ymagi-  
 nes ponebantur, semper iuxta eos stabat unum parvum ydolum habens digitum  
 labiis applicatum, ut per hoc faceret signum silentii omnibus illa templa  
 50 ingredientibus, per quod ab omnibus veritas taceretur. Revera modo consimi-  
 li accidit inter modernos maiores. Quando enim iustificare et quasi deifi-  
 care seipsos [volunt], ponunt quoddam ydolum coram ocul(i)s mundanorum ad  
 faciendum illis signum silentii, ut scilicet nullus audeat eorum voluntati  
 contradicere set quod dissimulentur eorum errores, per quod veritas tacea-  
 55 tur. Et si queras quod est istud ydolum, revera timor mundanus est quo  
 timent, si loquerentur veritatem, perdere bona temporalia. Et ideo iuxta  
 Psalmistam: "Non est in ore eorum veritas."

Contra quos narrat Iulius Sextus libro 3, capitulo 1, quod Clearchus dux  
 Lacedomonium ducens semel excercitum perpendit quod ultra quam decebat  
 60 cepit excercitus ille adversarios timere. Unde convocatis omnibus dixit ad  
 eos: "Considerate, inquit, karissimi, quod plus est timendus imperator quam  
 hostis. Nam si hostes aggredimini, mors est vobis dubia; set si imperatorem  
 offenditis, mors est vobis certa." Spiritualiter imperator noster Christus

his days joyfully and, I guess, got what he had prayed for. We find a type of  
 this, that is, of the fruit which a miser derives from gathering riches, in  
 Achan of Joshua 7, who craved for gold and then hid it, for which he was later  
 stoned to death. And therefore Augustine says: "Those who gasp for worldly  
 goods scorn heavenly ones, and in the end they will not have either."

Therefore we should not have fear of losing temporal goods, but only of  
 God, for as the wise man says, "the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the  
 Lord." Whence Bede says: "To those who fear God, the glory of this life is  
 worthless, the flower of youth is trodden down, nobility loses its esteem.  
 Therefore, if you are wise, if you have a heart, if there is light in your  
 eyes, stop following the things which it is misery to follow." But nowadays  
 people are more afraid of losing their honor than of becoming separated from  
 God. They do not want to suffer death for Christ, but they willingly suffer  
 death for the world every day. They fear to lose an ox or an ass more than him  
 who has given them those. Whence the Psalmist says: "There is no fear of God  
 before their eyes." In the *Lives of the Fathers* it is reported that a brother  
 asked a hermit how the fear of God comes into man. He answered: "If a man has  
 poverty and humility and does not judge his fellow man, then the fear of the  
 Lord will come to him."

Notice also that nowadays people are so afraid of losing their goods that  
 on account of that fear truth and justice are trampled upon, to the point that  
 they fail not only to do what is true and just, but even to say it. Therefore  
 it is now with us as it formerly was with the Egyptians. Augustine in his *City*  
*of God*, book 8, chapter 5, tells us that in ancient times, when the Egyptians  
 wanted to make Isis and Serapis into gods, they did as follows. First, they  
 decreed that whoever stated that they had been human or told anything about  
 their lineage would be beheaded. Second, in order for this law not to remain  
 unknown to anyone, in every temple where their images were put there also  
 stood next to them a small idol which held its finger to its lips, so as to give a  
 sign of silence to all who entered these temples; and thus the truth was with-  
 held from all. Something similar happens among the more powerful citizens  
 today. For when they want to justify themselves and make themselves into gods,  
 they place an idol before the eyes of worldlings to give them a signal of si-  
 lence, that is, that none of them may dare to contradict their will but rather  
 that their failings should be covered up; and by this the truth is hidden. If  
 you want to know what this idol is: it is worldly fear, which makes them afraid  
 that, if they were to speak the truth, they would lose their temporal goods.  
 Therefore, after the Psalmist, "there is no truth in their mouth."

Against them Sextus Julius tells a story in book 3, chapter 1. Clearchus,  
 the leader of the Lacedaemonians, as he once was leading his army, noticed that  
 the army had begun to fear their enemies more than was reasonable. He called  
 them all together and said to them: "My friends, keep in mind that you should

est, set humani generis hostis est mundus vanus et lubricus, qui quamvis  
 65 [pulchre] promittit, tamen vilissime decipit et in fine confundit, sicut  
 carnifex porco ostendit grana usque perduxerit ad macellum. Ibi cum [f.  
 86v] pervenerit et coram illo illa effuderit, quando in illa comedendo  
 magis delectatur, ab illo occiditur. Sic mundus ostendens avaro temporalia  
 tamquam delectabilia, et quando magis in illis delectatur, ab eo auferuntur  
 70 et sic morte decipitur ut patet. Unde quamvis iste mundus promittat in hac  
 vita corporis sanitatem, vite diuturnitatem, fortune prosperitatem, et  
 penitencie oportunitatem, invenies tamen ipsum falsum et decipientem. Expe-  
 rimento autem videmus tota die quod sanitas corporalis vertitur in infirmi-  
 tatem, vite diuturnitas in temporis brevitate, fortune prosperitas in  
 75 adversitatem, penitendi oportunitas in inpenitencie malignitatem. Unde de  
 sua falsitate ait Augustinus in sermone *De miserrima vita* dicens: "O,  
 inquit, vita presens non est hec via vera quam nobis ostendis, quia aliis  
 te ostendis longam ut perdas; aliis brevem ut dum penitere vellent de  
 peccatis non permittas; aliis latam ut faciant quod voluerunt; aliis  
 80 angustam ut non possint benefacere." Hec ille.  
 S(at)is ergo patet quod mundus et eius avaricia capitalis inimicus est  
 homini. Non est ergo ille timendus sicut imperator Christus. Et ideo iuxta  
 concilium Luce 13 "ne terreamini ab hiis," scilicet mundialibus, "set hunc  
 timete qui habet potestatem tam corpus quam animam mittere in gehennam,"  
 85 scilicet Christum Filium Dei.

3 violentem] violentum O. 4 de] add quodam O. 9 oracionem] oraciones O.  
 11 adimplevero] implevero O. sanitate] sanctitate M.R. 18 silenter] scilenter C.  
 21 spero] prospere M; ut spero R. 32 Simulant] simulent C.M; silent W. 34 amittere]  
 om C.M.W and others. 41-42 non . . . dicere] evidently a scribal emendation of a cor-  
 ruption of non solum facere veritatem aut iusticiam omittunt verum etiam dicere. *The*  
*main verb must have been lost early in the tradition and is supplied by* omittunt, timent,  
 metuunt, or formidant (sometimes at the end of the sentence). 50 ab] om O. 52 volunt]  
 om C.R. oculis] oculos C; add aliorum O. 66 Ibi] ubi O. 70 sic] om O. 75 malig-  
 nitatem] add etc O. 76 miserrima] misera M.R; miseria W. 79 voluerint] voluerunt  
 C. 81 Satis] similiter C.

#### IV.iv DOLOR IN AMITTENDO TEMPORALIA

Tercia proprietates avaricie est dolor temporalia amittendo. Unde Iero-  
 nimus: "Si, inquit, avarus pecuniam amiserit, in vehementissimo labitur  
 dolore. Si fures scilicet rapiant aut ignis ardeat, contristatus et dolens  
 dicit se raptum et combustum esse. Non enim dicit 'sua,' set 'se,' acsi  
 5 diceret, 'plus diligo mea quam me.'" Unde tales increpat beatus Bernardus  
 dicens: "Cur pecuniam tuam preciosiorem facis quam [f. 87] teipsum, cuius

fear your emperor more than your enemy. For when you attack the enemy, you may  
 perhaps die; but if you offend your emperor, you will certainly die." Spiritu-  
 ally speaking, our emperor is Christ, but the enemy of mankind is this change-  
 able and slippery world: although it makes beautiful promises, it deceives us  
 in the most shameless way and ruins us in the end, just as the butcher offers a  
 pig corn until he has led it to the market. When he gets there, he spreads the  
 corn in front of it, and when the pig eats it with the greatest delight, it  
 gets killed. In the same way, the world holds before an avaricious person its  
 temporal goods that seem so delightful, and when he takes the greatest pleasure  
 in them, the goods are taken from him and he is deceitfully killed. Therefore,  
 even though the world may promise during this life health of the body, length  
 of life, good fortune, and an opportunity to do penance, you will yet find it  
 to be false and deceitful. By experience we see every day that bodily health  
 turns into sickness, a long life into a short while, good fortune into bad, the  
 opportunity to do penance into evil impenitence, and so forth. Therefore, in  
 his sermon on this wretched life Augustine speaks of the world's falsehood as  
 follows: "O present life, this is not the true way you show us, because for  
 some you are long only to ruin them; for others short, so that when they want  
 to repent of their sins, you do not let them; for some you are wide, so that  
 they may do what they want; and for others you are narrow, so that they cannot  
 do good."

Thus it is manifest that the world with its avarice is a major enemy to  
 man. Therefore it must not be feared as much as our emperor, Christ. And  
 according to the counsel given in Luke 13, "be not afraid of them," that is, of  
 worldly people, "but fear him who has the power to cast both body and soul into  
 hell," that is, Christ, the Son of God.

4-21 Tubach 3879 (unique); also in Bromyard, "Avaricia," A.XXVII.13. 23-24 Josh.  
 7. 28 Eccles. 1.16. 35 Ps. 13.3. 43-50 Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.5 (CC  
 48:597). 57 Ps. 5.10. 58-63 Frontinus, *Stratagemata* IV.i.17. 76-80 Ps.-Au-  
 gustine, *Ad fratres in eremo* 49 (PL 40:1332). 83-84 Luke 12.4.

#### IV.iv PAIN IN LOSS

The third quality of avarice is the pain that comes from losing temporal  
 goods. Jerome says: "When an avaricious person has lost his possessions, he  
 suffers the most vehement pain. For when thieves rob or fire burns his prop-  
 erty, he says with great sadness and grief, 'I have been robbed and burnt.' He  
 does not say, 'my goods' but 'I,' as if he were saying, 'I love my goods more  
 than myself.'" Therefore Blessed Bernard reproaches such people and says:

estimacio taxari non potest? Christus enim semel pro peccatis nostris mortuus est, iustus pro iniustis, et tu preciosiorem facis animalium congregacionem quam Christi redempcionem?" Hec ille. Et mirum est quod  
 10 homines tantum de amissione temporalium [tristantur] cum non sit nisi quedam umbra aut fumus, prout ait beatus Augustinus in quodam sermone dicens: "O, inquit, vita presens mundialis, que tantos decepisti et excecasti! Cum enim fugis, nichil es. Cum videris, umbra es. Cum exaltaris, fumus es. Stultis quam dulcis, quam amara sapientibus. Qui, inquit, te diligunt te non cognoscunt. Ipsi te contempnunt qui te intelligunt. Fuge ergo (dicit Augustinus), sapiens, et curre, sapiens, quia sic erit vita tua quasi aliena." Hec ille.

Unde fertur poetice quod antiquitus mundus sic depingebatur, scilicet in specie muliebri sedens cum tribus capitibus coronatis et inscriptis. Nam  
 20 in fronte primi capitis scribebatur hoc verbum: "Promisi." Set in eius corona sic: "Celum fecit fabulam." In fronte secundi capitis scribebatur hoc verbum: "Derisi," set in eius corona: "Mare fecit statuam." In fronte vero tercii capitis scriptum erat hoc verbum: "Dimisi," set in eius corona sic: "Terra legit literam." Spiritualiter autem loquendo, ista mulier mundi falsitatem significat, cuius tres facies sunt tres condiciones mundi felicitatis, que sunt hee: prosperitas, sagacitas, et falsitas. In facie ergo prosperitatis scribebatur "Promisi." Set hec promissio fallit, quia, ut dicit Seneca ad Lucillum, mundus non est nisi quasi unus saltus de loco ad locum. Videmus enim quod saltans, ut lucretur plus de spacio quam socius, a  
 30 longe capit cursum, et in tantum nititur a longe saltare quod frequenter excedit vires, unde necessario [f. 87v] a tergo cadit. Revera sic cupidi et avari metas aliorum in tantum nituntur saltando et terrena acquirendo excedere quod antequam compleverant intentum, per mortem subtrahuntur et cadunt. Et ideo bene in eius corona scribebatur, "Celum fecit fabulam," quasi diceret: tota hec mundi f(elic)itas, in qua tantum confidis et quam  
 35 [tantum] perquirere peroptas, respectu beatitudinum celi non est nisi sicut fabula vana respectu evangelii, quia secundum beatum Gregorium in communi omelia unius martiris, si consideremus que et quanta sunt que nobis promittuntur in celis, vilescunt animo omnia que habentur in terris. Nam in  
 40 celestibus non est fabula vel fallacia, set certe terrena sicut umbra pretereunt et sicut ioculator omni die fallunt et decipiunt.

Unde fertur de quodam ioculatore Ulfridus nomine qui multum anxie penuriam et paupertatem ducebat. Cupiebat enim divicias ultra modum. Volens ergo [diabolus] illum deludere, transfigurabat se in formam et personam domine Fortune. Que sedens in quadriga cum maximo apparatu obvi(u)m habuit  
 45 dictum ioculatorem super divicias habendas multum cogitantem. Qui cum ab ea requisitus fuit quid cogitaret et ipse veritatem dissimularet, dixit illa: "Scio, karissime, scio quod de diviciis habendis nimis cogitas, eo

"Why do you hold your possessions more precious than yourself, whose value cannot be estimated? For Christ once died for our sins, the just one for the unjust, and you place a greater value on gathering animals than on Christ's redemption?" It is strange that people are so saddened by losing their temporal goods, which are nothing but a shadow or smoke, as Augustine says in one of his sermons: "O life in this world, you have deceived and blinded so many. When you pass, you are nothing. When you are looked at, you are a shadow. When you are exalted, you are smoke. So sweet to fools, so bitter to the wise. They who love you do not know you, and they who know you scorn you. Flee, then, and run, you who are wise, for thus your life will become a stranger."

The poets tell us that in old times the world was depicted in the form of a woman, sitting, with three crowned heads that bore inscriptions. On the first forehead was written, "I have promised," but on its crown, "Heaven has made a fable." On the second forehead was written, "I have laughed at," but on its crown, "The sea has made a statue." And on the third forehead was written, "I have abandoned," but on its crown, "The earth has read out a letter." Spiritually interpreted, this woman stands for the falsehood of the world, whose three faces are the three conditions of worldly happiness, namely: prosperity, shrewdness, and falsehood. On the face of prosperity, then, was written "I have promised." But this promise is false, for as Seneca says to Lucillus, this world is nothing but a jump from one place to another. When a person jumps, we see that in order to go farther than his companion he takes a long run before leaping, and he tries so hard to make a long jump that he often goes beyond his strength and necessarily falls on his back. In the same way, covetous and avaricious people try so hard to go beyond the marks of others in jumping and acquiring earthly goods that before they have reached their goal they are carried off by death and fall down. Therefore, it is quite rightly written on the crown of this first face, "Heaven has made a fable," meaning that all the happiness of this world, in which you trust so much and which you want to obtain so badly, is nothing more in comparison with the bliss of heaven than what an empty fiction is in comparison with the Gospel. For as Gregory says, in his common homily for a martyr, if we reflect on what and how great things are promised us in heaven, everything on earth becomes contemptible to our mind. For in the things of heaven there is no fable or lie; but the things of this earth certainly pass as a shadow, and like a juggler they trick and deceive us every day.

There is a story about a juggler named Ulfrid, who lived with great worry in need and poverty. He craved beyond measure to be rich. So, as the devil wanted to trick him, he transformed himself into the form and person of Lady Fortune. Sitting highly decorated in a chariot, she came to meet this juggler as he was deeply in thought about how he could get rich. She asked him what he was thinking about, but he tried to hide the truth. So she said: "I know, my

quod tantum penuria afficeris." Misericordia quasi mota anulum de manu  
 50 abstraxit et sibi tradidit dicens: "Obvium, inquit, habebis regem Attridem,  
 cui istum anulum trades pro signo et dices ei quod ex parte regine et  
 domine Fortune te ditet." Ille vero gracias agens processit in via et cito  
 post dicto regi obiabat. Quem cum flexis genibus adorasset, porrexit  
 anulum et fecit nuncium. Quem cum accepisset rex, mox petitioni regine ad-  
 55 [f. 88] quievit. Tradidit ergo sibi clamidem quandam sub tali condicione,  
 quod de clamide illa aut aliis diviciis sibi evenientibus nequaquam gloria-  
 retur. Quod si fecerit, mox ad pristinam paupertatem deveniret. Recepta  
 ergo clamide et cum reverencia et graciis regi Attride valedicto, rediit  
 domum indilate. Ubi divicias continuo habundanter invenit. Cogitans ergo  
 60 quadam die apud se quomodo in multis festis et conviviiis fuisset, in quibus  
 multa beneficia ab amicis accepisset, voluit quasi modo aliqualis recompen-  
 sacionis et ipse convivium facere cum magnatibus et amicis. Quibus invita-  
 tis et de convivii statu omnibus ordinatis, ut seipsum decenter ornaret erga  
 adventum ipsorum cameram privatam sue domus ascendit et super honestam  
 65 robam dictam clamidem vestivit. Quo facto descendit in medio populi invita-  
 ti et ibi stetit. Cumque vidisset quod clames honestius se decebat, cepit  
 aliquanter gloriari et in animo exaltari, et statim quasi in momento omnes  
 eius divicie cum clamide evanuerunt, ita quod oportuit invitatos ad propria  
 incenatos redire. Revera ad literam sic est. Domina enim Fortuna, que est  
 70 quasi mundi regina, omnes cupidos et avaros ad regem Attridem, idest  
 Christum, pro promocione transmittit mittens anulum, idest concupiscenciam  
 sine labore tum certo pro signo. Quod cum receperit, dat eis clamidem,  
 idest divicias, quibus quasi cum clamide cooperiuntur, dicens eis illud  
 Psalmi: "Divicie si affluent, nolite cor apponere," scilicet nimis, nam  
 75 quanto magis crescunt, tanto magis in oblivionem Dei eius sequaces indu-  
 cunt. Set certe habitis illis, scilicet diviciis, statim obliviscitur [f.  
 88v] Deus; Ieremias: "Saturavi vos," scilicet diviciis, "et obliiti estis  
 me." Quid ergo faciat Christus? Revera, quando magis de mundi clamide  
 gloriantur, omnia in momento aufert ab illis et nudos, sicut prius invenit,  
 80 illos derelinquit, sicut de Ulfrido actum est, de quo sic metricè dicitur  
 versus:

Ulfridus clamidem quam susceperat per Attridem  
 Servavit pridem, casus dedit, abstulit idem.

[pat mantel þe kyng to Vlfride lente,  
 85 With hap hit come, with hap hit wente.

Unde de illa domina Fortuna est antiquum proverbium sic canens:

dear, I know: you are in deep thought about how to get rich, because you suffer  
 such great poverty." As if moved by pity she took a ring from her hand and  
 gave it to him with these words: "You will meet King Attrides; give him this  
 ring as a token and tell him that he should make you rich on behalf of Queen  
 and Lady Fortune." The juggler thanked her and continued on his way, and  
 shortly thereafter he met the king she had mentioned. After he had worshipped  
 him on bent knees, he gave him the ring and the message. The king accepted the  
 ring and granted the queen's petition. He gave the juggler a cloak with the  
 condition that he must never be proud about that cloak or any other riches that  
 might come to him; if he did that, he would at once return to his earlier  
 poverty. The juggler took the cloak, worshipped and thanked the king, bade him  
 farewell, and without delay went home. There he found at once an abundance of  
 wealth. Now, one day he thought by himself how he had been at many feasts and  
 banquets where he had received many good things from his friends; and he  
 decided in return to give the noblemen and his friends a banquet. When they  
 had been invited and all the preparations for the banquet had been made, he  
 went up to a private chamber of his house in order to dress up properly for the  
 party and put the cloak on top of his good clothes. After that he came down  
 and stood in the midst of the invited crowd. When he saw how well that cloak  
 suited him, he began to be somewhat proud and exult in his soul—and at once,  
 in the twinkling of an eye, all his riches and the cloak were gone, and his  
 guests had to go home without dinner. This story may be interpreted as fol-  
 lows. Lady Fortune, who is so to speak the queen of the whole world, sends all  
 covetous and avaricious people to King Attrides, that is, Christ, for advance-  
 ment, and she sends him a ring as a sure token, that is, concupiscence without  
 hardship. When the king receives this, he gives them a cloak, that is, riches  
 with which they are covered as with a cloak, and tells them the words of the  
 Psalm: "If riches abound, set not your heart upon them," that is, not too much,  
 for the more these riches grow, the more they cause those who pursue them  
 to forget God. Yet indeed, once these riches are obtained, God is soon forgot-  
 ten; Jeremiah: "I have filled you," that is, with riches, "and you have  
 forgotten me." What, then, would Christ do? When those covetous people take  
 great pride in the cloak of the world, he takes everything away from them in a  
 moment and leaves them naked as he had found them before. Thus it happened to  
 Ulfrid, of whom the following poem is said:

Once Ulfrid had a cloak, received from King Attrides.  
 It came to him by chance, by chance it went again.

pat mantel þe kyng . . .

Whence there is an old proverb about Lady Fortune, which goes thus:



The lade dame Fortune is bothe frende and foo.  
 Of pore hoe maketh riche and ryche of pore also.  
 Hee turneth woo to wele and wele also to woo.  
 90 Ne trust noght to his word, þe whele turneth so.]

Non ideo est dolendum de amissione temporalium fortuitorum que modo sunt modo non sunt, modo habundant modo deficiunt, prout ascendendo et descendendo in rota illa a domina Fortuna [revoluta] de diversis depingitur. Quorum primus supremus ait:

95 Rex presens regno, possum fore cras sine regno.

Secundus:

Heu michi, regnavi, quid prodest illud quod amavi?

Tercius:

Nuper dives ego. Vix mea membra tego.

100 Quartus:

Sum regnaturus cum sim miser moriturus.

[Pro illis quatuor signis domine Fortune dicitur sic primus Anglice:

Kynge I syt and loke aboute,  
 To-morn I may ben with-oute.

105 Secundus:

Wo is me, a kynge I was.  
 þis worlde I louede, but þat I las.

Tercius:

110 Nouȝth longe gon I was ful ryche,  
 But now is ryche and pore ylyche.

Quartus:

I shal be kynge, þat men schull se.  
 When þe wreche ded shal be.]

The lady dame Fortune is our friend and foe,  
 Poor people she makes rich, and rich men poor just so.  
 She turns woe into well, and well back into woe.  
 Trust not unto her word, her wheel turns ever so.

Therefore we must not grieve about the loss of temporal goods of fortune, which now are here, now are gone, now abound, now fail, just as various people are depicted as rising and falling on that wheel turned by Lady Fortune. The first of them, sitting on top, says:

As king I rule; perhaps I lose my realm tomorrow.

The second:

Alas, I was a king. What use is what I loved?

The third:

Shortly ago I was rich; now hardly I cover my limbs.

And the fourth:

I shall be king when you, o wretch, will go to death.

For these four situations of Lady Fortune we can say in English as follows.

The first:

Kyng I syt . . .

The second:

Wo is me . . .

The third:

Nouȝth longe gon . . .

And the fourth:

I shal be kyng . . .

Now, on the second forehead of the image of the world and its happiness was written, "I have laughed at," as if the world were saying, "Whatever I

In secundo enim fronte ymaginis mundi et eius f(elic)itatis scribe-  
 115 batur "Derisi," quasi diceret mundus: "Quicquid tibi, o avarae, promisi,  
 aperte decepi, ut est dictum. Et ideo quia in me nimium confidebas, te  
 derideo. Unde de te propter facta tua scriptura corone mee iam verificatur,  
 scilicet 'Mare fecit statuam.' " Per istud enim mare, quod est (s)alsum et  
 120 amarum, intelligo peccati amaritudinem, quam, si bene consideramus hanc  
 scripturam, satis veracem inveniemus, eo quod post peccata non plus iuvat  
 mundus set dimittit peccatores quasi statuas mortuas et suffocatas, eo quod  
 mors homines male vite quasi statuam mortuam insequitur. Et ideo dicit  
 Salvator: "Dimitte mortuos sepelire mortuos suos." Ista ergo mors de iure  
 ad contemptum mundialium hominem excitaret, quia iuxta beatum Ieronimum  
 125 facile omnia contempnit [f. 89] qui se cogitat moriturum.

De quo habemus exemplum in natura de quodam serpente nomine pandera,  
 qui cum hominis pedem percusserit, mox eius venenum ad cetera membra  
 ascendit. Set contra illud efficax remedium invenitur, si homo per pedes  
 130 cicius suspendatur, propter quod ascensus veneni facilius impeditur. Revera  
 sic amor temporalium pedem affectionis in homine percutit quod statim ad  
 omnia membra corporis, ut avaricie serviant, se diffundit. Set huiusmodi  
 amor prohibetur quando homo cogitat quomodo premiis sibi suspenditur et  
 sic quasi per pedes intime cogitationis suspenditur a temporalibus atque  
 reprimatur et ea facilius contempnit.

135 Et ideo mortis memoria avaris frequenter nunciari deberet. Unde legitur  
 in *Historia [Bragmanorum]* quod Didimus didascalus Alexandro magno sibi  
 dicenti, "Doce me aliquid sapientie plenum," respondit: "Si, inquit, vellem  
 a deo sensum acceptum tibi offerre, non habes unde tale munus reciperes.  
 Impleverunt animam tuam avide et immoderate cupiditates. Quomodo ergo pos-  
 140 sem desiderio tuo satisfacere, quem totus mundus tibi serviens non potuit  
 adimplere? Et tamen, si omnia possideas, tandem tamen necesse est ut solum  
 de terra tantum habeas quantum vides me iacentem occupare." Iacuit tunc  
 Didimus sub arbore quadam inter herbas.

Igitur hanc terre mensuram diligenter considerare deberent avari, qui  
 145 tam avide temporalibus adherent. In cuius figura legitur Genesis quod Abra-  
 he, cui Deus habundanciam temporalium concessit, precepit ut terre sue  
 longitudinem et latitudinem, orientem et occidentem consideraret. Sic divi-  
 tes considerare deberent quod illorum origo de terra est, et quod ad illo-  
 rum occasum et mortem illuc rever- [f. 89v] tentur. Cuius terre longitudo  
 150 vix tunc erit septem pedum, latitudo vero duorum. Respice ergo, avarae,  
 terram ad quam redire necesse est in giro, de qua venisti, iuxta illud  
 metricum:

Vertitur in giro natura set ordine miro.  
 Unde dat hoc esse, dat ad illud redire necesse.

promised you, avaricious man, was done in open deceit, as has been declared.  
 And since you trusted in me so much, I laugh at you. Therefore the inscription  
 on my crown will come true as applying to you for your deeds: 'The sea made a  
 statue.' " By this sea, which is salty and bitter, I understand the bitterness  
 of sin. We shall find this to be the case when we reflect well on this in-  
 scription, because after we have sinned, the world no longer helps us but  
 abandons sinners as if they were dead and lifeless statues, because death  
 follows men of evil life as a dead statue. Therefore our Savior says: "Let  
 the dead bury their dead." Thus, this death should rightly rouse man to scorn  
 worldly values, for according to blessed Jerome, he who considers that he will  
 die easily scorns everything.

We find an example of this in nature, in a serpent called pandera. When  
 it bites man in the foot, its poison soon rises to the other parts of his body.  
 An effective remedy against this is to hang this man up quickly by his feet,  
 whereby the rising of the poison is easily prevented. In the same way, the  
 love of temporal goods strikes man's foot of affection and at once spreads to  
 the other members of his body so that they become slaves to avarice. But such  
 love is countered when one reflects on how one loses one's reward; then a per-  
 son is, as it were, suspended by the feet of his inner meditation and re-  
 strained from worldly goods and thus scorns them more readily.

Therefore, avaricious people should be frequently reminded to meditate on  
 death. We read in *The History of the Brahmins* that, when Alexander the Great  
 asked Didimus the teacher, "Teach me something that is full of wisdom," he  
 replied as follows: "If I wanted to offer you some thought I had received from  
 God, you do not have wherein to receive such a gift. For your soul is filled  
 with greedy and immoderate desires. How, then, could I satisfy your desire,  
 whom the whole world that serves you could not fill? And yet, if you possess  
 all things, in the end you need to have only so much of the earth as you see me  
 covering where I lie." Didimus was then lying in the grass under a tree.

This piece of earth all greedy persons should earnestly think about, those  
 who cling so avidly to temporal goods. We find an allegory for this in Genesis  
 when, after giving Abraham an abundance of temporal goods, God commanded  
 him to look at the length and breadth, the east and the west, of his land. Thus,  
 rich people should reflect that their origin is from the earth and that in their  
 death they will return to it. This piece of earth will then hardly be seven  
 feet long and two feet wide. Behold then, O avaricious man, the earth from  
 which you came and to which which you must return in a circle, according to  
 this verse:

Round in a circle turns nature, and that in marvelous fashion.  
 From where it gives us being, there it makes us return.

155 [Anglice:

All monkyrn tornth in well,  
 And þat on wonder gyse.  
 For wethen hit come, azeyn hit wente,  
 To dwelle on all wyse.]

160 In tercio enim fronte mundi f(elic)itatis scribebatur, "Dimisi," et bene, acsi diceret avaro: "Quando plus confidis in me, tunc dimitto te nudum ut inveni." Unde bene in eius corona scribitur sic: "Terra legit literam," quasi diceret: "Vade, tu avarare, ad sepulcrum patrum tuorum, ubi invenies satis bene quod terra literam legit, scilicet quod ad illam tu redibis sicut patres tui." Unde cum istis bene concordat historia de trono Salomonis, Regum, qui signat felicitatem mundi, qui habuit sex gradus, per quos intelligo sex predictas scripturas.

8 animalium] temporalium M.R; alium W. 10 tristantur] M marg; om C; curant R; dolent W marg after temporalium. 23 scriptum erat] scribebatur O. 33 compleverant] compleverint O. 35 felicitas] falsitas C. 36 tantum] om C.W. 37 fabula] fallacia R.W. 43 ultra] supra O. 44 deludere] illudere O. 45 obvium] obviam C. 47 fuit] fuisset O. dissimulare] dissimulasset O. 51 istum] illum O. 52 Fortune] add quod O. 54 rex] om O. 57 fecerit] faceret O. 66 et ibi stetit] et stetit after descendit O. clames] clamis M.R; clavus R. 70 quasi] add tocius O. 72 tum] cum O. Quod] quos O. 78 faciat] facit O. 80 de] add isto M.W; add illo R. 84–85 [pat . . . wente] text from R. Verse 36, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 87–90 The . . . so] text from R. Verse 37, in B1.B3.D.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.etc. 91 ideo] ergo after est O. 93 revoluta] om C.W. 102–113 Pro . . . be] text from R, where it occurs after mortuos (line 123); in some manuscripts each English couplet appears immediately after its Latin source. Verse 38, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.etc. 114 felicitatis] falsitatis C. 118 salsum] falsum C. 127 hominis pedem] hominem pede O. 132 prohibetur] om O. sibi] om O. 133 atque] om O. 144 avari] om O. 146 precepit] om O. 150 ergo] add o O. 154 hoc] hec O. 155–159 Anglice . . . wyse] text from R. Verse 39, in B1.B3.E.L2.LC.R.W1. 160 felicitatis] falsitatis C. 161 dimitto] add et M.R; add te et W. 162 inveni] add derelinquo O. 166 felicitatem] falsitatem R.

#### IV.v DE MEMBRIS AVARICIE: RAPINA

[C]irca autem membra avaricie et cupiditatis que miserum hominem errare faci[un]t a via veritatis et iusticie et ducunt ad viam iniquitatis et miserie, est iam tercio advertendum quod specialiter sex sunt, scilicet rapina, dolus, prodicio, usura, symonia, sacrilegium.

5 Circa autem rapinam est primo dicendum quod raptor est ille qui vi simplices spoliat et bona eorum rapit acsi essent illius propria pred(a);

In English:

All monkyrn tornth . . .

Finally, on the third forehead of the world and its happiness was fittingly written, "I have abandoned," as if the world were saying to the avaricious man: "When you trust in me most, I abandon you naked as I found you." Hence the fitting inscription on its crown: "The earth has read out a letter," as if it were saying: "Go, avaricious man, to the tomb of your fathers, where you will find that earth reads you a letter, namely that you will return to it as your forefathers did." With all this the story of Salomon's throne agrees well, which is told in the book of Kings and signifies the happiness of the world: it had six steps, by which I understand the six inscriptions I have mentioned.

6–9 Cf. Gueric d'Igny, *De resurrectione Domini*, sermo 2, 3 (PL 185:146). 7–8 Cf. 1 Pet 3.18. 12–17 Ps.–Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo* 49 (PL 40:1332). 38–39 Cf. Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 37, 1 (PL 76:1275). 42–69 The story also appears in Bromyard, "Avaricia," A.XXVII.61 (shortened) and Worcester Cathedral MS F.10, fol. 322v; see *Verses*, p. 173. 74 Ps. 61.11. 77–78 Cf. Bar. 4.8. 82–83 No separate occurrence known. 95–101 In 7251; *Prov* 10344. 123 Matt. 8.22. 125 Jerome, *Ep.* 53 XI.3 (CSEL 54:465). 136–143 Cf. Leo the Archpriest, *Historia de preliis*, p. 107. 145–147 Cf. Gen. 13.14–18. 153–154 See *Verses*, p. 178. 166–167 1 Kings 10.18ff.

#### IV.v THE MEMBERS OF AVARICE: THEFT

Now, in the third place, we turn to the members of avarice and covetousness, which cause wretched man to err from the way of truth and justice and lead him on the way of iniquity and misery. They are six in particular: theft, cheating, treachery, usury, simony, and sacrilege.

About theft we must first say that a thief is a person who despoils simple people by force and takes their goods as if they were his proper prey; Ecclesi-

Ecclesiastici 13: "Venacio leonis onager in heremo, sic pascua sunt divitum pauperes." Et ideo tales sunt similes lupis rapacibus qui comedunt argillam ut ponderibus suis prosternant predam. Similiter pedem proprium mordet ut sic magis iratus ad predam excitetur. Revera sic <sup>o</sup>offensa divitum est grave pondus pauperi, quia in eius spoliacionem et tormentum redundat; Ezechielis 21: "Principes eius in medio eius quasi lupi rapientes predam." Item sunt similes [f. 90] avibus rapacibus vilibus et degenerantibus. Magna quippe ignobilitas est in ave generosa, que deberet aves silvestros capere, si alias domesticas venatur et illas dimittit. Revera sic potentes qui [gladio] accinguntur ut tantum hereticos et infideles debellant, si domesticos pauperes spoliant et confundant. Set certe, sicut vulpes furtive in lardario et superflue carnibus repletus non valens pre nimia ventris replecione per foramen exire per quod intravit, aut necessario evomere compellitur quod comedit aut a canibus capi, dilacerari, et occidi; revera sic divites bona pauperum iniuste sicut latrones invadentes, aut eis oportet a)blata restituere aut a demonibus capi et occidi. Unde in *Proverbi(is) philosophorum* narratur quod quidam sapiens filio suo dixit: "Ne te decipiant divicie seculares, (ut) (irretitus) fallaciis secularibus periculi et future mortis obliviscaris et tibi contingat sicut latroni domum divitis latenter intranti. Qui cum illam plenam diviciis [invenit], stupefactus de diversis diversa, de preciosis preciosa ad furandum eligere curat et minus preciosa relinquere. Unde in eligendo tempus transit et dies veniens quod facere vellet detegit. Excitati ergo homines furem capiunt, ligant, incarcerant, et suspendunt." Revera sic avari curiosi sunt circa terrena et solliciti, nunc congregando, nunc preciosa depredata thesaurizando, quousque mortis dies superveniens a demonibus capitur, ligatur, et in inferno incarceratur; Thimothei 6: "Qui, inquit, volunt divites fieri," scilicet ex rapinis, "incidunt in temptacionem et in laqueum diaboli."

Unde narratur de quodam tali in episcopatu Norwici qui fuit [f. 90v] ballivus domini regis, qui ex consuetudine pauperes et simplices vexabat. Habuit tamen uxorem bonam et sanctam ab omnibus dilectam. Tandem ambobus mortuis, eorum filius et heres de statu eorum certum scire cupiens, ieiuniis et oracionibus intentus pro huiusmodi Deum exorabat. Quadam autem nocte in spiritu raptus ductus est per angelum ad locum amenissimum, ubi matrem in maximo gaudio iocundantem aspexit, dicens quod salvata esset et supplicans quod similiter statum patris aspiceret. Et circumductus ad locum t(eterim)um vidit patrem suum in penis horribilibus vexatum. Quem cum de statu suo fuisset allocutus, respondit pater: "Fili, inquit, Deus dereliquit me eo quod suos pauperes spoliavi et miseros reliqui, et hostis antiqus in hoc loco tenebrarum me suscepit, ubi semper cum bestiis diabolicis et amentibus crucior, quia pauperum bestias iniuriose tractavi." Quod

asticus 13: "The wild ass is the lion's prey in the desert; so are the poor devoured by the rich." Such men are like raging wolves who eat some loam so that they can overthrow their prey with their weight. A wolf likewise bites its own foot so that it may be roused to greater fierceness against his prey. In the same way, the wrath of rich people is a heavy burden on the poor man, for it results in his spoiling and torment; Ezekiel 21: "Her princes in her midst are like wolves ravishing the prey." They are further like vile and degenerate birds of prey. It is indeed a great vileness in a noble bird, who should catch birds of the forest, if he chases after domestic fowl and leaves the others in peace. Thus it is with powerful men who are girt with the sword in order to fight heretics and pagans, if instead they spoil and ruin the poor in their own country. But a fox who has secretly entered the larder and eaten more than his fill so that in his fullness he cannot get out through the hole by which he entered must either throw up what he has eaten or else be caught by the dogs and torn to pieces and killed. In the same way, when the rich unjustly possess themselves of the goods of the poor, like thieves, they must either restore what they have taken or else be caught by demons and killed. Whence the *Proverbs of the Philosophers* tells of a wise man who said to his son: "My son, beware that worldly riches do not deceive you, lest caught in the net of worldly deceits you forget their danger and your future death and you fare like the thief who secretly enters the house of a rich man. As he finds it full of riches, he is dumbfounded and wants to choose and carry off some of each and the most precious and leave the less precious behind. Thus he wastes his time in choosing, and then the coming day reveals what he intended to do. When the people are awake, they catch the thief, bind him, put him in prison, and hang him." In the same way, avaricious people are full of care and anxiety about earthly goods, now gathering, now hoarding the precious objects they have stolen. But when the day of their death comes upon them, they are caught by the demons, bound, and imprisoned in hell. Timothy 6: "They that want to become rich," that is, through theft, "fall into temptation and into the snare of the devil."

There is a story about such a person from the diocese of Norwich, who was a reeve of our lord the king. He habitually tormented the poor and simple. Yet he had a good and saintly wife who was beloved by all. When they both had died, their son and heir wanted to know for sure in what state they were, and he implored God for this favor with much fasting and prayer. One night, then, he was carried off in the spirit and led by an angel to a most pleasant place, where he saw his mother rejoicing in great happiness, saying she was saved and praying that he would similarly see his father's way of life. Then he was led about to a very dark place and saw his father tormented in horrible pains. When he spoke to him about his state, his father answered: "My son, God has abandoned me because I spoiled his poor and left them wretched, and the

50 audiens filius mundum reliquit et in paupertate et humilitate Domino servi-  
ebat.

Ad idem narratur de tali bedello quod cum quadam die fugabat animalia  
pauperum propter redditum domini sui ultra quoddam vadum, et ipse siccis  
55 pedibus transire non poterat, puero suo dixit ut ipsum ultra aquam porta-  
ret. Quem cum supra dorsum accepisset et usque ad profundam aquam portas-  
set, dixit puer: "Magister, ultra modum ponderas, non possum amplius te  
portare." [Cui ille:] "Nec mirum, inquit, quia innumerabiles portas male-  
dictiones, et maxime virginum, viduarum, coniugatarum, religiosorum, et  
60 ceterorum omnium." Quod audiens puer dixit se ad tot maledictiones perfe-  
rendas inpotentem esse, et prostravit illum in aqua. Quo facto occurrit  
quedam vacca nigra de grege [f. 91] quam tunc effugaverat et ipsum pedibus  
conculcabat et cornibus viscera lacerabat. Et omnes alie bestie venientes  
in minimis frustris ipsum dividebant, et facto horribili tonitruo demones  
animam rapiebant.

Et nota quod inter omnes homines Anglici possunt Deo regraciari prop-  
65 ter speciale privilegium quod habent. Dicitur enim quod in Hibernia et in  
Wallia bene inveniuntur latrones qui vaccas, boves, et alia pecora vicino-  
rum furantur, propter quod "latrones" aperte dicuntur. Set in Anglia—  
laudetur Deus—non sic. Set quid? Revera, generos(i) inter nos dicuntur  
*shaueldours* et *ryfelours*. Tales enim frangunt thesauros mag(n)orum, as-  
70 portant bona, abigant pecora, spoliant religiosos, nec inde conscienciam  
habent, set summe gaudent quando abbatem, priorem, vel alium monachum  
spoliare possunt, et dicunt: "Certe voluntas Dei fuit quod talis rusticus,  
monachus, aut frater hodie nobis occurrit." Unde illis videtur quod quic-  
quid fecerint, quod iuste faciunt et cum racione. Et ideo nichil faciunt  
75 quin raciones satis apparentes per falsitatem quasi coloratas et depictas  
pro se sciunt adducere.

Unde narratur de quodam tyranno talis condicionis nomine Dionisius  
Siracusanus, de quo dicit Valerius Maximus ad Tiberium imperatorem quod  
80 cum erat predo domesticus et sacrilegus pessimus, tamen quantumcumque  
malum commiserit, semper factum suum scivit colorare et raciones apparen-  
tes pro se ostendere. Accidit ergo semel quod templum deorum intravit in  
quo symulacra deorum colebantur, quia ita libenter templum quam alium  
locum spoliavit. Quod cum introisset, invenit Iovem clamidem auream haben-  
tem, et statim ipsam de illo spoliavit et clamide lanea qua ipse utebatur  
85 Iovem induit. Deinde ulterius procedens vidit Appolinem inber- [f. 91v] bem  
sedentem et filium suum Eschulapium in eodem templo iuxta eum cum barba  
aurea resedere. Quo viso statim barbam arripuit. Et ultra pertransiens  
vidit alia symulacra manibus extensis coronas tenencia. Illas rapuit et  
secum omnia asportavit. Cum ergo super hoc a templi custodibus argueretur,  
90 respondit: "Non, inquit, miremini, quia ostendam racionem bonam pro omnibus

ancient fiend has taken me into this place of darkness, where I am continually  
punished by diabolical and mad beasts because I treated the beasts of the poor  
badly." When his son heard this, he left the world and served God in poverty  
and humility.

Another story is told about a reeve of the same kind who one day was  
driving animals of the poor that were his lord's revenue across a ford. When  
he himself could not get across on dry foot, he told his boy to carry him  
through the water. The boy took him on his back. As he was carrying him  
through the deepest spot in the water, he said: "Master, you are too heavy, I  
cannot carry you any further." And he replied: "No wonder, since you are  
carrying countless curses, and mostly from maidens, widows, married folk,  
religious, and all others." When the boy heard this, he said he was not strong  
enough to carry so many curses, and he let his master fall in the water. At  
that moment a black cow came up from the herd that he had been driving and  
trampled on him with her feet and tore his intestines with her horns. And then  
all the other animals came and tore him into small pieces, and with a terrible  
thunderclap demons carried off his soul.

Notice that among all people the English can be thankful to God for a  
special privilege they have. For it is said that in Ireland and in Wales one  
readily finds thieves that steal their neighbors' cows, oxen, and other cattle,  
for which they are openly called "thieves." But not so in England, God be  
praised. But what then? Among us, in fact, the noble are called *shaveldours*  
and *riflers*. They break into the treasures of the rich, carry off their goods,  
drive away their cattle, despoil the religious, and have no qualms of con-  
science about this but instead rejoice greatly when they can despoil an abbot,  
prior, or other monk, and they say: "Surely, it was God's will that we ran  
into this peasant or monk or friar today." Thus they imagine that whatever  
they do, they do with right and reason. And so they do nothing for which they  
cannot adduce what appear to be good reasons, whose falsehood, as it were, is  
colored and painted over.

There is a story about a tyrant of this sort named Dionysius of Syracuse,  
of whom Valerius Maximus reports to the emperor Tiberius that, as he was a  
thief in his own house and a sacrilegious person, whatever crime he committed,  
he always knew how to color his deed and to show apparent good reasons for it.  
It once happened that he entered a temple in which statues of the gods were  
worshipped—for he would rob a temple as gladly as any other place. As he  
entered, he found Jupiter with a golden cloak, which he at once took off and  
replaced with the wool cloak he himself was wearing. Going further he saw the  
beardless Apollo sitting there, and next to him, in the same temple, his son  
Aesculapius with a golden beard. When he saw the latter, he right away pulled  
off his beard. And going further, he saw other statues that were proffering  
golden crowns in their hands. Those he took away and carried them all with

que in hoc templo feci. Primo, inquit, Iovem non spoliavi set cum eo clamidem commutavi. Scivi enim quod senex erat et debilis nature, et quod aurum in hyeme frigidum est, in estate ponderosum, et pro neutro tempore sibi valuit, set quod lanea ad utrumque tempus est apta, quia calida est  
 95 in hyeme et levis in estate. Quod autem postea a iuvene Esculapio barbam dempsi, iuste feci, quia inconveniens et irrationabile michi videbatur et est ut filius appareat barbatus et pater inberbis. Et quia pater eius Apollo exiit inberbis, sibi similem [illum] feci propter verba aliorum. Uterius, quando tercio coronas de manibus symulacrorum accepi, bene feci,  
 100 quia quod michi sponte offerebatur gratanter recepi. Scitis enim (dicit [ipse]) quod a diis dona petimus, et ideo stultum erat illa respuere que eos videmus nobis gratanter offerre.”

Revera pro toto mundo sic est de istis potentibus raptoribus, qui quantumcumque simplices spoliaverunt, semper tamen habent in promptu aliquam rationem et respensionem quasi veram apparentem. Nam ponamus primo  
 105 quod iuxta aliquem talem maneat aliqua vidua paupercula, que acram terre loco clamidis habuerit sibi vicinam. Certe, velit nolit secum commutabit pro alia terra minoris precii et valoris. Et tamen dicet quod multum pro ea facit eo quod dat ei terram viciniorem et per consequens magis [f. 92] conveniens pro se. Secundo, pono quod sit aliquis iuvenis mercator in aliqua civitate extraneus et forte de pauperibus genitus, qui sit providus et discretus, quem intelligo per barbam auream. Rogo quid eveniet? Revera,  
 110 ut communiter alii de antiqua stirpe illius civitatis statim incipient [sibi] invidere dicendo: “Unde sibi tot divicias congregaret?” Et sic pro posse ex pura invidia facient illum poni in aliquo officio per quod in arriragio in brevi deveniet, per quod necessario bona sua perdet et pauper deveniet. Et tamen dicunt quod hoc faciunt pro salute anime sue, ad deponendum suam superbiam in illo de novo inceptam et ostensam. Tercio, per istas ymagines coronas tenentes intelligo religiosos, monachos, canonicos,  
 120 et huiusmodi possessionatos, quos tales tiranni vi et metu cogunt filios et nepotes promovere, licet indigni fuerint, similiter dare eis inpensas ac robas, quo(us)que ab illis fuerint promoti, et breviter totum lucrum reputant quicquid ab eis quocumque modo poterunt extorquere. Unde si ab eis queratur qua consciencia hoc faciunt, respondent quod licet eos recipere  
 125 que sponte sibi dantur. Et dicunt falsum, quia quicquid hoc modo recipiunt, vi et metu extortum est.

Exemplum: Si autem me suffocare temptares pro bonis meis et ego libencius huiusmodi bona dimitterem et traderem tibi ut me sine maiori malo liberum abire permetteres, numquid huiusmodi bona licite possideres? Certum  
 130 est quod non, quia esset rapina manifesta. Sic ergo patet quod huiusmodi respensiones non valent quando exercetur potestas pro iusticia. [Unde quidam dicit Anglice:

him. When he was reproached for this by the temple guards, he answered: “You must not be astonished, for I will give you a good reason for everything I have done in the temple. First, I did not rob Jupiter but merely exchanged cloaks with him. For I knew that he is old and weak, and that gold is cold in winter and heavy in summer and thus is of no help to him in either season, whereas wool is good for both seasons, for in winter it is warm and in summer light. That I next took off young Aesculapius’s beard I did justly, for it seemed to me, and indeed it is, unfitting and unreasonable that the son should wear a beard and his father be beardless. And since Apollo, his father, is beardless, I made his son like him, according to the words of others. Finally, when in the third place I took the crowns from the hands of the statues, I did well, because I gratefully accepted what was freely offered to me. You know well enough that we ask the gods for gifts; and thus it would be foolish to reject what the gods offer us willingly.”

This, for all the world, applies exactly to the powerful who are thieves, for however much they rob the poor, they always have an answer ready that is false but appears to be true. For let us assume, first, that next to such a person there lives a poor widow who, instead of the cloak, owns an acre of land next door. Surely, whether she likes it or not, she will have to exchange that for another piece of less price and value. And yet the powerful citizen claims that he is doing a lot for her by giving her land that is closer and therefore more convenient for her. Second, let us assume a young merchant lives in some city as a foreigner and was perhaps born of poor parents, who is provident and discreet, which I understand by the golden beard. What is going to happen, I ask you? Surely, as commonly happens, some people from old families in that city will at once begin to be envious of him and say: “How come he could gather so much wealth for himself?” And so, if it is in their power, out of sheer envy they will have him put in some job where he will soon fall in arrears, for which he will of necessity lose his goods and become poor. And yet they claim they are doing this for the salvation of his soul, to put down the pride that he felt or showed! And third, by those statues that were carrying crowns I understand religious, monks, canons, and other possessioners, whom those tyrants compel, by force and fear, to advance their sons and nephews, even if the latter are unworthy, and similarly to pay for their living expenses and clothes until they have gotten advancement; and they consider gain everything they can extort from them in whatever way. If one asks them with what conscience they do this, they answer that it is right for them to accept what is freely given. But in this they lie, because whatever they receive in this way has been extorted by force and fear.

As an illustration: if you tried to strangle me for my goods and I willingly gave and handed them over to you so that you might allow me to go free without any greater harm, would you own these goods by right? Certainly not,



135

Sithyn law for wyll bygynnyt to slakyn  
 And falsehed for (sleythe) is i-takyn,  
 Robbyng and reuyng ys holdyn purchas  
 And of vnthewes is made solas—  
 Engelsond may synge “alas, alas!”]

5 dicendum] sciendum O. 6 preda] predia C. 9 ponderibus suis] ponderosius O.  
 10 sic] add est C. 14 silvestros] silvestres O. 16 debellant] debellantur C. 22 ablata]  
 oblata C. 22–23 Proverbiis] proverbio C. 23 dixit] add fili cave B1. 24 ut] aut C.  
 irretitus] hereticus C. 32–33 quousque . . . incarceratur] qui mortis die superveniente a  
 demonibus capiuntur, ligantur, et in inferno incarcerantur corr R. *The sentence is  
 emended in various ways in the various groups.* 43 statum] vitam O. 44 teterrimum]  
 tartarium C. 51 fugabat] fugaverat O. 59 occurrit] accurrit R.W. 65 in(2)] om O.  
 68 generosi] M.R.A (*from where it is quoted in the New English Dictionary under shav-*  
*aldour*). *The reading is of importance for the dating of Fasciculus morum; see Frances A.*  
*Foster, “Some English Words,” in Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown (New*  
*York, 1940), pp. 155–156. Variants are: generose C.W.B1.Go1; the phrase generosi . . .*  
*dicuntur: inter nos dicuntur tales, Co.Et. Go2; om B3. The entire passage is omitted in*  
*B2.* 69 shaueldours et ryfelours] tales ribaldores et raptores M; schaildors ryflors R;  
 schaualdours rifoluris W. magnorum] magistrorum C. 78 dicit] refert O. 79 et] ac  
 O. 80 semper] add tamen O. 82 quam] sicut O. 84 ipse] ipsemet O. 87 resedere]  
 residere O. 94 tempus] add sibi M.R; add satis W. 99 symulacrorum] simulacri O.  
 100 Scitis] satis O; *for the missing verb M supplies patet after ipse.* 105 rationem et] om  
 O. quasi] falsam et O. 114 congregaret] potuit congregare O. 119 tenentes] gestantes  
 O. 122 quousque] quocienscumque C. 131–137 Unde . . . alas] *text from R. Verse*  
*40, in B1.B3.D.Go1.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.*

#### IV.vi DE PRODICIONE, DOLO, ET MENDACIO

[D]e prodicione autem et dolo et mendacio, que specialiter consistunt  
 in emendis et vendendis, est sciendum quod dolendum est quod vix sunt  
 mercatores moderni iam in aliquo [f. 92v] factum suum facere scientes nisi  
 fiat fraus, in emendo vituperando quod melius est, et in vendendo nimis  
 5 laudando quod peius est; et hoc sive mensurando sive ponderando sive quic-  
 quid aliud faciendo, ut sic propter lucrum tale false proximos decipiant.  
 Unde Psalmista: “Mendaces filii hominum in stateris ut decipiant.” Et certe  
 quamvis credunt hoc modo alios decipere, magis tamen decipiuntur et ipsi,  
 quia quicquid in aliqua re per dolum et prodicionem atque mendacium sive  
 10 periurium operatum est, in die iudicii in conspectu omnium apercius ad  
 illorum confusionem revelabitur. Unde scriptum est Osee 7: “Revelata est  
 iniquitas Effraym et malicia Samarie, quia operati sunt mendacium.” “Effra-  
 ym” enim interpretatur crescens, et “Samarita,” lana Domini. Et bene signat  
 mercatores in lanis et aliis diviciis crescentes, quorum iniquitas et dulus

for this would be open theft. It is therefore obvious that excuses of that  
 kind are not valid when force is used instead of justice. Whence someone says  
 in English:

When law grows lax for power of will,  
 And falsehood is taken to be good skill,  
 When robbing and theft are called purchase,  
 And vices are made into pleasant solace,  
 Then England can sing “Alas, alas!”

7–8 Eccus. 13.23. 12 Ezek. 22.27. 33–35 1 Tim. 6.9. 36–50 Tubach 451. 51–  
 63 Tubach 510 (unique). A similar story in Bromyard, “Malediccio,” M.I.1. 69 In  
 chronicles written during the early decades of the fourteenth century, the noun *shavel-*  
*dours* (and variants) designates “groups of landed gentry in the north of England who  
 made flagrant raids in the years 1313–1319”; Frances A. Foster, “Some English Words  
 from the *Fasciculus morum*,” in: *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New  
 York, 1940), p. 156. For such criminal gangs of nobles see also E. L. G. Stones, “The  
 Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire, and their Associates in Crime, 1326–1347,”  
*Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.*, fifth series, 7 (1957), 117–136. 77–102 Tubach 4614, from  
 Valerius, I.i.ext. 3. Also in Bromyard, “Rapina,” R.I.22 (with moralization); Holcot, *In*  
*Sapientiam lect.* 176; Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.4.24, fol. 188 (with morali-  
 zation).

#### IV.vi TREACHERY, TRICKS, AND LIES

With regard to treachery and tricks and lies that occur particularly in  
 buying and selling, we should realize how deplorable it is that merchants in  
 our days can hardly carry out a single business transaction without fraud,  
 whether they degrade below its value what they want to buy, or extol beyond its  
 worth what they want to sell; and this when they measure or weigh or whatever  
 else they do, so that for the sake of gain they deceive their neighbors with  
 their falsehood. Hence the Psalmist says: “The sons of men are liars in their  
 scales, that they may deceive.” But though they believe they deceive others in  
 this way, they are even more greatly deceived themselves, because whatever  
 mischief they have done through tricks and treachery and lies and perjury will  
 be revealed openly on Judgment Day in the sight of all to their own confusion.  
 Whence it has been written in Hosea 7: “The iniquity of Ephraim was discov-  
 ered, and the wickedness of Samaria, for they have committed falsehood.” Eph-  
 raim means “growing” and Samaria, “the wool of the Lord,” and it indicates

15 erga simplices emendo et vendendo in fine ° tamen coram Deo revelabitur. [Nam] quamvis hic in sua dolositate secundum Iob 21 “ducunt in bonis dies,” tamen propter suam prodicionem et dolum in fine quasi “in puncto ad inferna descendunt.”

Unde advertant tales quod pro certo vita peccatoris bene lineae comparatur, cuius extrema sunt duo puncta, scilicet principium et finis, hoc est nativitas hominis et mors. Set nota: secundum philosophos, quicquid acceperis inter puncta divisibile est, set cum ad punctum perveneris, non est ulterius aliqua divisio, quia tantum unitas manet. Sic in proposito. Quamcumque horam acceperis de vita peccatoris, scilicet quanta est, certum est quod bene dividi potest, eo quod quanta est. Et causa est quia dummodo est quanta, hoc est alicuius temporis et quantitatis, potest peccator persistere, potest etiam penitere. Set certe cum venerit ad punctum, hoc est ad finem, tantummodo [f. 93] manet unitas, id est unum; in qua unitate, nisi se melius hic habuerit, “in puncto,” ut dicitur, “ad inferna descendet.” Et ideo peccatores nititur in presenti diabolus per prosperitates mundanas et delectaciones seducere, ut sic in puncto mortis a beatitudine seclusos secum trahat ad iehennam et penam.

Desistant ergo a dolis, prodicionibus, mendaciis, et periuriis mercatores, quia huiusmodi vita est sicut venenum aspidum insanabile, etiam sibi ipsis plus quam aliis. Et nota quod venenum aspidis ignoranter quasi intrat, latenter penetrat, et tamen patenter interficit. Sic vita huiusmodi proditoris, mendacis, et dolosi erga simplices: primo intrat ignoranter per veritatis simulationem, set latenter penetrat per fraudulenciam executionem, quia ut dicitur Ieremie 9: “Sagitta vulnerans lingua eorum.” Et certe sic tandem patenter interficit quando occulte et mendaciter sic ponit insidias contra innocentes; Psalmista: “Locuti sunt adversum me lingua dolosa.” Et alibi sequitur: “Disperdat Dominus universa labia dolosa et linguam magniloquam.”

6 false] falso O. 9 in aliqua re] malicia O. 10 operatum] operata O. 15 et] om O. fine] add occultetur C. 18 descendunt] descendunt O. 23 aliqua] om O. 32 trahat] pertrahat O. 34 aspidum] aspidis O. 36 patenter] potenter O. 37 mendacis] mendacii after dolosi O. 40 patenter] potenter M.W; interdum R.

#### IV.vii DE USURA

[C]irca autem usuram est tercio sciendum quod usurarius, quamvis ad tempus mundana lucretur, in maximo tamen periculo est, et hoc primo quia vendit pauperi proximo quod ex lege nature debet ei, scilicet subsidium in necessitate. Exemplum: Fluvius vacuitatem fovee inveniens inde non per-

merchants who grow in wool and other riches, whose iniquity and tricks against the simple in buying and selling will yet be revealed before God in the end. For although here in their trickery “they spend their days in wealth,” according to Job, yet in the end they will, because of their treachery and tricks, “at a point go down to hell.”

Let such people therefore note that the life of a sinner can certainly be compared to a line, which terminates in two points, namely beginning and end, that is to say, man’s birth and death. But notice that according to the philosophers the space between the end points is divisible, but when you come to the end point, no further division is possible, for then only a single unit remains. For our purpose: whatever hour in the life of a sinner you select, that is, an extent of time, this can certainly be divided because it is an extent of time. As long as there is an extent, therefore—that is, time and duration—, a sinner can either continue in his sin or he can repent. But when he comes to the point, that is, his end, only a single and indivisible unit remains; and in this single unit—unless he has here lived better—he will, as is said, “at a point go down to hell.” Therefore, during this present life the devil tries to seduce sinners by worldly prosperity and pleasures, so that at the point of their death, when they are shut out from eternal bliss, he may carry them with him to hell and to pain.

Let merchants then give up their tricks, treachery, lies, and perjury, for such a life is like the incurable poison of asps, and more so for themselves than for others. Notice that the poison of an asp enters the body imperceptibly, spreads secretly, and yet kills it openly. Such is the lifestyle of one who betrays, lies to, and tricks the simple: first it enters imperceptibly by simulating the truth, but then it spreads secretly when deceit is carried out, for as is written in Jeremiah 9, “their tongue is a piercing arrow.” And at last it certainly kills openly, when one sets hidden and deceitful traps for the innocent; as the Psalmist says: “They have spoken against me with a deceitful tongue.” And elsewhere he continues: “May the Lord destroy deceitful lips and the tongue that speaks proud things.”

7 Ps. 61.10. 11–12 Hos. 7.1. 16–18 Job 21.13. 39 Jer. 9.8. 41–42 Ps. 108.3. 42–43 Ps. 11.4.

#### IV.vii USURY

In the third place, with respect to usury we should know that a usurer, though he gains worldly riches for a time, is yet in the greatest danger, and this first because he sells to his poor neighbor what he owes him freely by the law of nature, namely help in his need. By way of an example: when a river

5 transit donec illam impleverit. Et ideo Luce 6 dicitur: "Date mutuo nichil inde sperantes," scilicet cum usura mundi, ubi nullum lucrum est set dampnum. Unde Augustinus: "Miser, inquit, homo, cur feneraris homini? Fenerare Deo, et centuplum accipies et etiam vitam eternam." Et ecce quamvis super hoc arguantur quod iniuste aliena recipiunt et contra prohibitionem Ecclesie, tamen ad restituendum flecti non possunt et per consequens [f. 93v] [nec] a laqueo diaboli liberari, cum tamen aves que laqueum senciunt po(cius) dimittunt pedem vel alam (quam) non evadant; Ecclesiastici 10: "Quomodo capiuntur pisses hamo?"

Et nota quod "usura est ex mutuo pacto lucrum debitum et exactum. Non tamen credo usuram committi si gratis oblatum gratis accipiatur; argumento 15 14, questione 4, *Usura*; Distinctione 18." Et ideo nisi sit acceptum et extortum, non est usura. Set talis usura est duplex, quia una manifesta, alia palleata. Manifesta est quando quis tradit pecuniam numeratam, (ut) monetam; vel ponderatam, ut es, aurum, argentum; vel aliquid mensuratum, 20 ut frumentum, vinum, oleum, tali pacto ut sibi detur aliquid ultra sortem. Usura autem palleata habet sex species, quarum prima est circa pignora et circa obsides. Circa pignora est quando quis granatam alterius habet pro pignore et colligit [fructus] ultra sortem. Set ° circa obsides est quando usurarius vivit de expensis obsidis vel non vult dare dilacionem obsidi nisi prius aliquid sibi detur. Secunda species est circa empcionem et vendicionem, quando scilicet usurarius emit aliquam possessionem longe 25 minori precio quam valeat, tali condicione quod venditor illam rehabere(e) possit quando precium solvere voluerit. Si tamen quis vendiderit possessionem ali[qu]am tali condicione quod quantumcumque solvitur precium ab eo vel herede suo illam rehabeat sine resistencia et dilacione, non est usura. 30 Et tunc potest emptor facere fructus suos sine periculo nisi in fraudem usure facta sit empcio, ut quando ante terminum emit tali precio de quo dubitari non potest quin melior sit. Possessio talis usura est. Tercia species est circa consuetudines tacite facientes pactum, sicut accidit inter fatuas mulieres et cum eis peccantes. Ibi autem ipsa consuetudo [f. 35 94] pactum facit ipsis tacentibus, et in isto casu palliant ipsi maliciam usure bonitatis nomine, vocantes tales usuras "bonitates"; contra quos Ysaie 5: "Ve qui dicitis malum bonum!" Quarta species est circa societatem, cum quis scilicet tradit pecuniam suam alicui negociatori tali condicione quod sit socius in lucro et non in dampno. Similiter cum quis tradit alicui pauperi animalia sua tali condicione quod sint sibi salva numero et valore quocumque casu eveniente, nisi in se sicut in recipiente suscipiat pericula belli, incendii, et pestis, usuram committit. Quinta species est circa 40 penas. Que licet aliquando iuste fieri possunt, c(uiusmodi) sunt iudiciales, hoc est a iudice posite et statute ad puniendum contumaciam creditoris, aut si sint pene convencionales, hoc est de consensu omnium parcium in

encounters an empty ditch, it does not flow past until it has filled it. And so it is said in Luke 6: "Lend to one another without expecting anything from it," that is, any worldly profit where there is no gain but only loss. Whence Augustine says: "Wretched man, why do you lend with interest to another man? Lend to God, and you will receive a hundredfold and even eternal life." Although usurers are accused of receiving other people's goods unjustly and against the Church's prohibition, yet they cannot be directed to make restitution, and therefore they cannot escape the devil's noose, whereas birds when they feel the noose would rather lose a foot or a wing than not escape; Ecclesiasticus 10: "How are fish taken with the hook?"

And notice that "usury is a gain which is owed and demanded by mutual agreement. However, I do not believe usury occurs when something freely offered is freely received; see 14, question 4, *Usura*; and Distinction 18." Therefore, unless some profit is accepted and extorted, it is not usury. But usury itself is of two kinds: manifest and cloaked. Manifest usury occurs when someone trades a commodity that can be counted, such as money; or can be weighed, such as bronze, gold, or silver; or can be measured, such as wheat, wine, or oil, with an agreement that he receive something back beyond its original value. Cloaked usury has six different species. The first concerns securities and hostages. Usury from securities occurs when one person holds someone else's granary as a pledge and collects income from it. Usury from hostages occurs when the usurer lives off a hostage's expenses or will not give the hostage what he owes him unless he first receives something for himself. The second kind concerns buying and selling, namely when a usurer buys some good for a far smaller price than it is worth, on the condition that the seller can have it back when he wants to pay the full price. But when someone sells some good on the condition that whenever the price is paid by him or his heir he will have it back without opposition or delay, then it is not usury. And then the buyer may make some profit without danger, unless he has cheated, as when he buys the good before the set term at a price that is undoubtedly less than the object's value; this is usury. The third kind concerns customs that implicitly constitute an agreement, as happens between foolish women and men who sin with them. In this case, custom establishes a contract without an explicit agreement, and they hide the evil of usury under the name of goodness by calling such profits "bounties." Against these people is said in Isaiah 5: "Woe to you that call evil good!" The fourth kind concerns partnership, namely when someone gives his commodity to some merchant on the condition that he shares his gains but not his losses. Similarly, when someone gives a poor man his animals on the condition that they are his except for the number and value of the animals he gives him, no matter what accidents may happen. If in this case he does not accept for himself the risk of war, fire, or pestilence as the recipient does, he commits usury. The fifth kind concerns penalties. These

ipso contractu apposite, ut saltem metu pene debitum certo die solvatur; et in istis non committitur usura. Set quantum ad illos qui non intendunt [in huiusmodi] penis ut cicius sibi solvatur set quod amplius sibi solvatur, usura est. Sexta species est circa translacionem factam a re ad rem vel a persona ad personam. A re ad rem, quando dives non accipit pecuniam a paupere ultra sortem, set bene accipit quod operetur in vinea duobus diebus vel tribus. A persona ad personam, ut quando ipsemet usurarius non accomodat set facit amicum alium ad usuram accomodare, vel si ipsemet accomodet decem denarios ut dentur ultra hoc quinque denarii pauperibus; quibus pauperibus si talis tenetur, usura sibi est; si non tenetur illis, tunc usur(a) est illis et tene(n)tur restituere.

Item usurarum alia est spiritualis et bona, de qua Luce 19: "Quare non dedistis pecuniam ad mens(am) ut ego veniens cum usuris utique exigissem eam?" Alia est corporalis et iniqua, de qua [f. 94v] hic agitur. Et ista est duplex, quia una est sortis et alia usurarum, secundum Raymundum paragrapho 2. Et hec ultima vocatur improbum fenus. Unde illam exercens fit infamis ipso iure et eciam secundum leges; 3, questione 78, *Tria*, in fine. "Secundum tamen iura canonica," ut Hostiensis dicit paragrapho *Quot sunt*, "in utraque peccatum mortale committitur et infamia irrogatur: 6, questione 1, *Infamis*."

Est tamen hic advertendum quod sunt aliqui casus in quibus licet recipere ultra sortem, scilicet: Si laicus tenet violenter et iniuste aliquod predium ecclesie, tunc potest clericus cui assignata est illa ecclesia accipere ab eo illud predium et similiter recipere ultra sortem, s(i) hoc non faciat lucri causa set ut redimatur res Ecclesie de manu laici. Item si fideiussor solverit usuras creditori, potest ea repetere a debitore pro quo fideiussit, quia non sunt usure quantum ad fideiussorem set vitacio dampni. Item racione mor(e), verbi gracia: si enim michi teneres ad centum solidos ad certum terminum et non vis solvere in termino, ita quod oportet me recipere pecuniam sub usuris propter negocia me[a] tractanda, tunc tu [teneris] michi solvere illas usuras, si ego solvi eas. Et si non solvi, teneris tamen me liberare ab illa obligacione. Item racione dubii, verbi gracia: si quis dat tibi decem mensuras grani, vini, vel olei, ut alio tempore totidem sibi grani, vini, olei mesure reddantur, que licet tunc plus valeant, dum tamen utrum plus vel minus tempore solucionis fuerint valiture verisimiliter dubitat, non debet propter hoc usurarius appellari. Racione eciam huius dubii excusatur qui pannos, granum, vinum, aut alias huiusmodi merces vendit ut amplius [quam] tunc valeat recipiat pro eisdem in certo termino, si tamen tempore contractus non fuerit ea venditurus; si autem venderet ad terminum longe maiorem maiori precio quam modo valet, usura est.

[f. 95] Unde nota pro omnibus istis et aliis quod grat(is) oblatum et

may sometimes be given justly, such as judicial punishments, which are set and given by a judge in order to punish the illegal harshness of a creditor; or else they may be contractual penalties, specified in a contract by the consent of all parties, so that out of fear of such a penalty a debt may be paid off by a certain date. In these cases there is no usury. But when such penalties are set with the intention not that some debt be paid in time but that the debt may be increased, then it is usury. The sixth kind concerns transfers from one object to another or from one person to another. A transfer of objects occurs when a rich man does not accept interest money from a poor man but rather has him work in his vineyard for two or three days. A transfer of persons occurs when the usurer does not lend himself but has some friend lend the commodity at profit, or when he himself lends ten pence on the condition that an additional five pence be given to the poor; if he has an obligation to support these poor, he commits usury; if not, then it is usury for them and they must make restitution.

There is, further, one kind of usury that is spiritual and good, which is spoken of in Luke 19: "Why did you not give my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have exacted it with usury?" and another kind that is material and evil, which we are dealing with in this discussion. The latter is again twofold: one species pertains to profit, the other to fraudulent usury, according to Raymundus in paragraph 2. This last kind is called outrageous interest. He who engages in it becomes disreputable by right and according to law: 3, question 7, *Tria*, at the end. "And according to canon law," as Hostiensis says in the paragraph *Quot sunt*, "in both kinds a mortal sin is committed and loss of one's good reputation is inflicted: 6, question 1, *Infamis*."

We must, however, observe that there are some cases in which it is licit to accept some gain beyond the principal. For example, when some layperson holds a church building by force and unjustly, the clergyman to whom the church is entrusted may receive from him the price of the church together with interest, if he does so not for the sake of gain but so that the church property may be bought back from lay possession. Further, if a pledge pays interest to the creditor, he may get it from the debtor for whom he has pledged, for this is not usury to the pledge but avoidance of loss. Usury is also licit by reason of delay. For instance, if you owe me a hundred shillings at a certain date and cannot pay me in time, so that I must receive the money with interest in order to carry out my own business, in that case you owe me payment of that interest, in case I have indeed paid it myself. If I have not paid it, you are still obligated to free me from my own obligation. Further, usury is licit in case of doubt. For instance, if someone gives you ten measures of grain, wine, or oil, so that at a later time the same amount of grain, wine, or oil may be given back to him, which at the later point is worth more, if he is at the moment of payment in genuine doubt whether their price would go up or down,

acceptum non inducit usuram, dum tamen non sit intencio corrupta, quia sola  
 90 spes sive intencio facit usuram. Qui ergo sub tali spe mutuam, quicquid  
 supra sortem acceperint, usura est. Secundum ergo Gregorium X in Concilio  
 Lugdunensi, capitulo "De usuris," stat quod nullus tal(e)s secum habitare  
 permittat set infra tres menses de terris suis expellantur. Qui vero contra  
 95 fecerit, si persona ecclesiastica fuerit cuiuscumque condicionis, et maxime  
 maiores, suspencionem incurrunt, minores vero persone excommunicationem,  
 collegium autem et universitas interdicionem, laici vero omni privilegio  
 ce(s)sante per censuram ecclesiasticam compescantur. Et si tales ad peni-  
 tenciam redire voluerint, donec de usuris plenarie sit satisfactum, non  
 debent suscipere communionem, nec debent recipi eorum oblaciones, nec sunt  
 100 in cimiterio sepeliendi. Si tamen (dicit Gregorius) suppetunt facultates  
 episcopo aut saltem sacerdoti parochiali coram fidedignis, sufficiens [cau-  
 cio] prestetur de restitutione et exprimat quantitas restitu(endorum)  
 quantum possibile est; quod si non fecerit, nullus eos ad confessionem seu  
 (ad absolucionem) admittat, nec testamentis eorum intersit, et testamenta  
 105 sic facta nichil valent. Clericus eciam usurarius non ordinetur. Si vero  
 ordinatus est, aut desistat aut deponatur.

Unde narratur de quodam usurario qui hoc modo multas congregabat  
 divicias, qui cum ad mortem infirmabatur et ab uxore ut testamentum conde-  
 ret fuisset sepius admonitus, constanter negavit, set fecit uxorem suam  
 110 iurare quod post mortem eius ligaret circa corpus eius de huiusmodi lucro  
 triginta marcas, quas in thesauro reposuisset, dicens ei: "Ne timeas pro  
 me. Quamcumque enim terram introiero, [f. 95v] si hanc pecuniam mecum  
 habuero, bene negociabor et caute." Sepulto ergo eo cum pecunia, cito post  
 venit curie legatus et hec audiens precepit sacerdoti qui eum sepelierat a  
 115 sepultura fidelium extrahi et in campum proici et comburi. Qui cum eius  
 familiaribus accessisset, in loco ubi denarii fuerant ligati invenierunt  
 bufones teterrimos corpus miserum et horridum corrodes et vermes innume-  
 rabiles in braccale pecunie. Quo viso ignem apposuerunt, et multi illius  
 fetore interierunt.

Ad idem eciam narracio de eodem legato, magister Robertus nomine, cum  
 120 in sua visitacione apud Werdeley venisset et sibi idem intimatum fuisset de  
 quodam usurario nuper defuncto, quem cum exhauriri iussisset, amoto lapide  
 superiori viderunt corpus eius nigrum et fetidissimum, et quendam bufonem  
 supra eum sedere, qui tenuit ad os eius quasi eius nutrix nummos ardentes  
 125 et ipsum ad modum nutricis pavit cum illis. Quod cum vidissent, perteriti  
 fugerunt, et venerunt demones et corpus cum tumba asportabant, nec usquam  
 comparuit.

4 Fluvius] add autem O. 11 liberari] om O. 12 pocius] post C.R.W. quam] quamvis  
 C. 15 accipiatur] recipiatur M.R; longer om W. 18 ut] vel C. 22 granatam] grangiam  
 R.W. 23 Set] add contra C. 27 rehabere] rehaberi C. 29 solvitur] solvatur O.

he must not be called usurer. For the same reason of doubt a person is excused  
 if he sells cloth, grain, wine, or other such merchandise with the condition  
 that he will receive more for them at a certain future date than their value is  
 at the date of sale, provided he did not actually sell them on the date of the  
 contract; but if he were to make a far future sale at a higher price than their  
 present value, this is usury.

Notice, then, that in all these and other cases, what is freely given and  
 freely accepted does not lead to usury, as long as there is no corrupt inten-  
 tion, for usury always rests upon such expectation or intention. Thus, whoever  
 loans money with such expectation, whatever profit he makes is usury. There-  
 fore, according to the decree "On Usury" given by Gregory X at the Council of  
 Lyons, no one must allow such usurers to dwell with him but expel them from  
 his country within three months. Whoever acts otherwise, if he is a member of  
 the clergy of whatever rank, and especially if of a higher rank, incurs suspen-  
 sion; the lower clergy, excommunication; a college or university, interdict;  
 whereas laymen are to be curbed by ecclesiastic censure with the cessation of  
 all privileges. And when such usurers want to do penance, they must not  
 receive Communion until they have made complete satisfaction, nor must their  
 offerings be accepted, nor are they to be buried in the cemetery. If however,  
 says Gregory, they present goods to the bishop or their parish priest in the  
 presence of witnesses, an adequate security about their restitution should be  
 given and the amount to be restituted should be specified, inasmuch as is  
 possible; if such is not done, no one is to admit them to confession or absolu-  
 tion, nor may he be present at their making their last will, and the testaments  
 thus made have no validity. A cleric who is a usurer must not be ordained; and  
 if he is already ordained, he must either desist from usury or be deposed.

There is a story about a usurer who had in this fashion gathered great  
 wealth. When he was in his last sickness and was often admonished by his wife  
 to make his will, he always refused, but he made his wife swear that after his  
 death she would tie thirty marks from his profits on his body, which he had  
 placed in his treasure, telling her: "Do not be afraid for me. To whatever  
 country I travel, if I have this money on me, I shall make a good and careful  
 bargain." Shortly after he had been buried with the money, a legate came from  
 the Curia and, hearing all this, ordered the priest who had buried him to take  
 him out of the cemetery of the faithful and throw him in the open field and  
 burn him. Now, when the priest and his assistants came to him, they found in  
 the place where the money had been tied ugly toads that gnawed at his miserable  
 decomposing body and countless worms instead of an armband of money. When  
 they saw this, they burned him, and many died of the stench.

In the same vein it is reported of the same legate named Master Robert  
 that he once came to Verdely on his visitation. There he was told about a  
 usurer who had recently died. He ordered his body to be exhumed. When the  
 upper stone had been removed, they saw his black and stinking body and a toad



31 fraudem] fraude M.R.; ? W. 44 cuiusmodi] cicius C.M.W; *corr in R.* 45 puniendum] puniendam O. 49 sibi(2)] *om O.* 57 usura] usurarius C.W. tenentur] teneatur C; tenantur M. 59 mensam] mensuram C; usuram M. utique] *om O.* exigissem] exegissem O. 61–62 paragrapho] *om O.* 66 Infamis] infames O. 71 si] set C. 73 ad] *add ipsum O.* 74 more] mortis C.O and other groups; *text in source.* 77 ego] *om O.* 79 tibi] *om O.* 79–80 mensuras . . . olei] solidos M; *om R.W.* 84 quam] *om C.M.W;* *marg R.* 86 maiorem] maiori M; *om R.W.* 88 gratis] gratum C. 92 tales] talis C.R.W. 97 cessante] censante C. 102 restituendorum] restitutionis C. 104 ad absolucionem] oblacionem C. 105 sic] aliter M.W; eorum R. 107 congregabat] congregasset O. 112 introiero] intravero O.

#### IV.viii DE SYMONIA

[D]e symonia iam dicendum est, et primo quid sit. Secundum enim theologos et iuristas, ut communiter, dicitur quod “symonia est studiosa voluntas emendi vel vendendi spirituale”; vel spirituali annexum, quod additur pro iure patronatus, prohibetur vendi; Extravagantes “De iure patronatus,”  
5 [De iure]. Dicunt enim quidam quod ius patronatus nullo modo vendi potest cum sit spirituali annexum, transire tamen potest cum universitate. Si[cut] quando quis emit villam, non emit tunc ius patronatus [illius], set illud ius tunc transit cum illa villa ad eius emptorem, sicut Abraham non emit ius sepulture in spelunca dupplici [f. 96] set totum agrum, cum quo transit  
10 ad eum ius sepeliendi.

Et nota quod symonia dicitur a Symone mago, primo auctore huius sceleris in Novo Testamento, qui volebat emere gratiam Spiritus Sancti a beato Petro, Actuum 8, sicut Gyesi in Veteri Testamento, Regum 5, vendidit sanitatem Naaman Syro et sanitatem ideo amisit. Et iste commisit symoniam  
15 de post facto, quia precedens ad beneficium pravam int[er]sit intencionem quasi bene posset. Unde venditor spiritualium proprie dicitur gyesiticus, set emptor symoniacus, usu tamen communi uterque symoniacus a dicto Symone.

Est autem advertendum quod triplex est munus quo committitur symonia inter homines, scilicet a manu, a lingua, ab obsequio. A manu, hoc est per  
20 manum, committitur symonia per pecuniam (nomine autem pecunie intelliguntur omnia que habent homines in terris, sive mobilia sive immobilia); Causa 1, questione 1, *Sunt nonnulli*, in fine proxime questionis. Munus a lingua sunt favor, preces que fiunt pro indigno, quia tunc preces et huiusmodi succedunt loco precii. Si tamen fiant pro digno, non est symonia, dummodo ordi-

sitting on it, who, like a nurse, held burning coins to the dead man’s mouth and fed him these. When they saw that, they fled in horror, and then demons came and carried the corpse with its coffin away, and he was nowhere seen again.

5–6 Luke 6.35. 7–8 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 36 III.6 (CC 38:372–373). 13 Eccles. 9.12. 14–16 Raymundus, *Summa* II.vii.1 (p. 227). The canonical references are to Gratian II.14.3.4 (1:735) and Gratian I.18 (1:53–58). 18–20 Raymundus, loc. cit. 21–57 Almost verbatim in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* IV.ii.1, except for lines 28–33 and 42–43. 38 Isa. 5.20. 58–63 Raymundus, II.vii.2 (227). 58–60 Luke 19.23. 63 Gratian II.3.7. pars ii, 20, near end (1:526). 64–66 Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*, V, “De usuris,” 3 (1615). The reference is to Gratian II.6.1.17 (1:558). 66–87 Raymundus, II.vii.3 (228–229). 91–92 The reference is to the Council of Lyon, 1274. 91 *Decretals* 5.5 (2:1081–82). 107–19 Tubach 5054b (not 4889). Similarly in Bromyard, “Acquisicio,” A.XII.31–32. 120–127 Tubach 4889; very widespread.

#### IV.viii SIMONY

Now we will speak of simony, and first of its nature. According to theologians and lawyers, it is commonly said that “simony is the eager desire to buy or sell something spiritual”; or something attached to a spiritual value, which is added because the right of patronage is forbidden to be sold. Thus in Extravagantes, “On the right of patronage,” *De iure*. Some authorities say that the right of patronage cannot be sold in any way, since it is attached to a spiritual value; but it can pass on with a university. Thus, when someone buys a village, he does not buy its right of patronage, but the latter passes on to the buyer together with the village, just as Abraham did not buy the burial right in the double cave, but the whole field, with which the burial right passed on to him.

Simony is so called after Simon Magus, the first originator of this crime in the New Testament, who wanted to buy the grace of the Holy Spirit from Blessed Peter, in Acts 8, just as Gehazi in the Old Testament, in Kings 5, sold health to the Syrian Naaman and thereby lost his own. He committed simony after the fact, because when he approached to receive a gift, he twisted his evil intention as if he could receive the gift by right. Hence, someone who sells spiritual values is properly called a Gehaziite, whereas the buyer is a simoniac. But in common usage both are called simoniacs, after the before-mentioned Simon.

Notice that the gift by which simony is committed among people is of three kinds: of hand, tongue, and service. Simony “of hand,” that is, by hand, is committed by means of *pecunia*, “a commodity” (under the name of *pecunia* we understand everything men have on earth, moveable or unmoveable); Causa 1,



- 25 nator vel elector non habeat respectum ad preces set ad Deum et meritum  
persone. Et nota quod nullus per se quantumcumque dignus potest petere  
beneficium ecclesie habens curam animarum sine symonia. Beneficium tamen  
simpliciter si indiget et sentit se dignum potest petere absque metu symo-  
nie. Munus vero ab obsequio est servitus indebite impensa, sicut si honeste  
30 obsequeris inhonesto ut usurario vel tyranno; vel econtrario si inhoneste  
honesto, ut si fias armiger alicuius pro aliquo spirituali. Nota tamen quod  
huiusmodi obsequium est duplex, scilicet corporale et spirituale. [f. 96v]  
In corporali autem obsequio et honesto licitum est, ut si quis vadat ad  
curiam pro ecclesia vel serviat episcopo in licitis et honestis, dum tamen  
35 sine pactione hoc facit. Si vero obsequium sit inhonestum, non potest. Si  
autem fuerit tale obsequium spirituale, tunc illud non debet facere pro  
beneficio, nisi tale officium sit tali beneficio inpositum. Verbi gracia:  
alicui prebende inpositum est hoc onus, scilicet quicumque habuerit illam,  
legat in theologia vel cantet vel cantari faciat de Beata Virgine.
- 40 Et nota quod quinque sunt casus in quibus datur licite temporale pro  
spirituali a manu. Primus, si gratis munus datur vel offeratur pro spiri-  
tuali; 1, questione 1, *Quicquid*. Secundus, pro operibus spiritualibus ad  
que non tenetur quis ex officio; 12, questione 2, *Carita(tis) verb(a)*:  
“Iustum, inquit, est ut illi consequentur stipendium qui pro tempore suum  
45 comodare reperiuntur obsequium.” Tercius est pro quibusdam operibus spiri-  
tualibus alicuius divitis, sicut si episcopus consecrat ecclesiam vel  
visitat episcopatum, potest tunc exigere procuracionem debitam et modera-  
tam; Extravagantes E, *Cum sit Romana*, et “De prescriptis,” *Cum ex officio*.  
Quarto, pro vita eterna et pro peccatorum remissione, cuiusmodi sunt elemo-  
50 sine. Quinto, pro reddenda vexacione que sibi fit iniuste super spirituali  
iure; Extravagantes, capitulo *Dilecte*.
- Et nota quod symonia committitur in ordine, quando quis scilicet  
symoniace suscipit ordines; similiter quando quis symoniace acquirit bene-  
ficium vel intrat religionem. Et hic nota bene casus quos ponit Lincol-  
niensis in *Templo*, et sunt extracta de *Penitenciali* magistri Roberti (Fla-  
meyn). Et sunt isti: Primus est si aliquis tibi adquisivit ecclesiam vel  
ordines vel habitum religionis te sciente vel ignorante, et postea te  
percipiente possides, nisi re- [f. 97] signes. Secundus, si aliquod munus  
accepisti, dedisti pro promocione tua vel alterius ad ordines vel ecclesiam  
55 vel religionem. Tercius, si fecisti alicui obsequium tibi indebitum vel  
indebite persone, ut per hoc haberes ecclesiam, ordines, vel habitum reli-  
gionis. Quarto, si habes ecclesiam ex dono alicuius principis vel alterius  
magistri cui pater tuus vel amicus fecit obsequia, et hoc scis. Quintus, si  
contendas pro ecclesia et tamen tu scis nichil iuris habere et das adversa-  
rio tuo pro suo iure corporale munus. Sextus, si vendidisti vel emisti ius  
65 patronatus simpliciter per se et non cum alio corporali annexo. Septimus,

question 1, *Sunt nonnulli*, at the end of the question. A gift “of tongue” is  
favoritism or intercession made for an unworthy person, for such intercession  
and the like take the place of money. But if intercession is made for a worthy  
person, it is not simony, as long as the person who ordains or elects the  
candidate does not act out of regard for the intercession but rather for God  
and the merits of the candidate. And notice that no one, no matter how worthy  
he may be, can ask for himself for a church benefice that has the care of souls  
attached to it without incurring simony. But he may ask for a simple benefice  
without fear of simony, if he is in need and thinks he is worthy of it. A gift  
“of service,” finally, is service that is undertaken inappropriately, as when  
one serves honorably a dishonorable person, such as a usurer or a tyrant; or  
conversely when one serves an honorable person dishonorably, as when one be-  
comes someone’s squire for a spiritual purpose. Such service, however, is  
twofold, bodily and spiritual. If the service is bodily and honorable, it is  
licit, as when someone goes to the Curia for his church or serves his bishop in  
licit and honorable business, as long as he does this without a contract. But  
if the service is not honorable, it cannot be licit. If on the other hand the  
service is spiritual, he must not render it for a benefice unless the service  
is a required part of the benefice. For instance, a prebend may have attached  
to it a required charge, that is, that he who holds the living must study  
theology, or say Mass daily, or have a Mass said in honor of the Blessed  
Virgin.

Notice also that in five cases a temporal gift can be given licitly “by  
hand” for something spiritual. First, if a gift is freely offered for a  
spiritual value; 1, question 1, *Quicquid*. Second, for spiritual acts to which  
one is not officially obligated; 12, question 2, *Caritatis verba*, which de-  
clares: “It is just that those should receive a stipend who are found to give  
their service on their time.” The third is for any spiritual works of a rich  
person, as when a bishop consecrates a church or visits his diocese, he may ask  
for a licit and moderate compensation; Extravagantes E, *Cum sit Romana*, and in  
the title “On prescriptions,” *Cum ex officio*. Fourth, for eternal life and for  
the remission of sins, as are alms. And fifth, in order to repay for any  
vexation that is suffered unjustly in carrying out the spiritual law; Extrava-  
gantes 1, *Dilecte*.

Notice further that simony is committed in holy orders when someone re-  
ceives orders simoniacally; similarly when someone acquires a benefice or  
enters the religious life simoniacally. Mark well the cases which Grosseteste  
lists in his *Temple*, which are excerpted from the *Penitential* of Master Robert  
of Flamesborough. And they are: (1) If someone acquires a living for you or  
holy orders or the religious habit with or without your knowledge, and after-  
wards you come into possession with full knowledge, and you do not resign it.  
(2) If you have received or given any gift for your own or another person’s

si ius patronatus dedisti episcopo et recepisti eam in usus proprios pro collacione iuris tui. Octavus, si dedisti decem ut concederet rector tibi pensionem suam post se. Nonus, si concessisti pensionem novam ut haberes ecclesiam vel augmentum. Decimus, si dedisti decem prelo ut te non visitet vel dedicet ecclesiam tuam. Undecimus, si iurasti conservare iura ecclesie antequam posses in illam institui vel pro institutione dedisti corporale munus vel accepisti. Duodecimus, si post ordinationem, electionem, beneficii collacionem, vel habitus [religionis] suscepcionem exactus sub pretextu alicuius consuetudinis aliquid dedisti. Mala enim consuetudo peccatum non minuit set auget; Extravagantes E, *Sicut pro certo*. Et tamen si gratis et sine [ex]actione, set propter dilectionem ex beneficio collato generatam vel propter devocionem aliquid dedisti, non est symonia. Decimus tercius, si commodasti decem patrono ut tibi conferat ecclesiam et confert. Decimus quartus, si compelli(s) aliquem ad solucionem pecunie pro annuali vel tricennali, etc. Decimus quintus, si pro certa pecunia celebras divina ex condicione in ecclesia alicuius, puta pro quadraginta solidis; [f. 97v] si tamen pro alico quam pro certa pecunia, ut pro altari, non [est] symonia, eciam si altare valeat quadraginta solidis. Et (ratio est), secundum dictum magistri Roberti Lincolnensis, quia ibi altare accipitur nomine ecclesie, et iustum est ut qui servit altari, quod de altari vivat. Set denarii recipiuntur nomine burse, et hoc maxime quando taxati sunt ad certum numerum. Decimus sextus, si ex officio teneris ad aliquam missam vel exequias vel simile, et tamen propter hoc exigis aliquid, symonia est. Decimus septimus, si gratis tamen oblatum potes recipere. Si vero ad huiusmodi non teneris et desunt tibi sumptus, potes licite locare opera tua ad diem vel annum, sicut faciunt conducticii sacerdotes; 1, questione 1, et Extravagantes, "Ne prelati." Si autem habes sumptus aut teneris gratis celebrare aut cessare, hoc tamen forte non esset symonia, cum non tenetur aliquis propriis stipendiis militare, secundum opinionem doctorum. Decimus octavus, si celebrata una missa celebras aliam pro pecunia vel hominum adulacione, indistincte non evades dampnationem. Decimus nonus, si emisti decimas ad te prius non spectantes a laico sine licencia episcopi vel [alterius] superioris. Decimus decimus, si laicus ecclesiam ad firmam accepit, vel eciam clericus propter lucrum temporale principaliter, symonia est secundum opinionem doctorum; argumento pro eis 1, questione 3, *Salvator*. Vicesimus est si renunciasti beneficio tuo non existens patronus [eiusdem], ut conferes alteri certe persone propter aliquod lucrum. Vicesimus primus, si das ecclesiam pro alia sine licencia episcopi pro lucro. Vicesimus secundus, si pro sciencia et pericia ministras episcopo coadiutor eius factus in causis decidendis et aliis conciliis spiritualibus pro certa taxatione stipendiorum ex condicione. Officium enim tale spirituale est et ideo sine condicione et certa taxatione fieri licet. Et idem videtur de sacerdote [f. 98]

promotion to holy orders or a living or the religious life. (3) If you have given any inappropriate service, or have given service to an inappropriate person, in order thereby to acquire a living or holy orders or the religious habit. (4) If you hold a living as a gift from a prince or another master to whom your father or a friend of yours gave service, and you are aware of it. (5) If you compete for a living, knowing that you have no claim to it, and you give your opponent a tangible gift in exchange for his right. (6) If you have sold or bought the simple right of patronage by itself, not with any tangible benefit attached to it. (7) If you have given the right of patronage to your bishop and have received the benefice for your own use in return for your right. (8) If you have given ten marks so that the pastor would leave you his income after his death. (9) If you have given a new share in order to gain a living or some increase. (10) If you have given ten marks to a prelate so that he would not make his visitation or that he would dedicate your church. (11) If you have sworn to uphold the rights of a living before you could be installed in it, or if you have given or received a tangible gift for the installation. (12) If under the pretext of following established custom you have made any gift that was extorted from you for your ordination, election, the conferral of a benefice, or your entrance into the religious life. An evil custom does not diminish a sin but increases it; Extravagantes E, *Sicut pro certo*. If, however, you have made a gift freely and without any such pressure, out of love created by the benefice conferred on you, or out of devotion, this is not simony. (13) If you have given ten marks to a patron so that he would confer a living on you, and he does so. (14) If you compel someone to pay money for an anniversary or a triennial Mass and the like. (15) If you celebrate Mass in someone's church for a fixed sum of money as a condition, say for forty shillings. If, however, you do this for anything other than a fixed sum of money, say for the income from an altar, then it is not simony, even if the altar is worth forty shillings. The reason, according to the explanation of the said Master Robert of Lincoln, is that in this case the altar is received in the name of the church, and it is right that he who serves the altar should live by the altar. But money is received in the name of the purse, and especially so if it is specified by a certain amount. (16) If by virtue of your office you are required to say Mass or conduct a burial or the like and yet you demand to be paid for it, that is simony. A freely offered gift, however, you may accept. But if you are not required to give such service and you lack livelihood, then you can licitly hire out your work by the day or the year, as stipendiary priests do; 1, question 1; and Extravagantes, under the title "Prelates should not." But if you have your livelihood, you are held either to celebrate for free or not at all. Even in this case, however, it might perhaps not be simony since, in the opinion of some doctors, no one is obligated to do service at his own cost. (17) If after saying one Mass you say another for the

- quem sibi adducat dives aliquis ut sibi celebret divina, secundum opinionem  
 110 Lincolniensis et alterius magistri Roberti. Vicesimus tercius, si dedisti  
 vel accepisti pro iudicio differendo vel celando iniuste vel pervertendo;  
 14, questione 5, *Non sane*. Vicesimus quartus, si forum ecclesiasticum ad  
 certam firmam posuisti vel aliquam iurisdictionem habentem aliquod spiri-  
 115 tuale annexum vel vicedominatum vel rerum aliarum ecclesiasticarum adminis-  
 tracionem; 1, questione 3, [*Salvator*]. Vicesimus quintus, si accepisti pro  
 alico sacramento ecclesiastico in quo gracia confertur. Hoc enim dicitur ad  
 differenciam matrimonii, in quo gracia non confertur, et ideo pro eo accipi  
 potest. Vicesimus sextus, secundum Raymundum, si accepisti munus pro intro-  
 120 nizacione episcoporum vel institucione canonicorum vel pro benedictione  
 abbatis vel pro sepultura vel pro danda absolucione vel iure decimarum vel  
 pro iusticia Ecclesie servanda. In omnibus hiis accipere pecuniam est  
 symonia, secundum doctores. Vicesimus septimus, si magister scolasticus  
 habens beneficium in ecclesia aliqua assignatum ut clericos ecclesie et  
 alios pauperes instruat et tamen ab eisdem aliquid exigerit et acceperit.  
 125 Si tamen huiusmodi beneficium non sufficit, competenter ° potest licite  
 accipere, moderate tamen, aliter non. Sponte vero oblata potest licite  
 accipere. Vicesimus octavus, [si] magister scolasticus pro die iure colendo  
 pecuniam acceperit a scolariis ad eum colendum, vel concessisti istum  
 colendum pro pecunia, secundum Lincolniensem. Vicesimus nonus, si dedisti,  
 130 promisisti, vel aliquid accepisti pro licencia docendi, similiter symonia  
 est. Tricesimus, si presbiter parochialis prece aut precio, favore aut  
 consanguinitate celaverit episcopo publicum peccatum parochiani sui vel si  
 minus digne pe[ni]tentem a reconciliacione amoverit; Extravagantes E, *Nemo*.  
 135 Tricesimus primus, si presentatus ad ordines non habens titulum iurasti vel  
 promisisti te non inquietaturum ordin[ator]em vel [f. 98v] presenta(tor)em  
 ordinatus fuerit. Sine dispensacione domini pape in tali ordine non debet  
 ministrare. Ordinator vero ab ordinum collacione et presentator ab ordinum  
 execucione per triennium suspendantur; Extravagantes E, *Siquis ordinaverit*.  
 140 Tricesimus secundus, si habes ecclesiam tibi datam vel promissam tempore  
 rectoris eiusdem. Hic enim casus ponitur hoc loco licet non sit symonia,  
 quia tamquam symoniacus privandus est de beneficio illo, secundum doctores.  
 De pena autem symoniaci distinguendum est, quia aut est symonia in  
 ordine suscepto aut in beneficio. Si in primo, non recipiet execucionem  
 set ipso iure est suspensus quoad se et quoad alios, sive sit occultum sive  
 145 manifestum, sicut notorius fornicator; Extravagantes "De symonia," *Can.ta*,  
 et 32 distincione, [a.] 8. Et similiter sic intelligitur 1, questione 1,  
*Reperiuntur*. Item punitur deposicione et infamia; 15, questione 3, *Sane*.  
 Nec pecuniam potest repetere, non quia alius bene recepit set quia iste  
 turpiter dedit; 14, questione 5, *Non sane*. Si autem symonia sit in benefi-  
 150 cio suscepto, tenetur ideo renunciare et restituere omnes fructus percep-

sake of money or human adulation, without question you will not avoid being  
 damned. (18) If you have bought from a layman tithes that did not belong to  
 you before, without license of your bishop or another superior. (19) If a  
 layman accepts a living as a payment, or even a cleric, if he does so chiefly  
 for the sake of temporal gain, this is simony in the opinion of the doctors; on  
 this see 1, question 3, *Salvator*. (20) If you have renounced your benefice  
 without being its patron, in order to confer it to someone else for the sake of  
 gain. (21) If you exchange one living for another without permission from the  
 bishop, for the sake of gain. (22) If you serve your bishop with your knowl-  
 edge and skill as his coadjutor, in judging legal cases or in giving other  
 spiritual advice, on the condition of a fixed amount of compensation. Such an  
 office is a spiritual one and must therefore be carried out without any condi-  
 tion and fixed compensation. The same applies to a priest whom a rich person  
 employs to say Mass for him, after the opinion of Grosseteste and the other  
 Master Robert. (23) If you have given or accepted any gift for delaying  
 judgment or unjustly hiding it or perverting justice; 14, question 5, *Non sane*.  
 (24) If you have given as a payment the church court, or any jurisdiction that  
 has any spiritual value attached to it, or the office of deputy, or any admin-  
 istration of other church goods; 1, question 3, *Salvator*. (25) If you have  
 accepted any gift for any sacrament of the Church in which grace is conferred.  
 The last qualification is made to set apart matrimony, in which grace is not  
 conferred; and therefore a gift can be received for it. (26) According to  
 Raymundus, if you have accepted a gift for the inthronization of bishops, the  
 installment of canons, the blessing of the abbot, a funeral, giving absolution,  
 the right of tithing, or to carry out ecclesiastic justice. To accept money  
 for any of these is, in the teaching of the doctors, simony. (27) If a school-  
 master holds a benefice in some church assigned to him to teach clerics of the  
 Church or the poor and still demands a gift from them and accepts it. However,  
 if his benefice is not sufficient, then he may rightly accept a gift, but with  
 moderation, not otherwise. What is offered him voluntarily, he can licitly  
 accept. (28) If a schoolmaster has accepted money from his students to keep a  
 legally established holiday, or if he has granted them a holiday for money,  
 according to Grosseteste. (29) If you have given, promised, or received any  
 gift for the permission to teach, it is similarly simony. (30) If on account  
 of a request, a tangible gift, a favor, or consanguinity, a parish priest has  
 hidden from his bishop a publicly known sin of his parishioner, or has removed  
 from reconciliation someone who does penance less worthily; Extravagantes E,  
*Nemo*. (31) If at being presented for ordination without a title you have sworn  
 or promised not to disturb the person who was to ordain or present you, and you  
 were ordained. In such a state you cannot legally serve without dispensation  
 from the lord pope. But the person who conferred the order must be suspended  
 from giving holy orders, and the person who presented you from carrying out the

tos; 14, questione 6, *Si res aliena*. Symoniacus vero ordinator, beneficiator, aut mediator suspensus est quoad se si sit occultum, et quoad alios si sit manifestum. Et idem secundum Innocencium et Hostiensem dicitur omnibus notoriis excommunicatis, depositis, et suspensis, quia ordines et huiusmodi ab illis collatis officium non habent; 1, questione 3, *Ea que*. Si layci symoniaci sint, debent excommunicari. Symoniacus autem in religione, si ipso sciente commissa est symonia, sine spe restitutionis de suo monasterio repellatur et ad perpetuam penitentiam peragendam in loco regule arcioris retrudatur. Si vero arcior regula non inveniatur, debet mutari in aliud monasterium eiusdem regule mutatis prioribus locis; [f. 99] Extravagantes ut supra. Si vero ipso ignorante commissa est symonia, postquam simpliciter renunciaverit potest dicto de novo recipi; argumento Extravagantes "De electione," *Bone memorie*. Hec *Summa confessorum*, libro 1, titulo "De symonia," questione 28, pro maiori parte.

155 Circa vero dispensacionem talium est distinguendum: circa ordinem quatuor casus in quibus prohibita est dispensacio, hoc est, non consuevit papa dispensare. Et patent casus per istos versus:

170 Si bis ordo detur sive baptismus repetatur,  
 Ut evertatur fidei ordo que petatur,  
 Vel si prestetur, utrumque Symon operetur,  
 Ut dispensetur spes irrita prorsus habetur.

Et tamen in hiis et in omnibus aliis potest dominus papa de plenitudine potestatis dispensare, ut patet 1, questione 7, *Sabi*, et "De consecratione," distinctione 4, *Eos qui bis*. Episcopus autem potest dispensare cum symoniaco in ordine, si ipso [ordinato] ignorante sit commissa symonia, et ipsi episcopo non fuerit data pecunia, set suo collateralis ipso ignorante; aliter non. Set dominus [papa]; 1, questione 1, *Erga*. Et hoc idem potest episcopus cum symoniaco in beneficio suo cui acquiritur beneficium si eo ignorante symonia commissa sit eciam ut de novo ei conferatur beneficium, cui si[bi] pure ac simpliciter resignaverit; Extravagantes E, "De symonia." Set hoc intelligendum est si episcopus hoc simpliciter ignoraverit. Item cum religioso si eo ignorante commissa est symonia, potest prelatus vel capitulum dispensare, dum tamen non sint participes symonie. Et tamen credo quod circa ordines dispensare non possunt, set episcopus, ut patet 8, questione 25.

185 Contra igitur huiusmodi symoniacos narratur quod defuncto Innocencio papa quarto quidam cardinalis dormiens sibi videbatur quod fuerat in celis coram maiestate Dei sedentis pro tribunali, a cuius dextris stabat Beata Virgo, set a sinistris stabat quedam mulier nobilissima corpore [f. 99v] et habitu decentissime ornata. Que exten(to) brachio super manum sinistram deferebat quasi templum, in cuius fronte scribebatur quasi literis aureis

function of orders, for three years; Extravagantes E, *Siquis ordinaverit*. (32) If you hold a church living that was given or promised you at the time while its rector was still alive. This case is placed here even though it is not simony, because according to the doctors you are still to be deprived of that benefice as if you were a simoniac.

Concerning the punishment for simony, one must distinguish between simony in receiving holy orders and in receiving a benefice. If the former was the case, the simoniac will not receive the faculties to carry out holy orders but is *ipso iure* suspended, he himself as well as the others involved, whether the case was secret or open, just as if he were a notorious fornicator; Extravagantes, "On simony," *Tanta*, and Distinction 32, a. 8. And similarly in 1, question 1, *Reperiuntur*. A simoniac is further punished with deposition and loss of good name; 15, question 3, *Sane*. Nor can he get his money back—not because the other person received it legally, but because he gave it in violation of the moral law; 14, question 5, *Non sane*. But if simony has occurred in receiving a benefice, he is held to renounce it and return all its income; 14, question 6, *Si res aliena*. A person who has comitted simony in ordaining, giving a benefice, or mediating is suspended in his own person if the case was secret, and publicly if it was open. According to Innocent and Hostiensis, the same applies to all well-known excommunicated persons and those that have been deposed and suspended, because their orders and whatever else of this kind they have conferred are not valid; 1, question 3, *Ea que*. Laymen that are simoniacs must be excommunicated. In the case of a religious person who is a simoniac, if simony was committed with his knowledge, he must be expelled from his monastery without hope of restitution and relegated to a place with a harsher rule, in order to do perpetual penance. If a more demanding monastic rule is not available, he must be transferred to another house with the same rule, away from his original house; Extravagantes, as quoted above. But if simony was incurred without his knowledge, after a simple renunciation he may be admitted to his house again; see Extravagantes, "On Election," *Bone memorie*. These cases are taken from book 1 of the *Summa confessorum*, under the title "On Usury," question 28, for the most part.

With regard to the dispensation of such people: there are four cases concerning holy orders in which dispensation is forbidden, that is to say, the pope usually does not give it. They are listed in the following verses:

If baptism is repeated, or orders giv'n twice,  
 If orders are requested out of their normal line,  
 If either sacrament is giv'n for money gain—  
 To hope for dispensation in these is wholly vain.

And yet even in these and all other cases can the lord pope give dispensation out of the fullness of his power, as is found in 1, question 7, *Sabi*, and in

hoc verbum "Ecclesia." Coram autem Maiestate iunctis manibus et erectis  
vidit dictum papam flexis genibus petens misericordiam, non iudicium. Cui  
econtra predicta mulier nobilissima ait: "Domine, iuste iudex, rectum  
195 redde iudicium. Modo enim accuso eum super tribus. Primo, cum in terris  
Ecclesiam fundasses ac libertatibus eam fundasti, hic vero illam propter  
lucrum temporale reddidit ancillam, nobilissimam vilissimam. Secundo, cum in  
terra eam fundasti ad salutem peccatorum et ut lucrifaceret animas misero-  
rum, hic vero illam symoniace vivendo fecit illam mensam nummulariorum.  
200 Tercio, cum illam fundasti in fidei firmitate et iusticia et veritate, iste  
fidem per gestus et mores illam fecit vacillare, iusticiam subvertit,  
fidem obumbravit. Iustum igitur iudicium michi redde." Ait ergo sibi  
Deus: "Vade, maledicte, in ignem eternum," etc. Cum ergo dominus cardinalis  
ex terrore evigilasset, quasi extra se raptus est in tantum ut servi eius  
205 furiosum ipsum estimarent. Tandem mitigato dolore ita cepit narrare et  
postea vitam suam ordinavit in melius.

7 illius] *om* C.W. illud] *add* illud C. 8 illa] eadem O. 15 intorsit] intersit C.W.  
34 episcopo] *add* vel alicui ecclesiastico O. 39 cantet] *add* cotidie O. faciat] faciet M;  
facit R.W. 41 datur vel] *om* O. 43 Caritatis] caritas C.R. verba] verbis C. 54 quos]  
*add* hic O. 55–56 Flameyn] lyncolnensis C; flauyn R; flauelyn W. 58 nisi resignes] *om*  
O. 60 alicui] tibi M.W; *om* R. 70 ecclesiam] *add* novam O. 77 exactione] actione  
C.R. 78 generatam] geratam O. 80 compellis] compellit C. 81 etc.] ut cetera  
huiusmodi O. 84 ratio est] ideo C. 91 desunt] deficit O. 101–104 Vicesimus . . . lu-  
cro] *items 20–21 reversed* O. 120 abbatis] abbatum O. 125 competentem] *add* non C.  
135 presentatorem] presentationem C. 142 est(2)] *om* O. 143 in(2)] *om* O. 159 re-  
trudatur] detrudatur M.W; detradatur R. 167 Et . . . istos] unde M.R; *om* W. 169 Ut]  
sive ut M; vel R; cum W. 190 extento] extendente C; existente R.W. 193 papam] *add*  
innocencium O. 194 Domine] *om* O. 196 libertatibus] literalibus M.W (*and most other*  
*groups except z*); lateralibus R. 202 fidem] veritatem O. obumbravit] *add* fidem O.  
igitur] ergo O. 203 etc.] *add* qui preparatus est diabolo et angelis eius O.

"On Consecration," distinction 4, *Eos qui bis*. A bishop on the other hand can  
give dispensation in cases of simony in the conferral of orders, if the or-  
dained person is ignorant that simony has occurred and the bishop himself was  
not given any money; or if his associate received any without his knowledge;  
otherwise not; but the lord pope may dispense in these cases: 1, question 1,  
*Erga*. In the same way, the bishop can give dispensation in cases of simony in  
receiving a benefice. If someone has committed such simony in ignorance, the  
benefice may be newly bestowed on him once he has resigned it to the bishop  
purely and simply; Extravagantes E, "On Simony." But one must understand that  
this is possible only if the bishop did not know about it. In case a religious  
person has incurred simony without his knowledge, his prelate or chapter can  
give dispensation, as long as they are not involved in the same case of simony.  
But I believe that the latter cannot give dispensation in cases of simony in  
holy orders, but only the bishop, as can be seen from 8, question 25.

Against simoniacs of this kind the following story is told. After the  
death of Pope Innocent IV, a cardinal while asleep seemed to be in heaven  
before God's majesty seated in judgment, at whose right stood the Blessed  
Virgin, and at whose left a woman of most noble figure and most splendidly  
clothed. She had her arm extended and, in her left hand, carried what seemed  
to be a temple on whose front the word "Church" was written, as it seemed in  
golden letters. Before God's majesty he saw Pope Innocent on bent knees, his  
hands joined and held up, asking for mercy, not judgment. Against him that  
noble woman was saying: "My lord and just judge, render a just judgment. For  
I now accuse him of three things. First, while you on earth founded your  
Church and endowed it with liberties, this man has made her a slave for the  
sake of temporal profit, and has rendered the noble one most despicable. Sec-  
ond, while you founded her on earth for the salvation of sinners and that she  
might gain merit for the poor souls, this man, by living in simony, has made  
her a table for moneylenders. Third, while you founded her in the strength of  
faith, justice, and truth, this man has caused that faith to totter through his  
actions and behavior, has subverted justice, and has cast a shadow over truth.  
Therefore, render a just judgment for my sake!" And God said to him: "Go to  
the eternal fire, O cursed one!" As the lord cardinal started out of his  
sleep, he was almost out of his mind so that his servants thought he was  
raving. But when his grief had finally abated, he began to tell them this  
vision and later reformed his life.

1–16 Raymundus, I.i.1 (3–4). 4–5 *Decretals* 3.38.16 (2:614–615). 8–10 Cf. Gen.  
23:4–20. 11–17 Raymundus, I.i.3 (5–6). 12–13 Acts 8:18–19. 13–14 2 Kings  
5:20–27. 18–22 Raymundus, I.i.4 (6). 21–22 Gratian II.1.1.114 (1:402–403). 22–  
29 Cf. Raymundus, I.i.7 (8). 29–31 Raymundus, I.i.4 (6), expanded with material also  
found in Grosseteste and Flamborough, see below. 31–39 Raymundus, I.i.6 (7–8).



## IV.ix DE SACRILEGIO

[C]irca sacrilegium est ultimo iam sciendum quod sacrilegium est sacre rei violacio vel eiusdem usurpacio. Et ideo sacrilegium dicitur quasi sacrilegium, idest sacrum ledens vel sacre rei lesio. Committitur autem sacrilegium tribus modis, quia asportando et iniuste usurpando aut sacrum de loco sacro—hoc est res sacrata, cuiusmodi sunt calices, reliquie, et huiusmodi, de  
5 loco sacro, sicut de ecclesia—, aut sacrum de non sacro, aut non sacrum de sacro. Secundum tamen Raymundum sacrilegium committitur aliquando racione persone, ut cum quis verberat clericum vel personam religiosam—  
[f. 100] 27, questione 4, *Quisquis*; aliquando racione loci, quando scilicet emunitas ecclesiastica aut cimiterium violatur; et aliquando racione rei,  
10 quando scilicet sacrata vel sacro usui deputata usurpantur—27, questione 4.

Est ergo sciendum quod aliquando sacrilegium est gravius peccatum secundum Thomam et aliquando levius, quia “tanto gravius quanto res sacra in  
15 quam peccatur maiorem habet sanctitatem.” Unde gravius peccat quis iurando contra personam sacram quam contra locum sacrum, quia sanctitas loci ordi-

40–51 Raymundus, I.i.5 (6–7). 42 Gratian II.1.1.101 (1:394–395). 43–45 Gratian II.12.2.45 (1:702). 48 *Decretals* 5.3.10 (2:751) and 2.26.16 (2:388). 51 *Decretals* 5.3.28 (2:758–759). 52–141 The thirty-one cases that follow combine material from Grosseteste with material from Raymundus. For Grosseteste, see the edition of *Templum Dei* by Joseph Goering and Frank Mantello (Toronto, 1984), pp. 53–54. The sources are as follows: *FM* 1=G[rosseteste] 1; 2=G.2; 3=G.3; 4=G.4; 5=G.5; 6=G.7; 7=G.19; 8=G.10; 9=G.11; 10=G.15; 11=G.8; 12=?; 13=G.12; 14=G.13; 15=G.14 (with addition); 16=Raymundus, I.i.17 (19); 17=Raymundus, *ibid.*; 18=G.16; 19=G.18; 20=G.22; 21=G.23; 22=G.21 (with addition); 23=G.17; 24=G.20 (with addition); 25=Raymundus, I.i.16 (18); 26=Raymundus, *ibid.*; 27=Raymundus, I.iii.2 (30), and end of 3 (31); 28=Raymundus, I.iii.2 (30); 29=Raymundus, I.iii.4 (31); 30=Raymundus, Raymundus, I.i.16 (18b); 31=?; 32=G.9. 76 *Decretals* 5.3.39 (2:765). 92–93 Perhaps Gratian II.1.1.23 (1:367–368); and *Decretals* 5.4 (2:767–768). 101 Gratian II.1.3.8 (1:413–415). 112 Gratian II.14.5.15 (1:742). 115 Gratian II.1.3.8 (1:413–415). 133 *Decretals* 5.3.14 (2:753). 138 *Decretals* 5.3.45 (767). 142–153 Raymundus, I.i.9 (9–10). 145–146 Apparently, the first reference is to *Tanta* in *Decretals* 5.2.7 (2:750); the second, to Gratian I.32, pars iii (1:118–119). 146–147 Gratian II.1.1.7 (1:359). 147 Gratian II.15.3.4 (1:752). 149 Gratian II.14.5.15 (1:742). 151 Gratian II.14.6.1 (1:742–743). 153–155 *Hostiensis, Summa aurea*, V, “De simonia,” 10 (1500). 155 Gratian II.1.3.5 (1:412). 155–163 Raymundus, I.i.14 (14–15). 162–163 *Decretals* 1.6.23 (2:66–68). 163–64 John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* I.i (“De simonia”), 21–27. 165–177 Raymundus, I.i.11 (12). 173 I.e., *Saluberrimum*, Gratian II.1.7.21 (1:435). 173–174 “De consecratione”: Gratian III.4.118 (1:1398). 177 Gratian II.1.1.110 (1:410). 177–181 Raymundus, I.i.13 (13). 180 *Decretals* 2.1.4 (2:240). 181–185 Raymundus, I.i.14 (15). 184–185 Reference unclear; see Raymundus I.i.12 (12–13). 186–206 Cf. Tubach 4118. From Matthew of Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57 (London: 1872–1883), 5:472.

## IV.ix SACRILEGE

Now, in the last place, with respect to sacrilege we must know that this is a violation or usurpation of a sacred object. Therefore *sacrilege* has its name from *sacri laedium*, that is, “hurting something sacred” or a deliberate harm done to a sacred object. Sacrilege is committed in three ways, by carrying off or unjustly usurping either something sacred from something sacred—that is to say, a sacred object, say a consecrated chalice, relics, or the like, from a consecrated place, say a church—, or something sacred from something nonsacred, or something nonsacred from something sacred. According to Raymundus, however, sacrilege is committed: sometimes with respect to a person, as when one strikes a cleric or a religious person—27, question 4, *Quisquis*; sometimes with respect to a place, as when the sanctity of a church or churchyard is violated; and sometimes with respect to an object, as when a consecrated object or one destined for sacred use is disappropriated—27, question 4.

One must further know that according to Thomas sacrilege is sometimes a grievous sin, sometimes a light one; its seriousness increases with the degree of sanctity the object has which is the occasion of the sin. Thus, cursing a



natur a sanctitate hominis. Et ideo gravissimum sacrilegium est quod committitur contra sacramentum eucaristie, quia illud continet ipsum Deum. Et sic descendendo secundum dignitatem et sanctitatem personarum et aliarum rerum sacrarum.

Unde sciendum secundum canones quod sacrilegii duplex est pena: alia spiritualis, cuiusmodi est excommunicatio maior vel minor secundum quantitatem culpe, ut dictum est; alia pecuniaria. Que quidem pena qualis et quanta sit et cui solvenda sit, tamquam pro sacrilegio commisso in personam sacram quam in rebus sacris, habetur ubi supra, 27, questione 4, *Quisquis*, et similiter *Si quis contumax*, et *Quisquis inventus*, et *Si quis deinceps*.

Unde contra huiusmodi sacrilegos Ecclesie [et] eius membris et ministris insidiatores narratur de quodam principe magno qui non tantum in proximis pauperibus dum adhuc viveret ultra modum sevit, verum etiam super omnia in Ecclesia Dei et eius servitoribus. Unde ipso mortuo quidam clericus in curia sua nutritus et per eum promotus vehementer de illo sollicitabatur qui sic crudeliter vixerat, utrum dampnatus a(ut) salvatus esset.

Accidit ergo quadam die dum ipse cum aliis per quoddam nemus transivit, in quo dictus princeps venari consueverat, et dum sic cogitabat sollicite de illo, ecce nubes densa super eos [venit], in qua densitate ipse a sociis divisus est. Cum ergo socius quasi vagabundus deviaret, [f. 100v] habuit obviam quendam sessorem in equo magno et nigro, qui dixit ei: "Si, inquit, vis scire que desideras, cito (de equo tuo descende et meum) ascende, qu(i) ad hostium cuiusdam aule satis secure portabit te. Ubi cum veneris, descende et talem cameram intra, et ibi videbis quod optas. Set si vis cum vita evadere, statim ut audieris istius equi hinnitum et cornu sonitum, ascende equum et fuge periculum." Et fecit omnia que preceperat. Cum ergo dictam cameram intrasset, ibi vidit cathedram ignitam positam, in quam imposuerunt duo demones miserum hominem omnibus doloribus agitatum, in cuius capite posuerunt coronam ignitam. Quo facto intravit magnus cervus cum cornibus acutissimis et a cathedra ipsum impetuose proiciens cum cornibus totum corpus eius dilacerabat, et recessit. Set ipse per illos in cathedra restitutus resedit. Et ecce, duo leporarii terribiles et nigri venientes illum a cathedra iterum retraxerunt et mirabiliter laceraverunt.

Quibus egressis iterum in cathedra restituitur. Intravit ergo quidam iuvenis cum gladio evaginato acutissimo, et illum per coronam capitis de cathedra prostravit ad terram et gladium in corona usque ad cerebrum infixit, et postmodum quasi radendo ipsam totaliter amputavit. Et cum ad pedes suos ill(am) proiecisset, statim festinus exivit. Cum ergo iterum in cathedra fuerat miser iste positus, clericum respiciens dixit ei: "Ego, inquit, sum ille quem tu queris." Sciscitante ergo clerico quid essent que vidit sic ipsum cruciantem, respondit: "Corona, inquit, ignita quam sic in capite gero plus ponderat de pena quam tota terra mundana. Et quia semper Ecclesi-

sacred person is more serious than cursing a sacred place, for a place derives its sanctity from that of a person. Hence, the most grievous sacrilege is that committed against the sacrament of the Eucharist, because it contains God himself. And thus one can make a scale according to the dignity and sanctity of persons and of other sacred objects.

Whence it must be known that according to canon law the penalty for sacrilege is twofold: one is spiritual, such as the greater or lesser excommunication, according to the degree of guilt, as has been said; the other is monetary. What kind and how much the penalty should be, and to whom it is to be paid, whether for a sacrilege committed against a sacred person or against sacred objects, can be found as indicated above in 27, question 4, *Quisquis*, and similarly in the canons *Si quis contumax*, *Quisquis inventus*, and *Si quis deinceps*.

To warn people who in this way sacrilegiously offend the Church and harm its members and ministers, a story is reported about a great prince who, during his life, not only raved against his poor neighbors but also, and especially so, against God's Church and her servants. After his death a cleric that had been brought up in his court and had been advanced by him, worried passionately if the prince, who had led such a cruel life, was damned or saved. One day he and others happened to pass through a forest in which his prince had used to hunt, and as he was thinking of him with great concern, a thick cloud came over them, in which he got separated from his companions. As he was wandering about like a lost wayfarer, a rider on a large black horse came toward him and said: "If you want to know what you desire, get off your horse quickly and climb on mine, which will safely carry you to the door of some hall. When you get there, dismount and enter that chamber, and you shall see what you desire. But if you want to escape with your life, as soon as you hear this horse neigh and a horn blow, get on the horse and flee from that danger." He did all as he had been commanded. When he then entered the chamber, he saw a burning chair set up, on which two devils put a wretched man who was tormented by all kinds of pain and put a fiery crown on his head. When this was done, a large stag with very sharp antlers entered, flung the man fiercely from the chair, and gashed his whole body with his antlers. Then he disappeared. But the man was set back into the chair by the two devils. And behold, two horrible black hunting dogs came and pulled him again from his chair and tore him into many pieces. When they had gone, he was once more placed on the chair. Then a young man entered with a sharp sword drawn, pulled him by his hair from the chair, and sank his sword into the top of his head to the brain, and then with a motion as if he were shaving him cut off the top of his head completely. And after he had flung the top at his feet, he quickly left at once. When the wretched man was once again on his chair, he looked at the cleric and said: "I am the one you are looking for." As the cleric wanted to know what those things were he

60 am Dei et clerum in odi(o) habui, et ipsam toto conamine [f. 101] servum  
feci et destruxi et coronam cuiusdam clerici quasi radendo contempnibiliter  
amputavi, ideo coronatus sic in capite tantam sustineo penam. Similiter  
quia aliquando in isto nemore in venacione fui, duos homines suspendi feci,  
65 quia ultra voluntatem meam duos detinuerunt leporarios, ideo ab illis bis  
in die torqueor. Quia etiam propter delectacionem venacionis missam et  
officium divinum contempsi et omisi, ideo cervus iste in toto corpore sic  
me lacerat et affligit. In quibus ergo delectacionem habui maiorem, merito  
in hiis sic afflicto crucior.” Et hiis dictis, audivit clericus equi  
hinnitum et cornu sonitum, et statim equum ascendit et vix evasit. Nam ipso  
70 velocius fugiente audivit demonum tumultus terribiles ipsum a tergo inse-  
quentes. Filia autem predicti principis ista narravit cuidam religioso,  
quorum nomina utilius credo tacere quam in palam exprimere, etc.

23 quidem] quedam O. 32 aut] an C. 37 obviam] obvium O. 38 de . . . meum]  
super equum istum mecum C. 39 qui] quia C. 54 illam] illud C. 55 positus] om O.  
59 odio] odium C. 67 audivit] add ipse O. 71 etc.] om O.

#### IV.x QUARE AVARICIA CONTEMPNANDA EST

[O]stensis igitur avaricie proprietatibus et membris, restat modo  
quarto videre quam iuste est contempnenda et quare. Et certe primo dico  
quia voluntati divine et eius mandatis in omnibus contrariatur. Si enim  
loquamur de primo Dei precepto, quod est istud: “Honora Deum tuum,” scili-  
5 cet per decimas, oblaciones, et primicias, et cetera huiusmodi, certum est  
quod omnia tollit avaricia et per illam contrariatur. S(i) de secundo, quod  
est: “Sabbatum serva,” videmus quomodo avarus propter lucrum temporale  
violare illud non veretur. Tunc enim circuit de loco ad locum, de nundinis  
ad nundinas cum mercimoniis suis. Si de tercio, quod est: “Honora patrem,”  
10 quod facere tenemur non tantum in spiritualibus, verum etiam in temporali-  
bus—set contra hoc vadit directe avaricia—, videmus quod propter heredi-  
tatem filius optat mortem patris, et [f. 101v] propter iocalia filia mortem  
matris, et cetera huiusmodi. Si autem de quarto loquamur, scilicet “Non  
accipies nomen Dei in vanum,” patet quomodo avaricia ibi contrariatur in

had seen tormenting him thus, he replied: “The fiery crown which I wear on my  
head is heavier in its pain than all this earth. And because I always hated  
God’s Church and the clergy, and oppressed and destroyed it as much as I could,  
and because I once cut off the crown of a cleric in contempt as if I were  
tonsuring him, I now suffer this punishment by being thus crowned in my head.  
Likewise, once when I went hunting in this forest, I had two men hanged for  
keeping two hounds against my will; for that I am now tortured by them in this  
way twice daily. And because I scorned Mass and the divine office and failed  
to attend because I loved hunting more, that stag now gashes and punishes me  
thus in my whole body. In the things I delighted in most, I am now justly  
tormented and punished.” And when he had said this much, the cleric heard the  
horse neigh and a horn blow, and he mounted the horse at once and hardly  
escaped with his life, for as he was quickly flying away, he heard a terrible  
tumult of demons following him from behind. The daughter of this said prince  
told this story to a religious, whose names, however, I think it more helpful  
to pass in silence than to mention openly.

1–3 Raymundus, I.xiii.1 (115). 7–12 Ibid.; 2 (115). 9 Gratian II.17.4.21 (1:820).  
11–12 Ibidem. 14–15 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae*, 2a–2ae, qu. 99, art. 3,  
resp. 21–26 Raymundus, I.xiii.3 (115–116). 25–26 Gratian II.17.4.21–22 (1:820).  
The first allegation should be II.17.4.7 (816). 28–71 Tubach 2621 (unique). Also in: MS  
Royal 7.D.i, fol. 137v (wrongly analyzed as Tubach 2517); Bromyard, “Rapina,” R.I.31;  
MS Lambeth Palace 78, fol. 284–284v (probably copied from *FM*); *Speculum ex-  
emplorum* IX.206; Johannes Major, *Magnum speculum exemplorum*, “Paupertas,” ex. 5  
(p. 572).

#### IV.x WHY AVARICE SHOULD BE SCORNED

After we have shown the qualities and members of avarice, it remains now,  
in the fourth place, to see how this sin deserves to be scorned and why. Cer-  
tainly, in the first place I say because it opposes in every respect God’s will  
and his commandments. For if we speak of God’s first commandment, which is,  
“Honor your God,” namely with tithes, offerings, first fruits, and the like, it  
is certain that avarice takes all these away and opposes them. If we speak of  
the second, which is, “Observe the Sabbath,” we see that an avaricious person  
is not ashamed of violating it for the sake of temporal profit. For on that  
day he goes from place to place, from market to market, with his wares. If we  
speak of the third, which is, “Honor your father,” which we are held to do not  
only in spiritual but also in temporal matters, avarice goes directly against  
it, too. We see that a son wishes his father dead on account of the inheri-  
tance, and a daughter wishes her mother dead for her jewelry, and so forth.  
But if we speak of the fourth commandment, “You shall not take the name of

- 15 falsis assisoribus, causidicis, mercatoribus, quia tota die propter lucrum temporale non tantum iurant imo horribiliter se periurant. Si de quinto, quod est: “Non furtum facies,” videmus quod tota die avari proximos spoli-  
ant et bona illorum furtive rapiunt. Si de sexto, quod est: “Non dices falsum testimonium,” satis patet quomodo contra illud similiter faciunt  
20 isti causidici et advocati et cetera huiusmodi propter lucrum temporale. Si de septimo, quod est: “Non occides,” patet quod propter avariciam suscitatur tot pugne, tot bella, tot strages et homicidia, et quasi non pro alia re nisi tantum pro mundi avaricia et cupiditate. Si de octavo, quod est: “Non concupisces rem proximi tui,” patet quomodo illi contrariatur avarus  
25 eo quod hoc modo bona proximi concupiscit iuxta proprietatem quod omnia cupit et numquam refundere vellet. Si de nono et decimo, que sunt: “Non mechaberis, nec concupisces uxorem proximi tui,” patet satis quod hoc faciunt et ut frequenter plus propter bona illa[rum] quam propter amorem quem habent ad corpora.
- 30 Et bene de talibus adduci potest illud Apocalipsis 13: “Et vidi de mari,” ait Iohannes, “bestiam ascendentem habentem septem capita et cornua decem, et hec bestia similis erat pardo et pedes sicut ursi et os eius sicut leonis.” Revera, spiritualiter loquendo per istam bestiam bene intelligitur avaricia, cuius capita sunt rapina in magnatibus, furtum in latronibus, usura in simplicibus, dolus in mercimoniis, infidelitas in artificibus, falsitas in iudiciis, symonia in ecclesiasticis. Set mare dicitur mundus propter alia septem, videlicet propter laboris inquietu- [f. 102] dinem, periculorum frequentiam, tribulacionum multitudinem, tumultus inquietudinem, corporum mortuorum eiectionem, tempestatum suscitacionem,  
40 minorum a maioribus devoracionem. Versus:

Bestia vasta maris istis septem capitaris:  
Fur, rapit, usura, mercandi noxia cura,  
Fraus in reddendis, t(itulus) malus in repetendis,  
Et questus cleri turpis sub nomine veri.

- 45 In istis autem versibus aperte patent septem capita avaricie, cuius decem cornua bene dici possunt decem predicte contrarietates decalogi. Se(quitur) ergo: “Hec bestia similis erat pardo,” propter pellis varietatem. Nam pellis avari est varia mundi fortuna, sicut per rotam Fortune superius, capitulo 2. Et hec bestia, scilicet avaricia, habuit “pedes ursi,” scilicet  
50 propter studiosam rapiendi calliditatem. Pedes enim ursi habent figuram pedis hominis, scilicet animalis rationalis. Unde hec bestia cupiditatis et avaricie facit studiose inquirere, racionari, et investigare quomodo bona proximi possit rapere et inquirere et ad hoc ut videtur ponitur illorum totus mentis effectus et affectus, quasi sunt duo pedes animalis rationalis. Et aliquando huiusmodi perquirat fraudulenter et aliquando violenter  
55

your God in vain,” it is clear how avarice goes against it in false assessors, lawyers, and merchants, who for temporal profit not only swear but indeed forswear themselves horribly all day long. If we speak of the fifth, “You shall not steal,” we see that the avaricious despoil the poor all day long and rob their goods like thieves. If of the sixth, which is, “You shall not give false witness,” it is clear enough how lawyers and advocates and others like them similarly act against it for temporal profit. If of the seventh, which is, “You shall not kill,” it is clearly because of avarice that so many fights, wars, slaughters, and killings arise, and hardly for any other reason than worldly avarice and covetousness. If we speak of the eighth commandment, which is, “You shall not covet your neighbor’s good,” it is clear that the avaricious person goes against it because he covets his neighbor’s belongings in such a way that he covets them all and never wants to give any back. And if we speak of the ninth and tenth commandments, which are, “You shall not commit adultery, nor covet your neighbor’s wife,” it is obvious that avaricious people do precisely that, and often more for the wives’ property than out of love for their bodies.

To such people may well be applied the words of Revelation 13: “And I saw,” John says, “a beast coming up out of the sea, having seven heads and ten horns; and the beast was like a leopard, and its feet like the feet of a bear, and its mouth like that of a lion.” Spiritually interpreted this beast signifies avarice, whose heads are oppression in overlords, theft in robbers, usury in the simple, trickery in commerce, unreliability in crafts, falsehood in lawsuits, and simony in churchmen. But the sea stands for the world, because of another seven properties, namely: the restlessness of hard work, the frequency of dangers, the multitude of tribulations, the unquiet of heavy motion, the ejection of dead bodies, the rising of tempests, and the devouring of the small fish by the big. In verse:

The great beast from the sea you notice by these seven:  
Theft and oppression, usury, the harmful care in trading,  
Deceit in paying off, bad justice to make gains,  
The clergy’s shameful greed, made to look like the truth.

These verses clearly list the seven heads of avarice, whose ten horns can be said to be the ten aforementioned opposites to the Ten Commandments. Scripture then continues: “This beast was like a leopard,” because of its mottled hide. For the hide of an avaricious person is the mottled fortune of the world, symbolized by the wheel as we saw earlier, in chapter 2. And this beast, avarice, had the “the feet of a bear,” namely on account of its eager shrewdness in grasping. For the feet of a bear look like human feet, that is, of a rational animal. Therefore, this beast of covetousness and avarice causes man eagerly to search, to reason, and to investigate how he can grasp and go after his

per potestatem. Et ideo habet "os leonis," idest os imperiale, lacerans et devorans pauperes et per potenciam illos opprimens. Habet etiam bestia ista potestatem diaboli ad faciendum virtutes et mirabilia, quia nichil (cogitabile) invenitur quin potest pecunia facere. Unde Oracius:

60 Et genus et formam regina peccunia domat.

Et ideo dicit Augustinus quod aliqui vocaverunt peccuniam deum Iovem, quia sub eius ut fingunt potestate omnia sunt, libro 7 *De civitate*, capitulo 18.

65 Et nota quod ita est de avaricia sicut de leone. Si enim offeras leoni herbam virentem [f. 102v] aut campum florentem, non tamen propter hoc illum excitabis in concupiscenciam illorum, quia in natura non habet ut herbas comedat. Set si ostendas ei carnes bovinas crudas, placet. Revera sic hic. Si enim avaro de celesti dulcedine loquaris, ad eius concupiscenciam non penitus excitatur. Si vero de temporalibus loquaris, mox applicat aurem et multum delectatur.

70 Secundo avaricia est contempnenda quia in omni parte sui deceptibilis invenitur. Unde similis potest dici illis qui ludunt cum coreis in digitis. Tales autem ubicumque ponunt digitum, credunt esse intra et tamen in fine est extra. Sic avari, quanto magis mundo adherent, tanto mundana cicius amittunt. Et ideo quamvis talibus dicitur illud Luce 12: "O anima, habes multa bona, requiesce, comede," respondet tamen Psalmista dicens: "Relinquent alienis divicias suas, quia sepulcra eorum domus eorum in eternum." Et huiusmodi temporalia bene assimilantur fluvio hyemali, qui quamvis veniat cum impetu, [cito] tamen disparet. Et postquam transierit aqua  
80 clara, tantum lutum horridum remanet. Sic temporalia quamvis fluunt in principio habundanter, cito tamen defluunt. Que cum transierint delectatio in illis prius habita, relinquitur tamen possessori culpa cum pena. Et ideo tales similes sunt molendinariis, qui obstruunt aqua(s) donec non poterunt illas sustinere, set post propter superfluitatem oportet quod deriventur  
85 velint nolint ad usus aliorum. Sic qui congregat divicias. Unde versus:

Sic vos non vobis vellera fertis, oves;  
Sic vos non vobis nidificatis, aves;  
Sic vos non vobis mellificatis, apes.

90 Et nota quod est de mundo et avaro sicut de uno puero ludente cum alio, quorum unus pomum alterius apprehendens in foveam [f. 103] cadit et alius quasi dolens se fingit flere. Volens ergo ipsum iuvare et de luto elevare, manum arripit cum pomo et illud sibi rapit. Quo habito socium retrocadere permittit et ipsum deridendo aufugit. Revera sic avari temporalia colligendo adinvicem se associant et mutuo accipiunt et expendunt.

neighbor's goods; and he puts the entire longing and thought of his mind to that purpose, which are, as it were, the two feet of his rationality. Thus he seeks to make a profit, sometimes with fraud and sometimes with power and violence. And therefore he has "the mouth of a lion," the mouth of a royal animal, which tears to pieces and devours the poor and oppresses them with his might. This beast further has power from the devil to work signs and wonders, for there is nothing imaginable which money cannot do. Whence Horace says:

Queen Cash with power rules both birth and beauty.

And in book 7, chapter 18, of *The City of God* Augustine reports that for that reason some people called money the god Jupiter because, as they imagine, all things are under his power.

And notice that avarice acts like a lion. If you offer a lion green grass or a flowering field, you will not arouse in him any desire for these, because it is not in his nature to eat herbs. But if you show him raw beef, that pleases him. The same holds true here. If you talk to an avaricious person of the sweetness of heaven, he will not get excited about that. But if you speak of temporal gains, he soon lends you his ear and takes great delight.

Avarice must be scorned, secondly, because it is found to be deceitful in every part of its being. Therefore it can be considered similar to those who play with strings in their fingers. Wherever they put their finger, they think it is in, and yet in the end it is out. This applies to avaricious people as well: the more they cling to the world, the sooner they lose worldly goods. Thus, though the words of Luke 12 are said to them: "O my soul, you have many things, rest and eat," yet the Psalmist answers with: "They shall leave their riches to strangers, for their sepulchers shall be their houses forever." Such temporal goods can well be likened to a winter flood: though it comes with a great rush, it yet disappears quickly, and when the clear water is gone, only dirty mud remains. In the same way, although worldly goods flow abundantly in the beginning, they soon ebb; and once the joy in having them that one first experienced is gone, only guilt and punishment are left to their owner. Therefore such people are like millers: they dam up the water till they can no longer hold it, but then when it overflows they have to let it go, willy-nilly, for use by others. Thus it happens to people who gather riches. Hence the verses:

You sheep give wool, but not for yourselves.  
You birds build nests, but not for yourselves.  
You bees make honey, but not for yourselves.

Notice that the world deals with an avaricious person just as a boy does who plays with another. One of them catches an apple from the other but falls

95 Set cum alter per mortem in foveam cadit, statim iuxta Psalmistam “diripi-  
unt alieni labores suos.” Set cum acceperint quod optaverunt, gaudentes  
rem(e)ant et luctum quem pro morte finxerunt in gaudium convertunt; Eccle-  
siastici 12: “In oculis tuis lacrimabitur inimicus.” Unde Ier(emie 9):  
100 “Unusquisque a proximo suo se custodiat, et in omni fratre non habeat  
fiduciam, quia omnis amicus fraudulenter incedit, et vir fratrem suum  
deridebit.” Hec ille.

Et ideo mundus facit sicut faber qui ferrum fere ignitum in vico  
proicit, ut equitantes descendere faciat, per quod manus suas comburunt et  
fedant. Et tamen illud amittunt pro quo descenderunt. Sic mundus proicit  
105 temporalia ut capientes decipiat; Ysaie 30: “Ambulatis ut descendatis in  
Egiptum.” Et ideo de illis est sicut de columba qui ibi nidificat ubi  
sepius pullos suos amittit; Osee: “Effraym quasi columba seducta.”

Tercio est mundi avaricia detestanda quia suos per omnia deturpat,  
fedat, et inficit. Unde fertur quod quidam correptus a quodam sancto quod  
110 mundi feditatem relinqueret et vite puritati se daret, qui [super] hoc  
admirans respondit dicens:

Mundus non mundat set mundus polluit omnes.  
Qui manet in mundo, quomodo mundus erit?

[Anglice sic:

115        bis worlde fyle ys and clansyt lyte.  
          Of fylþe þerinne who may be quyte?]

quasi diceret: Ex quo Deus ipse mundum detestatur et tamen sine mundo  
vivere non possumus, non mirum ergo cum omnia in illo sordescunt. S(et)  
ego vivo in mund(o). Quid ergo faciam? Qui respondit:

120        Nec Deus odit opes nec detestatur habentes, [f. 103v]  
          Set qui divicias preposuere Deo.

[Anglice sic:

The ryche ne rychesse God ne hatyth,  
But who-so for rychesse God forsakyth.]

125        Exemplum ad hoc: Videmus quod pueri qui gardinum alterius aut ortum  
[furtive] intraverunt poma auferre, quod adinvicem decertant quis eorum  
posset maiorem congeriem coadunare et in sinu abscondere; quorum alii socii  
minus potentes exterius stant et clamant partem rogantes, set ipsi interius  
hoc audire dissimulant, quia omnia soli vellent auferre. Set quid accidit?  
130        Revera cum in capucio, sinu, et gremio undique fuerunt onerati et ianuam

into a ditch. The other pretends to weep in grief and then feigns wanting to  
help him and pull him out of the mud; but as he grabs the hand that holds the  
apple, he takes the apple away from him, lets his playmate fall back, and runs  
away with laughter. In the same way, avaricious people group together in order  
to gather worldly goods and take and spend them with each other. But when one  
of them falls into the ditch through death, right away as the Psalmist says,  
“strangers plunder his labors.” And when they have obtained what they wanted,  
they return happy and change the sorrow they feigned over his death into joy;  
Ecclesiasticus 12: “An enemy weeps tears.” Therefore Jeremiah 9: “Let every-  
one guard himself against his neighbor, and let him not trust in any brother of  
his, for every friend walks deceitfully, and a man will mock his brother.”

Thus the world does like a blacksmith who throws an almost glowing-hot  
horseshoe in the road and thereby causes riders to dismount, so that they burn  
and dirty their hands. And still they lose that for which they have dis-  
mounted. In the same way, the world throws temporal goods in order to deceive  
those who catch them; Isaiah 30: “You walk to go down into Egypt.” They are  
thus like the dove, who builds her nest where she frequently loses her young;  
Hosea: “Ephraim is like a dove that has been deceived.”

In the third place, the avarice of the world deserves our contempt because  
it defiles, dirties, and poisons its followers in every way. There is a story  
of someone who was admonished by a saint to leave the dirty world and give  
himself to a pure life. He wondered about that and said:

The world makes no one clean but rather stains us all.  
How then will he be clean who stays on in this world?

In English:

þis world . . .

as if he were saying: “Since God himself despises this world, and yet we  
cannot live without it, it is no wonder that all things in the world make us  
dirty. But I live in the world. What then shall I do?” And the saint an-  
swered:

Neither does God hate riches nor scorn those who possess them.  
But he hates those who put their riches before him.

In English:

The ryche . . .

To give an example: We see that boys who have stolen into someone’s garden  
or orchard to carry off his apples vie with each other as to which of them can

exire proponunt, atstat ibi ianitor contra illos paratus et eos de omnibus collectis spoliat, verberat, et nudos tam pomis quam pannis ululantes et flentes abire permittit. Spiritualiter autem illud gardinum sive ortum hic mundus est, qui repletur pomis, (idest) bonis temporalibus; quem furtive  
 135 ingrediuntur avari, ut secundum posse eum spoliant. Et ideo inter [eos] decertacio maxima est quis eorum maiorem numerum diviciarum colligere posset et secum asportare. Extra vero stant pauperes ad ingrediendum, hoc est ad huiusmodi lucrandum, inpotentes; partem et auxilium ab illis petunt, set nichil optinent. Cum ergo isti undique onerati ex bonis temporalibus—  
 140 quia in domibus [et] cameris, silvis et pratis, cistis et loculis—exire proponunt, ianitor, [idest] mors que nulli parcat, stat promptus illos expectan(s). Qui cum venerint credentes libere exire, statim eos spoliat de omnibus que coll(e)gerunt. Unde eiulantes compelluntur abire. Si ergo, dum interius in dicto gardino [fuerint], aliquid boni pauperibus fuerint  
 145 elargiti, revera tunc inde participare possunt cum gaudio sempiterno. Sin autem, vacui a merito recedent ad penam cum dolore.

Consimile exemplum eciam ponit Anselmus *De similitudinibus*, de pueris papilionibus insequentibus quia sunt diversi coloris, puta aurei, argentei, virides, et huiusmodi, et putant se rem preciosissimam apprehendere. [f.  
 150 104] Currentes ergo post illas nec ad pedes considerantes, pedes et tibias cespitando ut communiter ledunt. Si vero ipsas apprehenderint, manus aperunt et non habent nisi vermem mortuam cum fractis alis et manus vilissime interius fedatas. Revera sic avari talem prosperitatem in auro et argento et ceteris bonis videntes ipsa(m) circumquaque per mundi partes insequuntur ut possideant, et hoc “per pericula fluminum, pericula latronum, pericula falsorum [fratrum].” Inter que cespitantes vulnerantur, mutilantur,  
 155 occiduntur, ut illam optineant. Que cum apprehenderint, morte superveniente aperiant manus consciencie et nichil ibi inveniunt nisi vermes consciencie, que nunquam morientur, excussis alis bonorum temporalium et aliis necessario relictis. Unde Proverbiis dicitur: “Qui amat divicias, fructum non capiet ex illis.”

Unde pro omnibus istis predictis de mundi falsitate, quare iuste detestatur, narratur in *Speculo historiali* quod in quadam civitate regionis Romane erat talis lex edita quod quamvis aliquis pro culpa iudicialiter  
 165 esset dampnatus, si tamen talem amicum invenire posset qui cum eo locum carceris seu aulam iudicis vellet intrare coram iudice et sufficienter respondere pro tali dampnato, quod talis amicus reum illum propter suam fidelitatem a morte salvaret. Contigit ergo ibidem quendam reum sic dampnatum tres habere amicos, quorum unum dilexit plus quam seipsum, alium sicut  
 170 seipsum, et tertium minus quam seipsum. Volens ergo istos in sua necessitate probare, accessit ad primum auxilium petens. Cui ille: “Fatue, inquit, fecisti plus diligendo me quam teipsum. Nolo tamen me pro te ° tanto

gather and hide the most in his shirt. Some companions of theirs who are less strong stand outside and claim their share, but those inside pretend they do not hear them, for they want to carry off all for themselves. But what happens? Well, when they have filled up their hoods and shirts and pants and want to slip out at the gate, the gatekeeper stands there ready for them and takes all their gatherings from them, gives them a beating, and at last lets them get away without apples and clothes, howling and crying. Spiritually interpreted, this garden or orchard is this world, full of apples, that is, temporal goods, into which avaricious men steal to carry off as much as they can. And among them is the greatest rivalry as to which of them can grasp and carry with him the greatest amount of riches. Outside stand the poor, that is, those who are too feeble to enter, that is, to make a profit in this way; they ask for a share and for help from the others but get nothing. When these finally want to come out, loaded down with their temporal goods—that is, with houses and chambers, fields and forests, chests and purses—, the gatekeeper, that is Death, who spares no one, stands ready and waits for them. They think they can get by free, but he robs them of all they have gathered, and they are forced to go away howling. If, however, they have given some good to the poor while they were in that garden, then indeed they can keep it with everlasting joy. But if not, they will, devoid of any merit, go with grief to their punishment.

Anselm in his *Similitudes* gives a similar example of boys who chase after butterflies because these are of different colors, namely golden, silver, green, and so forth, and they believe they catch a most precious object. So they run after them and pay no heed to where they go, and stumble and often hurt their feet and legs. But when they have caught a butterfly, they open their hands and find but a dead worm with its wings crushed, and their palms awfully dirty. In the same way, avaricious men see great prosperity in gold and silver and other goods and chase after it through all the parts of the world to possess it, “through dangers in rivers, dangers from thieves, and dangers from false brethren.” In these they stumble and are hurt, lose their limbs, and get killed, just in order to gain prosperity. But when they have acquired it, death comes upon them. Then they open the hands of their conscience and find nothing there but the worms of conscience which will never die, with the wings of worldly goods crushed and everything else by force left behind. Whence it is said in Proverbs: “He who loves riches will reap no fruit from them.”

All these matters about the falseness of the world and why it is justly scorned are reflected in a story from the *Mirror of History*. In a city of the Roman region a law had been given that, although someone was legally condemned for his crime, if he could find a friend who was willing to go with him to jail or to the judge’s hall before the judge and could answer sufficiently for the condemned man, then this friend would save the guilty man from death because of



periculo exponere. Set tantum tibi faciam: Hanc enim robam tibi dabo cum  
 qua te ipsum cooperias et si potes defendas, et de cetero [f. 104v] discas  
 175 caucius negociari." Hiis dictis processit miser ille dolens et tristis ad  
 secundum amicum, quem sicut seipsum dilexerat, auxilium petens ab eo. Qui  
 breviter respondit quod hoc facere non potuit, set tantum pro eo faceret  
 quod ad locum iudicii secum iret, set nullo modo intraret, quia non audebat  
 propter horrorem. Quo audito ad tertium amicum accessit, quem minus dilexe-  
 180 rat, et illum solum amicum verum invenit. Nam ipse eum a morte coram iudice  
 liberavit.

Spiritualiter autem loquendo, quotquot nascuntur in presenti habent  
 timere futurum Dei iudicium et sibi fideles amicos procurare ante tempus  
 mortis, quibus si necesse fuerit coram celesti iudice defendi valeant et  
 185 salvari. Set multi habent amicos similes predictis tribus, scilicet mundum,  
 parentes, et bona opera. Nam aliqui diligunt mundum plus quam se quando pro  
 seipsis, ut gloriam acquirant, nichil sustinere possunt, set pro mundo  
 cotidie quasi se exponere periculis diversis non verentur, nec aliquando  
 190 morti; qui tamen in extrema necessitate, quando ad tumulum ire secundum  
 cursum nature oportet, in nullo iuvabit, set omnino deficiet, excepto  
 quod robam parvi precii sibi concedit, quia vix cilicium aut linthiamen  
 antiquum laceratum et vile in quo sepeliendus poterit involvi. Secundo,  
 aliqui parentes sicut seipsos diligunt, sicut vir uxorem, et e contrario,  
 195 ut iustum est et natura docet. Set certe hoc non obstante nec illi quantum  
 possent pro deliberatione sui in necessitate extrema volunt laborare, set  
 vix tempore mortis ad locum sepulture quem evadere non pot(ssun)t eiulando  
 et in oculis hominum quasi seipsos lacerando sequuntur, ubi sepulto corpore  
 dolor mitigatur, et sic domum sine lacrimis [festinant] indilate, nec  
 mortuum deplorant de cetero, set seipsos, dicentes: "Heu, heu, [f. 105]  
 200 iam sustentationem perdidimus. Quid ergo faciemus?" Et non dicunt: "A,  
 Domine, quomodo possum animam eius de penis eripere?" Nichil ergo aliud  
 restat nisi accedere ad bona opera, que minus dilexeramus, que sunt oracio-  
 nes, ieiunia, vigilie, elemosine, et huiusmodi, et revera illa salvabunt  
 [nos]; Tobie 4: "Si multum tibi fuerit, habundanter tribue," etc., quia  
 205 "elemosina a peccato liberat."

Unde narratur de quodam qui post mortem cuidam amico apparens et, cum  
 ille quesisset qualiter cum eo erat, ex quo tam potens fuit in seculo,  
 respondit sic metricè:

210           Sunt mea si qua dedi, fuerant mea si qua comedi.  
               Si qua remanserunt, nescio cuius erunt,

quasi diceret: Ea que dedi pro Deo, iam iuvant; ea que comedi, iuverunt;  
 set ea que remanserunt, quis potest capere, capiat, etc.

his faithfulness. It happened that such a condemned criminal had three  
 friends; one of these he loved more than himself, the other as much as himself,  
 and the third less than himself. Wanting to try them in his need, he ap-  
 proached the first for help, who said to him: "You have been foolish to love  
 me more than yourself. I will not place myself into such danger for your sake.  
 But I will do this much: I will give you this cloak with which you may cover  
 and defend yourself if you can; for the rest, you must learn to act more  
 cautiously." Upon these words the condemned man went grieving and sad to his  
 second friend, the one he had loved as much as himself, and asked for his help.  
 But this one replied curtly that he could not do it; he would do as much as go  
 to the judge's place with him, but enter he would not—that he did not dare for  
 great fear. Having heard this, the condemned man went to his third friend, the  
 one he had loved less, and he found him alone to be a true friend, for he freed  
 him from death before the judge.

Spiritually speaking, whoever is born into this world must fear God's  
 coming judgment and find for himself true friends before his death, with whose  
 help he can, if necessary, defend himself before his heavenly judge and be  
 saved. But many have friends like the three I have described, namely the  
 world, relatives, and good deeds. Some love the world more than themselves:  
 they cannot endure any hardship for themselves so that they may gain eternal  
 glory, but for the sake of the world they are not afraid to expose themselves  
 daily to all sorts of dangers, sometimes even death. Yet this friend will give  
 them no help whatever in their ultimate need, when they must go to their grave  
 in the due course of nature, but it will then fail them, except that it grants  
 them an inexpensive cloak, hardly more than an old cloth or a torn and dirty  
 sheet, to wrap them for burial. Second, others love their kindred as much as  
 themselves, as a husband loves his wife and vice-versa, which is right and  
 according to nature. Nonetheless, even these will not make every effort they  
 could to free them in their ultimate need. After their death they hardly  
 follow them to the cemetery, which they cannot avoid, wailing and in the eyes  
 of society as it were tearing themselves; but then, when the corpse has been  
 buried, their grief abates and they quickly return home without tears, nor do  
 they grieve for the dead any further, but only for themselves, saying: "Alas,  
 alas, we have lost our support. What shall we do now?" But they do not say:  
 "Ah, Lord, how can I help free his soul from its pain?" Therefore, nothing  
 else remains but to turn to our good works, which we had loved less, such as  
 prayers, fasting, vigils, almsgiving, and the like. They indeed will save us;  
 Tobit 4: "If you have much, give abundantly," etc., because "alms free us from  
 sin."

There is a story about someone who after his death appeared to his friend,  
 and as the latter asked him how things were with him, since he had been a  
 powerful man in life, he answered metrically:

[That Y zaf, þat ys myn.  
þat I eet, þat was mynn.  
That I lefte behynde me,  
Who hit schall haue I con noȝt se.]

I igitur] ergo O. 6 Si] set C.W. 26 et numquam] nec unquam O. 27 nec] non O. 28 frequenter] frequencius O. 43 titulus] tenet C; variously corrupt in O. 45 decem] om O. 46–47 Sequitur ergo] set quare C. 54 animalis] om O. 57 pauperes] simplices M.W; suum R. 58 ista] om O. 59 cogitabile] incogitabile C. 62 sub] om O. 69 aures] aures O. 76 respondet] respondit O. 83 aquas] aquam C. 84 deriventur] dirimentur O. 85 Unde] om O. 93 aufugit] affugit O. 97 remeant] remaneant C. 98 Ieremie 9] ieronimus C. 114–116 Anglice . . . quyte] text from R. Verse 41, in B1.B3.E.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1. 118 Set] si C. 119 in mundo] inmunde C.M. 122–124 Anglice . . . forsakyth] text from R. Verse 42, in B1.B3.E.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1. 130 fuerunt] fuerint O. 134 idest] et C. 135 eum] eam M.W; ea R. 142 expectans] expectantes C.M. exire] transire O. 143 collegerunt] colligerunt C. 152 cum fractis] contractis O. 154 ipsam] ipsaque C. 157 Que] quam O. 172 teipsum] te O. te] add in C. 190 nature] add ire C. 193 diligunt] om O. 196 possunt] potest C. 199 mortuum] mortem O. 203 elemosine] om O. 207 seculo] add qui O. 208 metrice] add dicens O. 212 etc.] add chache who so þat may B1. 213–216 That . . . se] text from R. Verse 43, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.

#### IV.xi DE CONTEMPTU MUNDI

[A]d istud ergo vicium avaricie extirpandum iam procedit in medium contemptus mundi, de quo pulcre et contra predictam huiusmodi avariciam ait beatus Bernardus in quodam sermone *De adventu Domini*: “Filii, inquit, Adam, avarum genus, ambiciosa gens, audite. Quid vobiscum cum terrenis divitiis et gloria temporalis? Aurum et argentum vestrum nonne terra rubea sunt et alba, que solus error facit aut potius reputat preciosa? Denique si vestra sunt hec tollite vobiscum. Set homo (dicit ipse) ‘cum interierit, non sumet omnia neque descendet cum eo gloria domus eius.’” Hec ille.

Set nota quod iste mundi contemptus avaricie extirpator in tribus consistit, videlicet in dominice passionis recordacione, in certe mortis consideracione, in voluntarie paupertatis dilectione. De primo ergo pulcre ait beatus Ambrosius in quodam sermone: “Circumspecta, inquit, pen(a) in cruce Christi, finem recipiat ambicio cupidi. A mundanis [f. 105v] se rebus exuit, ut nullam mundus occasionem in eo inveniret per quam temporalia diligeret. Et ideo sue maxime pene compaciendum est.” Nam ipse Christus, secundum beatum Gregorium super Iob, cum potuisset genus humanum aliter quam per mortem suam salvasse, moriendo tamen redimere nos voluit a potestate diaboli per suum sanguinem benedictum, ut nobis compaciendi preberet exemplum. Versus:

What I gave is mine, but what I ate has been.  
If anything remains, it is I don't know whose,

as if to say: What I gave away for God's sake helps me now; what I ate helped me once; but what is left over, let him have it who may.

That Y zaf . . .

30–33 Rev. 13.1–2. 60 Horace, *Ep. I.vi.37*. 61–62 Augustine, *De civ. Dei* VII.12 (CC 47:196). 64–70 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 31 (PG 56:792). 75–76 Luke 12.19. 76–77 Ps. 48.11–12. 86–88 In 18140; *Prov* 29560. 95–96 Ps. 108.11. 108 Eccles. 12.16. 99–101 Jer. 9.4–5. 105–106 Isa. 30.2. 107 Hos. 7.11. 112–113 *Prov* 15647. 120–121 *Prov* 17493a. 147–153 Cf. Ps.-Anselm, *De similitudinibus* 72 (PL 159:643–644). 155–156 2 Cor. 11.26. 160–161 Eccles. 5.9. 163–181 Tubach 2216 or 2407. The tale of the Three Friends, represented also in *Everyman* as well as *King Lear*, occurs widely and in several variants. Bromyard, “Amicicia,” A. XXI.5–7, for instance, contains three different versions. 204–205 Tob. 4.9, 11. 209–210 *Prov* 30764. For additions, see *Verses*, p. 182.

#### IV.xi THE CONTEMPT OF THE WORLD

In order to uproot this vice of avarice, contempt of the world now enters the plain. Of it, and against the said avarice, Blessed Bernard speaks beautifully in a sermon *On the Lord's Coming*: “Children of Adam, you greedy folk and ambitious people, listen. What are worldly riches and temporal glory to you? Are not your gold and silver but red and white soil, made precious—or rather, considered to be so—only by mistake? If they are yours, take them with you! But when a man ‘has died, he will not take anything with him, nor will the glory of his house go down with him.’”

This contempt of the world, uprooter of avarice, consists in three things: memory of the Lord's passion, meditation on the certainty of death, and love of voluntary poverty. Of the first, Blessed Ambrose says beautifully in a sermon: “If he reflects intimately on Christ's suffering on the cross, an avaricious man loses his ambition. He divests himself of worldly things, so that the world will find no occasion in him by which he might love temporal goods. Therefore we should have compassion with Christ's great suffering.” For as Blessed Gregory says in his commentary on Job, Christ could have saved mankind by another way than his death; but by dying he wanted to redeem us from the devil's power through his blessed blood, that he might give us an example of compassion. Hence the verses:

20 Nos sanguis mirus Christi dulcedine lavit  
Quos anguis dirus tristi mulcedine pavit.

Et de ista materia nota satis particula 3 de caritate.

De secundo autem ait Augustinus: "Avaricie, inquit, morbus numquam melius compescitur quam cum dies mortis premeditatur." Et ideo dicit beatus  
25 Ieronimus: "Facile, inquit, contempnit omnia qui se cogitat moriturum et omnia bona concessa mundo relinquenda." Unde Job: "Dies, inquit, mei breviabuntur et solum michi superest sepulcrum." Quod quidem sepulcrum satis est strictum. Nam eius altitudinem cervix menciatur cum naso, pectus cum tergo profunditatem, duo latera latitudinem, set longitudinem capud cum pedibus.

30 Et ideo ad mundane glorie extinccionem semper est mors ante oculos mentis premeditanda. Unde pulcre ait Augustinus libro *De vera innocencia*, capitulo ultimo dicens: "Divi(c)iis, inquit, flores, o a(v)are, et de maiorum nobilitate te iactas. Exultas enim de patria, de pulcritudine corporis, et de honoribus, que tibi ab hominibus deferuntur. Respice,  
35 inquit, teipsum, quia mortalis et terra es et in terram ibis. Circumspice, qui ante te similibus fulsere splendoribus. Ubi ergo sunt quos ambiebas civium potentatus, ubi insuperabiles oratores, ubi satrape, ubi tyranni? Nonne omnia pulvis, nonne favilla, nonne in paucis versibus eorum memoria [f. 106] est?" Et sequitur: "Respice ergo sepulcra eorum et vide quis  
40 dominus, quis servus, quis pauper, quis dives; discerne, si poteris, vincitum a rege, fortem a debili, pulcrum a deformi. Memor ergo (dicit Augustinus) esto ita quod aliquando ne extollaris. Memor autem eris (dicit ipse) si teipsum respexeris." Hec ille. "Memorare ergo novissima, et in eternum non peccabis." Ipsa enim caute et inopinate ad modum furis hominem solet  
45 invadere.

Exemplum autem habere possumus de inimico persequente, nunc super equum album, nunc super equum nigrum, ut caucius apprehendere possit, equitat sic diversimode; et ideo si tibi non caveres, fatuum te esse ostenderes. Revera sic quemlibet mundanum mors insequitur, nunc terminando diem  
50 qui albus est, nunc noctem incipiendo qui niger est; Genesis 8: "Nox et dies non requiescunt." De ista ergo materia quere supra, (particula) I de humilitate.

2 huiusmodi] eius O. 11 in certe] *apparently corr from* in incerte C; in certa O. 12 pena] penitencia C. 23 autem] *add bene* O. 29 profunditatem] latitudinem O. latitudinem] *om* O. 32 Diviciis] divitis C. avare] amare C. 51 particula] capitulo C.

The wondrous blood of Christ has washed us in its sweetness,  
Whom the dread serpent once fed with its sorrowful charm.

More on this subject can be found in part 3, on charity.

About the second aspect of the contempt of the world, Augustine says: "The illness of avarice can never be better stemmed than by thinking ahead of one's day of death." Therefore, Blessed Jerome says: "He who reflects that he will die and leave to the world all the goods that were granted to him, easily scorns everything." Whence Job exclaims: "My days will be shortened, and only the grave remains for me." This grave is very narrow, for its height reaches from our skull to the tip of the nose; its depth, from our breast to the back; its width, from one side to the other; and its length, from our head to our feet.

Thus, in order to quench worldly glory we must always hold our death before the eyes of our mind. Whence Augustine says beautifully in his book *On True Innocence*, in the last chapter: "O greedy man, you blossom with riches and boast of the nobility of your elders; you exult in your country, the beauty of your body, and the honors that are bestowed on you by others. Look at yourself, that you are mortal and dust and will go to dust. Look around you, at those who once shone in like splendor before you. Where then are the civil powers you strove for, where are the unsurpassable orators, the leaders, the tyrants? Is not all this dust and ashes, is not all their memory contained in a few verses?" And he continues: "Look, then, at their graves and see which is lord and which is slave, which is poor and which is rich; tell, if you can, the defeated from the king, the strong from the weak, the beautiful from the ugly. Keep this in mind, then, that you may not become proud. You will remember it once you have looked at yourself." "Remember, therefore, your last end, and you will never sin." For his end comes upon man quickly and unexpectedly like a thief.

We can find an illustration in an enemy that follows in pursuit: he rides in different ways, now on a white horse, now on a black one, so that he can catch us more surely; and if you do not take precautions, you will seem to be very foolish. In the same way, death pursues every worldling, now ending the day, which is white, now beginning the night, which is black; Genesis 8: "Night and day do not cease." See further on this matter above, in part 1 on humility.

3-8 Bernard, *In adventu Domini*, sermo 4, 1 (4:182). 7-8 Ps. 48.18. 16-19 Cf. Augustine, *De Trinitate* XIII.x.13 (CC 50A:399-400). 23-24 Cf. comment in *Verses*, p. 148. 25-26 See above, *FM* IV.iv. 26-27 Job 17.1. 32-43 Prosper, *Sententiae* 390 (PL 45:1897-98). 43-44 Ecclus. 7.40. 50-51 Gen. 8.22. 51-52 *FM* I.xiii.

## IV.xii DE VOLUNTARIA PAUPERTATE

Circa vero paupertatem voluntariam, que est sicut fortis athleta contra vicium avaricie, sic est procedendum: primo, quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo, a quibus illam sequi exemplum accipitur; tercio, que mala eveniunt suis contemptoribus; quarto, que bona eveniunt suis amato-

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ribus. Primo dico quod paupertas voluntaria potest dici felix cupiditas qua terrena et momentanea contempnuntur ut celestia et eterna acquirantur.

Istam ergo sequi habemus exemplum non tantum a Christo et aliis sanctis, verum etiam ab infidelibus et paganis. Ipsam autem specialiter elegit

10

Christus in possessionem sibi et precipue amavit, ut ipsam amabilem nobis ostenderet ad modum quo medicus bonus <sup>o</sup> pocionem medicinalem prius gustat, ut egrotus postea bibere non formidet. Et ideo eius exemplo sui eam speciali-

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ter eligenterunt, ut apostoli, quando "relictis omnibus secuti sunt Dominum." Videmus autem quod [filius] mil(itis) terren(i) reputatur vecors si renuat portare ar- [f. 106v] ma patris. Sic quilibet Christianus merito dicitur vecors et infidelis qui vexillum timet portare patris sui regis eterni. Quod vexillum signum est paupertatis quam ipse specialiter preelegit. Nam cum ipse fuerat "rex regum et dominus dominancium," huiusmodi tamen honore relicto pauper pro nobis fieri elegit. Quod bene ostendit

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Crisostomus super Matheum in *Imperfecto*, omelia 3, super illud "Cum intrantes domum invenerunt," etc.: "Videamus, [inquit,] quid gloriosum magi viderunt," etc. Nota in auctoritate. Ecce ergo regem degradatum et de regno quasi depositum et mendicantem in terra aliena. Unde iam completum erat in eo verbum regis in rota Fortune super solium sedentis, quod in

25

circulo circa eum conscribitur sic:

Regno, regnabo, regnavi, sum sine regno,

quasi diceret Christus: Quamvis eternaliter in celis regnavi, regno, et regnabo, corporaliter tamen in terris sum sine regno, quia "regnum meum non est de hoc mundo." Si enim queris palacium istius regis in terris, si

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thalamum, si solium, vide quia iacet in presepio. Si queris comitivam et familiam, ecce bovem et asinum. Si mensam, ecce lactis poculum. Si vestes et ornamenta, ecce matris gremium. Si ministrillos, ecce pauperrima mater illum foventem et iocundantem. Et ideo de eo bene dici potest illud Psalmi:

35

"Simul in unum dives et pauper," scilicet Deus et homo. De quo Anselmus *De sacramentis* ait quod ita pauper fuit in terris quod veniens non habuit ubi nasceretur, nec natus propter boni inopiam ubi poneretur, nec transiens per mundum ubi capud suum reclinaret, nec transiens de mundo unde nuditatem suam tegetet, quia nudus pro nobis in cruce pependit. O ergo horrenda insanies, que homines impedit ne hic Christum sequantur. Quibus Augustinus

## IV.xii VOLUNTARY POVERTY

With respect to voluntary poverty, which stands like a strong champion against the vice of avarice, I will proceed as follows: first I will discuss what it is and how it is defined; second, whom we can take as a model to follow; third, what evil consequences come to those who scorn it; and fourth, what good results come to those who love it.

First I say that voluntary poverty can be called a blessed desire by which earthly and transitory things are scorned so that heavenly and eternal goods may be gained. As a model to follow we have not only Christ and other saints, but even the infidels and pagans. Christ chose poverty especially as his possession and loved it above all, that he might show us how lovable it is, just as a good physician first tastes a medicinal potion so that his patient will not be afraid to drink it. And therefore, following his example, the apostles gave it special preference when they "left all things and followed the Lord." We see from experience that the son of an earthly knight is reputed degenerate if he refuses to carry his father's arms. Likewise any Christian is rightly called degenerate and faithless if he is afraid to carry the standard of his father, the eternal king. But this standard is the sign of poverty, to which he had given special preference. For though he had been "the king of kings and lord of lords," he yet left this honor and preferred to become poor for us. Chrysostom shows this well in Homily 3 of his *Imperfect Work on Matthew*, commenting on the passage "Entering the house, they found," etc. He says: "Let us see what glorious thing the Magi saw," etc. Note the entire passage. Behold then our king, as if he were demoted and deposed from his kingdom and become a beggar in a foreign country. Thus there was fulfilled in him the saying of the king who sits on a chair on the wheel of Fortune, written in a circle around him as follows:

I rule, I shall rule again, I once ruled, I am without kingdom,

as if Christ were saying: Though in heaven I have ruled from all time and continue and shall do so in the future, bodily here on earth however I am without kingdom, for "my kingdom is not of this world." If you seek this king's palace on earth, his bed, his throne—lo, he lies in a manger. If you seek his retinue and court—lo, an ox and an ass. For a banquet he has a cup of milk; for robes and ornaments, his mother's lap; for servants, his poor mother who nurses and comforts him. And thus the words of the Psalm can be said of him: "Both rich and poor together," namely God and man. Anselm in *On the Sacraments* says of him that he was so poor on earth that when he came, he had no place to be born in; when he had been born, there was no place where to put him, for lack of all goods; when he journeyed through the world, he had no place to lay down his head; and when he left the world, there was nothing with which to clothe

- 40 libro *Confessionum* bene ait: "Si, inquit, tu avare Christum in paupertate [f. 107] nolueris imitari, noli saltem adversari."
- Istam ergo paupertatem specialiter elegerunt apostoli et alii sancti, qui relictis temporalibus omnibus secuti sunt doctorem suum Christum. Videmus enim quod qui vult sequi currentem oportet se onus superfluum
- 45 deponere aut certe illum non attinget. Set iuxta Psalmistam [Christus] "exultavit ut gigas ad currendam viam," scilicet paupertatis; quem ergo si sequi volumus, oportet temporalia superflua deponere; unde Apostolus Ad Hebreos: "Deponentes omne pondus." Revera sic fecit beatus Petrus. Nam tantum post Christum festinavit quod cecidit (*iambe leue*), hoc est quod
- 50 elevatus tandem erat in cruce sicut Christus, pedibus tamen erectis et capite submisso. Bartholomeus etiam volens currere velociter ideo, ne pannis superfluis impediretur, tunicam dimisit, hoc est, excoriatus pellem reliquit propriam. Laurentius etiam Christum attingere volens onus pinguedinis ne per illud impediretur a cursu super craticulam illud assari et
- 55 consumi permisit. Franciscus [etiam] calciatus ne impediretur ipsis abiectis et nudis pedibus velociter occurrit. Et sic similiter alii sancti, qui iam cursum certaminum consummaverunt et Christum in celo apprehenderunt. Unde qui amaverunt Christum in vita sua eius paupertatem sequendo, ideo modo coronantur et accipiunt palmam, gaudium scilicet sempiternum possiden-
- 60 do. Videmus enim quod monete non apparet ymago nisi prius in cunagio feriatu[m] mallio. Ecce sic nec in homine apparet Dei similitudo nisi prius feriatu[m] tribulacionis baculo; Ecclesiastici 27: "Vasa figuli probat fornax." In hoc fornace paupertatis ille sapientissimus aurifaber Christus similiter fabricat vasa glorie, idest animas sanctas in honorem.
- 65 Circa autem paupertatem philosophorum et aliorum paganorum infidelium, quomodo in vita extiterunt contemptores mundi et diviciarum, fertur diversimode. [f. 107v] De Anaxagaro autem narratur in *Vitas philosophorum*, et accipitur a Valerio libro 8, quod cum ex diutina peregrinatione patriam repetisset possessionesque desertas vidisset, "Non essem, inquit, salvus nisi ista perissent." De Dyogene philosopho etiam narratur a Satyro historiografo quod ipse pallio duplici usus est propter frigus, peram pro cellaria habuit, secum portavit, clavam etiam gerebat ad corpusculi fragilitatem qua iam senex membra sustentare solitus erat. Habitavit etiam in p(ort)arum vestibulis et in porticibus civitatum usquequaque profitens
- 75 verum et transeuncium abigens aut notans vicia que mores fedabant. Quodam [autem] tempore cum in usu potandi calicem ligneum gereret et vidisset pauperem manu concava bibere, calicem elisit in terra et fregit dicens: "Qua(m)diu homo stultus sarcinas habui supervacuas! Nescirem quod natura haberet poculum." Narrat etiam de eo Tullius libro 2 *Tusculanarum questionum* quod moriens iussit se proici inhumatum. Cum ergo amici dicerent quod
- 80 tunc a feris devoraretur, respondit: "Minimumque baculum quo eas abigare

his nakedness, for he hung naked for us on the cross. What terrible madness that keeps men from following Christ in this! To them, Augustine says fittingly in his book of *Confessions*: "If you, greedy man, do not want to follow Christ in his poverty, at least do not go against him!"

Such poverty the apostles and other saints chose especially when they left all temporal possessions and followed their teacher, Christ. We see from experience that if one wants to follow someone who is running, one must take off everything superfluous or else one will never catch up with him. But according to the Psalmist, Christ "has rejoiced as a giant to run his way," namely that of poverty. If we want to follow him, we must put away all superfluous temporal possessions; whence the Apostle says in Hebrews: "Laying aside every weight." This is what Blessed Peter did. For he hurried so fast after Christ that he fell *jambe levee*, "head over heels"; that is, in the end he was put on the cross like Christ, but with his feet up and his head down. Bartholomew, too, wanting to run so swiftly, took off his tunic so that he would not be hindered by superfluous clothes, that is, he was flayed of his own skin. And when Lawrence wanted to catch up with Christ, in order not to be slowed down by any burden of fat, he allowed it to be fried and consumed on the grill. Likewise Francis, that he might not be hindered by his shoes, took them off and ran swiftly on bare feet. And other saints did the same, who have already run their course and have caught up with Christ in heaven. They who loved Christ in their lives by following his poverty are now crowned and receive the palm, namely in possessing eternal joy. We see from experience that the image on a coin does not appear unless the ingot is first struck with a hammer. In the same way, God's likeness in man does not appear unless man is first struck with the staff of affliction; Ecclesiasticus 27: "The furnace tries the potter's vessels." In this furnace of poverty, that wise goldsmith, Christ, likewise produces vessels of glory, that is, holy souls for heavenly honor.

Concerning the poverty of philosophers and of other pagans outside the Faith, many stories tell us how in their lives they scorned the world and its riches. Of Anaxagoras we read in *The Lives of the Philosophers*, and this is taken from book 8 of Valerius, that when he returned from a lengthy pilgrimage to his country and found his possessions deserted, he said: "I would not be safe if these had not perished." Of Diogenes, too, the historiographer Satyrus reports that he wore a double blanket against the cold, had a gourd as his wine cellar, and carried a rough stick with which the old man was wont to support his weak body. He dwelled in the entranceway of gates and the porticoes of cities, proclaiming the truth everywhere and pointing out the vices of those who passed by which stained their good manners. As at one time he carried a wooden bowl to drink from and saw a poor man drink from the hollow of his hand, he dashed his bowl to the ground and broke it, saying: "How long have I foolish man carried unnecessary burdens! I did not know that nature has given



- possim iuxta me ponite.” Cui responderunt: “Quid tunc facere poteris cum non scies?” Respondit: “Quid ergo ferarum laniatus michi non scienti obesse poterit?” quasi diceret: nihil. Secundum eciam predictum Satyrum, cum seipsum in doleo torqueret set domum volubilem se habere letabatur. Unde dolium propter frigus vertebat ad meridiem, ut ibi beneficio solis congauderet. In estate vero propter calorem vertebat ad septentrionem. Et ubicumque sol se inclinaverat, simul et Diogenes pretorium dolii divertebat quiescens. Unde narrat Valerius de eo libro 4, capitulo 3, quod cum ad eum sic in dolio versus solem sedentem accessit Alexander rex hortaretque ei ut que sibi ab eo prestari vellet [f. 108] mendicaret. Qui respondit: “Hoc, inquit, vellem pre ceteris, quod non stes inter me et solem.” Per illum Dyogenem quilibet nostrum intelligi potest, quia iuxta Psalmistam “pauperes facti sumus.” Vita presens est quasi dolium in quo manemus. Nam sicut dolium est versatile de loco ad locum, sic vita presens de statu ad statum. Nunc enim homo tristatur nunc letatur, nunc infirmatur nunc sanatur, iuxta illud Job: “Numquam in eodem statu permanet.” In isto ergo dolio sedentes, idest in vita presenti manentes, semper nos vertere debemus ad Christum, solem iusticie. Si ergo Alexander, idest mundus, venit querens si aliqua voluerimus ab eo nobis prestari et suas divicias et vanitates ostendat, hoc solum ab eo petere debemus quod non stet nec ponat obstaculum temporalium momentaniorum inter nos et Christum, per quod ab eo seperari possemus, dicentes cum Psalmista: “Providebam Dominum in conspectu meo semper.”
- 105 Fertur eciam a Ieronimo *Epistola 35* quod Crates Thebanus, homo quondam ditissimus, cum ad philosophand(u)m Athenas pergeret, magnum auri pondus abiecit, non putans se simul virtutes posse et divicias possidere, non plus quam vicia et virtutes. Et ideo *Epistola 26* re(c)i)tat de quodam philosopho qui multarum possessionum precium proiecit in pelagum dicens: “Abite, male cupiditates, abite. Ego vos mergam ne submergar a vobis.”
- 110 Philosophi enim non reputabant bona mundi esse sua, et ideo nec ea appetebant nec de amissione dolebant. Unde prout narrat Seneca Stibon philosophus interrogatus n(unquid) aliquid perdidisset, “Nichil, inquit. Omnia mea mecum sunt.” Et tamen patrimonium suum in predam cessar(a)t et filios hostis Demetrius rapuerat. Habebat enim, ut dixit, secum vera bona, puta sapienciam et paupertatem, in quibus non est manus iniectio. Que vero dissipata fuerant, non reputabat sua, set adventicia [f. 108v] et fortunam sequencia.
- 120 Narrat Policraticus libro (4) quod cum Alexander Magnus gentem Bragmannorum debellare proposuisset, responderunt: “Quid erit homini satis cui totus non sufficit mundus? Divicias enim non habemus quarum cupiditate nos debeas expugnare. Omnia bona nobis communia sunt. Esca est nobis pro diviciis; pro cultibus et auro, vilis et rara vestis. Femine enim nostre non

us a cup!” And Cicero, in book 2 of the *Tusculan Disputations*, tells of him that when he was dying he ordered to be thrown out without burial. When his friends said that in that case he would be devoured by wild animals, he answered: “Then lay a small stick beside me so I can drive them off.” They replied: “But what can you do when you have no senses left?” And he: “So, if I have no senses left, why should I worry about being torn by wild animals?” as if to say: not in the least. According to the quoted Satyrus, he lived and turned himself about in a tun and was happy to have a mobile home. For when it was cold, he turned his tun to the south and enjoyed the warmth of the sun. But in the heat of summer he turned it to the north. And wherever the sun went on its course, Diogenes turned the opening of his tun and rested there. Valerius tells of him in book 4, chapter 3, that as he once was thus sitting in his tun against the sun, King Alexander approached and encouraged him to ask for whatever he would like to have from him. Diogenes answered: “There is one thing I would like more than anything else: that you don’t stand between me and the sun.” This Diogenes can symbolize anyone of us, for according to the Psalmist, “we have become poor.” Our present life is like a tun in which we live. For as a tun can be turned from one position to another, so this life changes from one state to another: now a man is sad, now happy; now sick, now well; according to the words of Job: “He never continues in the same state.” While we sit in this tun, that is, while we are in this life, we must always turn toward Christ, the sun of justice. Then if Alexander, that is, the world, comes and asks us if we want him to give us anything and shows us his riches and vain delights, we must ask him for only one thing: that he do not stand and put the obstacle of temporal and passing pleasures between us and Christ, by which we could be separated from him, and we must say with the Psalmist: “I set the Lord in my sight always.”

Also, in *Letter 35* Jerome tells that Crates of Thebes, a very wealthy man, when he was traveling to Athens to study philosophy, got rid of a large amount of gold, thinking that he could not possess virtues and riches at the same time, any more than vices together with virtues. And in *Letter 26* he reports of a philosopher who threw the wealth from his many possessions into the sea with the words: “Go, evil desires, go. I drown you that I may not be drowned by you.”

For the philosophers did not believe that the goods of the world belonged to them, and so they neither desired them nor grieved at their loss. Hence Seneca tells of the philosopher Stilbo, who was once asked if he had lost anything. “Nothing,” he replied; “all that is mine is with me.” And yet his patrimony had fallen prey and his enemy Demetrius had captured his sons. But as he said, his true possessions he had with him, namely wisdom and poverty, on which no one can lay hand. But the things that had been scattered and taken he did not reckon his own, but gifts of Fortune and chance.



ornantur ut placeant, quarum ornamentorum cultum potius oneri deputant  
 125 quam honori, et eas (n)es(c)iunt in augenda pulcritudine amplius affectare  
 quam quod nate sunt. Antra autem duplicem usum prestant, scilicet tegumen-  
 t(u)m in vita, et in morte sepulturam. Regem habemus non pro iusticia set  
 pro nobilitate conservanda. Quem ergo locum haberet vindicta, ubi nulla  
 iusticia?" Hiis ergo verbis motus, Alexander n(ull)am ratus victoriam si  
 130 eorum pacem turbaret, eos in quiete sua dimisit, et forte, si [contra]  
 eos bellum aggressu(s) fuisset, minime prevaluisset, eo quod innocencia  
 facile non superatur a nocentibus. Hec ille.

Narrat etiam Valerius libro 4, capitulo 3, de Fabricio, qui dixit quod  
 illum locupletem faciebant non multa possidere set modica desiderare. Et  
 135 ideo dixit Aristoteles quod hoc tantum incomodum habet paupertas quod non  
 potest alios iuvare.

Circa autem mala que eveniunt contemptoribus voluntari(e) paupertat-  
 t(is) est sciendum quod ita contingit in fine de avaro divite et volunta-  
 rio paupere sicut de gallina et falcone. Falco autem in vita in pugno  
 140 portatur, in pertica collocatur, de carne recenti reficitur. Set gallina in  
 locis vilissimis sicut in fovea et sterquilinio et huiusmodi querit refec-  
 tionem, in tugurio locatur. Et tamen mortuo falcone in foveam proicitur,  
 et gallina assata coram rege et magnatibus in aulam defertur. [f. 109]  
 Revera simili modo dives hic in vita sua cibis delicatis reficitur, vesti-  
 145 bus preciosis induitur, et cetera huiusmodi. Set certe, ipso mortuo timen-  
 dum est ne in foveam inferni proiciatur. Pauper vero cum difficultate et  
 tedio victualia acquirit, set ipso mortuo cum rege in aulam celorum et eius  
 sanctis illius anima defertur.

Exemplum Luce 16 de divite epulone et Lazaro pauperrimo. Et ideo  
 150 dicit Bernardus: "Pauper in pecunia, dives in consciencia, qui securius  
 iacet in tugurio quam rex in forti castro, et tucius in palea quam rex in  
 purpura." Non timent dominos in rapina, predones non verentur, tranquilli  
 manent, [et] ubi divites laboriose vivunt, non habent quid tolli nisi suam  
 paupertatem. Quis rapere vellet quam pauci gratis admittunt? Item sicut  
 155 circa castri conservacionem deponitur terra ut fossa eius profundetur ne  
 hostes ad illud capiendum faciliter accedant, sic rex celestis de quacumque  
 anima fideli que est sicut Dei castrum, in quam per gratiam debet habitare,  
 illam cingit fossa paupertatis contra hostes spirituales, quam super omnia  
 nititur diabolus implere terra avaricie et cupiditatis, ut sic ad illam ac-  
 160 cessum habeat forcus et caucius invadendam. Abacuc 1 dicitur: "Comporta-  
 bit aggerem et capiet eam." Tunc autem paupertatis contemptores de pauperi-  
 bus cum dolore et tremore dicent illud Sapiencie 5: "Hii sunt quos aliquan-  
 do habuimus in derisum et in similitudinem [improperii]. Nos insensati vitam  
 illorum estimabamus insaniam et finem] illorum sine honore," etc. Et ideo,  
 165 ut dicitur Iob 2, "venit super nos indignacio," scilicet paupertas Christi.

*Policraticus* reports, in book 4, that when Alexander the Great threatened  
 to make war against the people of the Brahmins, the latter replied: "What will  
 suffice a man who is not satisfied with the whole world? We have no riches for  
 which you might want to fight us in your greed. We share all property in  
 common. For riches we have food, for wealth and gold, simple and vile clothes.  
 Our women do not put on ornaments so that they might please, for they consider  
 finery a burden rather than an honor, and they do not know how to use it to  
 enhance the beauty with which they were born. Caves serve us for a double  
 purpose, to give shelter in life and burial in death. A king we have, not to  
 keep justice but our nobility. For what need is there for punishment where  
 there is no injustice?" Moved by these words, Alexander did not consider it a  
 victory if he were to disturb their peace and thus left them alone; if he were  
 to attack them with war, he might perhaps not emerge as winner, because inno-  
 cence is not easily overcome by people who do harm. So far *Policraticus*.

Further, Valerius tells us in book 4, chapter 3, of Fabricius, who said  
 that what made him rich was not to possess many things but to desire only few.  
 And therefore Aristotle said that poverty has only one disadvantage, that it  
 cannot help others.

With respect to the evil consequences for those who scorn voluntary pover-  
 ty, we must know that a greedy rich man and one who is voluntarily poor will  
 have the same end as the hen and the falcon. For during his life the falcon is  
 carried on the fist, sits on a perch, and is fed fresh meat; while the hen  
 lives in the most vile places, such as ditches and dungheaps, seeks food of the  
 same kind, and is put in a henhouse. But when they are dead, the falcon is  
 tossed in a ditch, whereas the hen is roasted and brought before the king and  
 his noblemen in the high hall. In the same way, during his life here a rich  
 man is fed with dainty dishes, is clothed in precious garments, and so forth.  
 But to be sure, when he dies, there is reason to fear that he may be thrown  
 into the ditch of hell. A poor man, however, gains his living with hardship  
 and vexation, but when he dies, his soul is brought before the king and his  
 saints in the high hall of heaven.

We find an illustration in Luke 16, the story about Dives, who ate well, and  
 Lazarus, who was extremely poor. Bernard says: "Poor in money but rich in  
 his conscience, he rested more quietly in his hovel than the king in his strong  
 castle, and more safely in the straw than the king in his purple." The poor do  
 not fear the oppression of lords, they are not worried about thieves, they rest  
 in tranquillity; and whereas the rich live in hardship, the poor have nothing  
 that can be taken from them but poverty itself. Who would want to steal what  
 few accept with pleasure? Further, in order to fortify a castle earth is dug  
 up so that its moat is made deeper, that the enemy cannot easily capture it.  
 The king of heaven acts with every faithful soul in like fashion, who is like  
 God's castle in which he should live through grace. He surrounds it with the

Circa autem bona que pauperibus voluntariis evenerunt in fine est quarto et ultimo sciendum secundum Bernardum qui ait: "In celo habundat omnium rerum opulencia. Sola paupertas, hec species habundat in terris." Set "nescivit homo precium eius." Hanc ergo venit Filius Dei querere, ut sua estimacione illam faceret preciosam. Unde Corinthiorum 8: "Cum dives esset," scilicet Christus, "factus est egenus pro nobis." Qui ergo erubescit [f. 109v] pauper[tat]em, erubescit se facere Deo similem. Distributor autem elemosinarum inferius in cista ponit delicata et pingua, et (superius) grossiora. Ribaldi autem ex aviditate discrecionem non habentes precurrunt et de grosso pane porcionem accipiunt. Senes vero et humiles, quorum est rerum exitus ex providencia metiri, gratis se subtrahunt expectantes in fine dulciora acceptura. Quod videntes alii dolent quod ita avidi fuerunt, set supervacue, quia si iterum petant beneficium, vacui tamen recedunt et eis dicitur: "Fare welle, þou hadde(st)!" sicut dictum erat diviti, Luce 18: "Recepisti bona in vita tua." Et ideo ita facit [Christus] de paupere sicut paterfamilias de nuncio pro negociis misso. Quando vult quod redeat festinanter, tunc enim dat sibi parum de expensis, ut magis domum festinet. Certe sic Christus pauperibus de rebus temporalibus ut ad celestia sint expiditi et non impedianur. Et hoc est quod dicitur Ysaie [51]: "Qui non habetis argentum, properate," scilicet ad celum, iuxta illud Mathei 5: "Beati pauperes spiritu, quoniam ipsorum est regnum celorum."

Ista ergo dicta de avaricia et cupiditate, de contemptu mundi et voluntaria paupertate ad presens sufficiunt.

11 bonus] *add ad interl* C. 12 eam] *illam* O. 14 militis terreni] *miles (corr from militis) terrenus* C. 15 Christianus] *qui filius dei appellatur* O. 17 Quod] *add quidem* O. 21 magi] *magis* O. 22 in auctoritate] *ibi auctoritatem* O. 30 vide] *videte* O. 43 qui] *quando* O. 47 unde . . . Ad] *om* O. 49 iambe leue] *et titubavit ad crucem written into blank space* C; *om* M. 55 Franciscus] *sanctus franciscus* B1; *om* E.Jo.L3.LC.Pc. Madrid. *All full manuscripts recorded.* 60 cunagio] *cuneo* O. 61 Ecce] *certe* O. 70 ista] *iste* O. 74 portarum] *parcarum* C. 78 Quamdiu] *quare diu* C. 81 Minimum-que] *minime sed* O. 81-82 abigare possim] *abigam* O. 90 accessit] *accessisset* O. 91 que] *si qua* O. 99 venit] *venerit* O. 106 philosophandum] *philosophandam* C. 108 26] *56* O. recitat] *restat* C. 113 nunquid] *ne* C. 114 cessarat] *cessaret* C. 116 quibus] *que* O. 119 4] *3* C. 121 mundus] *orbis* O. 124 quarum] *quorum* O. 125 nesciunt] *vestiunt* C. 126 duplicem] *add nobis* O. 126-127 tegumentum] *tegu- men tam* C. 129 nullam] *naturam* C. si] *sed* O. 130 eos . . . dimisit] *om* O. *contra* *om* C.R.W. 131 aggressus] *aggressum* C. 137-138 voluntarie paupertatis] *volun- tariam paupertatem* C. 138 contingit] *continget* O. et] *add de* O. 149 Exemplum] *ex- emplo* O. 173-174 superius] *inferius* C. 179 haddest] *hadde* C; *English om* M. 181 pro] *add arduo* O. 184 non] *add per temporalia* O. 187 contemptu] *con- temptoribus* C; *conceptu* W. 188 paupertate] *add in contrarium* O.

moat of poverty against its spiritual enemies, which the devil tries above all else to fill with the soil of avarice and covetousness, so that he can get to it and invade it more quickly and easily. In Habakkuk 1 it is said: "He shall cast up a mound and take it." And then those who have scorned poverty will say with pain and trembling the words of Wisdom 5 about the poor: "These are they whom we had some time in derision and for a parable of reproach. We fools esteemed their life madness, and their end without honor," etc. Therefore, as is said in Job 2, "indignation has come upon us," that is, the poverty of Christ.

In the fourth and last place, with respect to the good results that come to those who are willingly poor, we must know that Bernard says: "In heaven abounds the wealth of all things; on earth, only poverty." But "man has not known its value." The Son of God came to seek it, so that he might make it precious by showing us its value. Hence Corinthians 8: "Though he was rich," that is, Christ, "he became poor for our sake." Therefore, whoever blushes at poverty, blushes at making himself like God. The person who hands out alms puts the more valuable and better pieces at the bottom of the chest and the less valuable ones on top. Then vagabonds, who in their greed have no discretion, come running and take their share of coarse bread. But old and humble people, who measure things prudently by their end result, willingly submit themselves and hope to receive sweeter things in the end. When the others see that, they grieve at having been so greedy, but in vain, for if they ask for another boon, they will go empty and be told: "Farewell, you have had your share." The same was said to the rich man in Luke 18: "You did receive good things in your lifetime." And thus Christ deals with a poor man as the land-lord does with a messenger sent on business. When he wants him to return in a hurry, he gives him only little for his expenses, so that he will hurry home. In the same way Christ gives the poor only little of temporal goods, that they may be eager to hurry toward heaven and are not held back by temporal things. For that reason it is said in Isaiah 51: "You who have no money, make haste," namely, toward heaven, according to the words of Matthew 5: "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."

And for now this will suffice about avarice and covetousness, the contempt of the world and voluntary poverty.

13-14 Luke 5.11. 18 1 Tim. 6.15. 20-21 Matt. 2.11. 21-22 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 2 (PG 56:641-642). 26 Cf. *In* 16534; *Prov* 26495. 28-29 John 18.36. 34 Ps. 48.3. 35-38 Anselm, *Ep. de sacramentis Ecclesiae* 3 (2:241). 43 Cf. Luke 5.11. 46 Ps. 18.6. 48 Heb. 12.1. 57 Cf. 2 Tim. 4.7. 62-63 Ecclus. 27.6. 67-70 Valerius, VIII.vii.ext.6. 70-79 *Policraticus* V.17 (1:359), from Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* II.14 (PL 23:316ff.). Both refer to "Satyrus." 79-84 Cicero, *Tusculanae disputationes* I.xliii.140. 84-89 *Policraticus* V.17 (1:359). 89-92 Valerius, IV.iii.ext.4. 94 Ps. 78.8. 97 Job 14.2. 103-104 Ps. 15.8. 105-

**108** Jerome, *Ep.* 58 2 (CSEL 54:529). The story also occurs in John of Wales, *Breviloquium* II.2 and III.4; see *FM* V.xxxi.80–82. **108–110** Jerome, *Ep.* 118 5 (CSEL 55:441). **112–118** Tubach 3745a; from Seneca, *Ep. morales* IX.18. **119–132** *Policraticus* IV.xi (1:270–271). **133–134** Valerius, IV.iii.6. **135–136** Aristotle, *Apophthegmata* 48 (ed. Heitz, 4.2:435). **139–143** A very widespread simile, e.g.: Bromyard, “Paupertas,” P.III.13; Holcot, *In Sapientiam*, lect. 64; Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, p. 239. **149** Luke 16.19–31. **160–161** Hab. 1.10. **162–164** Wisd. 5.3–4. **165** Job 3.26. **167–168** Cf. Bernard, *In vigilia Nativitatis*, sermo 1, 5 (4:201). **169** Job 28.13. **170–171** 2 Cor. 8–9. **180** Luke 16.25. **185** Isa. 55.1. **186** Matt. 5.3.

PARS V  
De accidia

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V.i QUID SIT ACCIDIA

[C]ompleta autem particula 4 que mundo specialiter deservit, puta de avaricia et cupiditate cum virtutibus sibi contrariis, restat iam quinto pertractare de illis que a carne fetida et corrupta generantur sicut fere pessime et dampnabiles, scilicet de accidia, gula, et luxuria, et de virtutibus sibi contrariis, scilicet de occupacione sancta, abstinencia, et continencia.

Circa accidiam sic procedam: primo, quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo, de eius proprietate et quibus comparatur; tercio, quare odiosa est et iuste execratur. Primo ergo dico quod accidia est tedium boni sive anxietas. Set diabolus tedet omne bonum, ergo non tantum carnis set eciam sibi ad ministerium deputatur. Cuius proprietates est semper velle bene esse, [f. 110] eciam cum Deo si posset regnare, et nullo modo occupari set in omni tempore in desidia latitare.

Unde bene assimilatur cuidam servo de quo refert Petrus Alphonsus libro *De sciencia clericali*. Cui cum precepisset magister suus de nocte ut ianuas firmaret postquam ad lectum inisset, respondit: "Clause sunt," menciendo. Cum ergo de mane illum evigilasset, iussit ut illas aperiret; respondens inquit: "Scivi quod illas hodie volebas esse apertas; ideo de sero nolui illas claudere." Cum iterum sibi magister dixit: "Dies est, surge, fac opus tuum," respondit: "Si dies est, da michi iantaculum!" Cui magister: "Verecundia, inquit, tibi esset de nocte iantari." Et ille: "Si nox est, permitte me quiescere." Revera sic est de istis pigris et accidiosis. Nichil enim eis inponi potest unde torporem et desidiam possent excutere, quin ad libitum responsiones laterales adducere sciunt, et maxime si aliquid pro Deo sustinere deberent, scilicet in ieiuniis, vigiliis, et oracionibus, et huiusmodi. Primum enim non potest ne corpus nimis attenuaret, secundum propter debilitatem capitis et oculorum, nec tercium quia

PART V  
Sloth

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V.i WHAT SLOTH IS

After completing part 4 on the vice which especially serves the world, namely avarice and covetousness, together with the opposite virtues, we now come in the fifth place to treat those vices that spring from the stinking and corrupt flesh as its evil and damnable offspring, namely sloth, gluttony, and lechery, together with their opposite virtues, that is, holy activity, abstinence, and continence.

About sloth I shall proceed as follows: first I shall deal with what it is and how it is defined; second, with its characteristics and to what things it can be compared; and third, why it is harmful and rightly cursed. First, then, I say that sloth is boredom with respect to the good, or fearfulness. Now, to the devil, everything good is boring; therefore, this sin may rightly be said to serve not only the flesh but also the devil. Its characteristic is to want always to be at ease, even to reign with God if possible, and yet never to be busy but at all times to lie idle.

It can therefore be compared to a servant of whom Petrus Alphonsi speaks in his book *On Clerical Knowledge*. When his master ordered him at night to lock the doors after he had gone to bed, the servant replied, lying: "They are already shut." And when his master woke him in the morning to open the doors, he said: "I knew that you wanted them open; therefore I would not shut them last night." And when his master told him again: "It is day. Get up and do your work!" he replied: "If it is day, give me my dinner." Then his master said to him: "It would be a shame for you to eat at night [i.e., since you get hungry again in the morning]." And the servant came back with: "If it is night, let me go to sleep." Thus, indeed, it goes with lazy, slothful people. You cannot ask them for anything to cast off their torpor and laziness under their having excuses freely ready, especially if they ought to endure any hardship for God's sake, such as in fasting, vigils, prayers, and the like.

omnino "Pater Noster" et huiusmodi ignorat, et tamen si sciret, non potest propter inflationem lingue et labiorum.

- 30 Possunt tamen peroptime iuxta ciphum per totum diem et noctem ut frequenter tales sedere, vigilare, et inutilia pertractare. Quos devote arguit Bernardus in quadam meditacione dicens: "O, inquit, miser ingratus, cur nichil sustinere possis pro me ex quo tot sustinui pro te? Dicis forte capud doles vel arsuram cordis habes, que omnia forte ex superfluitate
- 35 evenerunt. Nonne capud habeo pro te coronatum et cor acutissima lancea perforatum? Manus etiam et pedes in te a vermibus corroduntur ex humoribus corruptis generatis, et ego habeo pro te utramque manum, utrumque pedem acutissimis clavis perforatum et in ligno affixum. Habes etiam forte corpus nudum et inedia maceratum? Cerne, [f. 110v] rogo, me nudiolem, macillencio-
- 40 rem, in patibulo spoliatum. Aliqui in te per verba insurgunt? Set quasi omnes adversum me clamant: 'Crucifige, crucifige eum!' Aliqui tibi compaciuntur, set omnes me derident. Tu vero in ymo stas, ut sic aliquo modo confusio tua potest latere; set ego affligor in excelso, ut omnibus contemptibilis possim apparere et patere." Hec ille.
- 45 Unde tales bene comparantur trutannis contra solem tota die sedentibus et nichil boni operantibus set (onus) bonarum occupationum recusantibus. Et ideo non sunt de numero eorum quos de labore terreno Christus vocavit ad requiem dicendo illud Matthei 11: "Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis," etc., "et ego reficiam vos," scilicet gaudio eterno.
- 50 Item similes sunt cuculo, qui non fovet ova propria, set in alieno nido ponit sua et ova comedit aliena. Sic certe de alieno labore accidiosus reficitur, et quod alii duro labore et forti lucrabantur tales devorant ociose; Psalmista: "Devorant pauperem in abscondito," hoc est, substantiam de qua pauperes vivere deberent. Set ille est cibus qui perit et non
- 55 permanet in vitam eternam, ut dicit *Glossa* super Iohannem: "Cibus, inquit, qui perit est panis ociosus quem comedunt ociosi nichil neque active neque contemplative operantes." Unde Crisostomus super [Mattheum in] *Imperfecto*, omelia 14, super illud "Panem nostrum cotidianum da," etc.: "Addidit, inquit, 'cotidianum,' ut cibus luxuriosos compescat, ut scilicet quis
- 60 tantum manducet quantum ratio exigit, non quantum lascivia impellit. Si enim in uno convivio tantum expendas quantum sufficere poterit centum hominibus moderate viventibus, non cotidianum cibum comedit set multorum." Et ideo bene possunt dici tales vaspe vel apes degeneres, que non mellificant set mel consumunt; Psalmista: "Diripient alieni labores suos."
- 65 Tercio dico quod tales assimilantur aliquibus magnatibus qui vinaria sua ita parce custodiunt quod nullibi (participant), [f. 111] set totum pro heredibus conservant, ad quorum manus cum devenerint talia, sine modo aut mensura devastant et consumunt. Sic in proposito multi hodie corpora sua ociositati exponunt nichil boni operantes, quorum corpora cum ad heredes

The first of these a slothful man cannot undertake because it would weaken his body; neither can he undertake the second because he gets a headache or eye-ache; nor the third either because he does not know the Our Father and other prayers, and if he does, he gets a swollen tongue and lips.

And yet they are perfectly capable of sitting and waking by the cup all day long and all the night, as it frequently happens, and of uttering useless things. Bernard challenges such people in a devout meditation, saying: "O ungrateful lazybones, why can you not endure anything for me, who have endured so much for you? Perhaps you say your head hurts and you have heartburn, which probably come from eating too much. Do I not have my head crowned for you and my heart pierced with a sharp spear? Your hands and feet are being eaten by worms that come from your corrupt humors, and I have both hands and both feet pierced for your sake with sharp nails and have them stuck on the cross. Is your body naked and worn thin by fasting? Look at me, I pray, how I am even more naked, worn, and despoiled on the gibbet. Do people rise against you with words? But nearly everybody shouts against me: 'Crucify, crucify him!' On you, some people have pity, but of me all people make fun. You are lying low, so that your shame may be somewhat hidden; but I am tormented high up in the air, that I may appear openly contemptible to everyone."

Such slothful people may therefore be compared to bums who sit all day long in the sun and do no work but refuse the burden of any good activity. Therefore they do not belong to the number of those whom Christ called to rest from their earthly labor when he said, in Matthew 11: "Come to me, all you that labor, and I will refresh you," that is, with eternal happiness.

They are also like the cuckoo, who does not hatch its own eggs but puts them into the nest of another bird and eats the other bird's eggs. In this way the slothful person lives off other people's labor, and what others have gained by hard and painful work, he eats up in idleness; the Psalmist says: "They devour the poor man in secret," that is, the sustenance on which the poor should live. But that is food which perishes and does not last into eternal life, as the *Gloss* on John says: "The food that perishes is the bread which idle people eat who do no work in either the active or the contemplative life." Whence Chrysostom says in homily 14 of his *Imperfect Work on Matthew*, commenting on the words "Our daily bread": "He adds the word 'daily' to forbid luxurious food, so that we should eat only as much as our nature reasonably requires, not as much as our appetite craves. For if one spends as much on one dinner as might be enough for a hundred people who live modestly, one does not eat 'daily' food but food for many days." For this reason such people may well be called wasps or degenerate bees, which do not produce honey but consume it; as the Psalmist says: "Strangers will plunder his labors."

Third, I say that such people may be likened to certain noblemen who hold on to their vineyards so tightly that they share them with no one but preserve

70 devenerint, qui sunt vermes et serpentes, revera ibi sine modo et mensura illa vorabunt, secundum illud Ecclesiastici 10: "Cum moritur homo, hereditabit serpentes, bestias, et vermes." Et ideo tunc dabit invitus vermibus quod modo negat dare divinis obsequiis aut bonis operibus.

Contra ergo tales bene narratur de quodam divite habente tres filios.

75 Volens autem scire quis eorum hereditatem suam dignius possideret, illum magis pigriori promisit. Quo audito dixit senior: "Pater, michi competit hereditas, nam ita piger sum quod, si iuxta ignem iacerem et illum viderem circa me undique dilatari, cicius pedes et tibias cremari permetterem quam illas ab igne retrahere vellem." Cui alius frater respondit: "Non sic, set  
80 michi competit hereditas. Si enim iacerem in maxima pluvia et continue in oculis meis distillaret, cicius suffocarer quam faciem amoverem aut palpebras clauderem." Quo audito dixit tertius frater: "Mea, inquit, est iuste hereditas. Nam ita piger sum quod, si essem ductus ad suspendium et funus in collo meo circumderetur et gladium acutissimum haberem in manu, cicius  
85 penderem quam cordam precin(d)ere vellem." Moraliter per primum fratrem intelligi potest luxuriosus, qui p(oc)ius in ardentissimis concupiscenciis consummari vellet quam pedes male affectionis inde retraheret. Per secundum intelligitur cupidus, qui cicius mallet execari quam oculum mentis a cupiditate claudere, quia sicut stille continue cadentes execant oculos  
90 corporis, sic divicie oculos mentis. Per tertium intelligitur superbus vel in quocumque peccato alio homo captus et ligatus, qui pocius per funem male consuetudinis vellet ad infernum trahi et ibi [f. 111v] suspendi quam [per] gladium lingue in confessione liberari.

Unde bene dicitur [illud] Proverbiorum 26: "Sicut ostium vertitur in cardine, sic piger in lecto," scilicet perverse voluntatis, a quo exire non plus potest quam pissis in rethe vel avis in visco, eo quod ipsi in rete et visco diaboli circumvoluti undique sunt et ligati. Bene ergo dicitur piger "ostium in cardine," quia sunt nonnulli quasi in lecto sompnolencie torpentes qui ultra tempus debitum plus appetunt in illo hinc inde revolvere et  
100 in illo tepescere quam ad ecclesiam eundo missas et Dei officium audire. Et cum tarde surrexerint, plus festinant ad mensam quam ad ecclesiam. Quo tamen cum venerint, supra prunas aut carbones ardentis videtur illis stare, et ideo minime ibi poterunt remanere, qui pocius stare deberent et morari quousque ab ecclesia fuerint redire licenciati. Quod fit quando missa [terminatur] et a sacerdote dicitur: "Ite, missa est," quasi diceret: hec missa  
105 iam ad Patrem est transmissa, et ideo "ite," hoc est, in nomine Domini ad propria remeate.

Sunt etiam aliqui tales qui nichil curant de missa nisi tantum ut panem sanctum habeant et aquam benedictam, et hoc sufficit, ut eis videtur.

110 Non enim attendunt quod corpus Christi quod sumit sacerdos non tantum pro se ipso facit, set pro omnibus [fidelibus qui ibi sunt vel esse velent, si

it all for their heirs; but when the latter get these possessions into their hands, they waste and consume them without measure and reason. Thus, spiritually, many people today give their bodies over to idleness without doing any useful work, so that when their bodies come to their heirs, which are worms and snakes, the latter will eat them without measure and reason, according to the words of Ecclesiasticus 10: "When a man dies, he shall inherit serpents, beasts, and worms." And then he will, against his desire, give to the worms what he now refuses to give to divine worship or good deeds.

As a warning to such people there is a good story about a rich man who had three sons. As he wanted to know which of them was the worthiest to possess his heritage, he promised it to the laziest. When the oldest son heard this, he said: "Father, the heritage belongs to me, for I am so lazy that, if I were lying next to a fire and saw it spread all around me, I would rather let my feet and legs burn than draw them back from the fire." To whom the second brother replied: "Not so, but the heritage belongs to me. For if I were lying in a rainstorm and water were continuously dripping into my eyes, I would rather drown than move my head or close my eyelids." But when the third brother had heard this, he said: "Then the heritage is rightly mine, for I am so lazy that, if I were being led to the gallows with a rope around my neck and had a sharp sword in my hand, I would rather hang than cut the rope." By the first brother we can morally understand a lecher, who would rather be consumed in his burning lust than draw the feet of his evil affection from it. By the second we can understand the covetous person, who would rather go blind than close the eye of his mind to covetousness, because just as drops that fall constantly blind the eyes of our body, so do riches blind the eyes of our mind. And by the third we can understand a proud man, or anyone that is caught and bound in any other sin, who would rather be drawn to hell by the rope of evil habit and be hanged there than free himself in confession with the sword of his tongue.

Therefore it is well said in Proverbs 26: "As the door turns upon its hinges, so does the slothful upon his bed," that is, in the bed of his perverse desire, from which he cannot escape any more easily than a fish from the net or a bird from the lime, because he is completely wrapped up and bound by the net and lime of the devil. Hence a lazy person can well be called "a door upon its hinges," because many such people lie indolent in the bed of somnolence that they would much rather snuggle in its warmth beyond a reasonable time than go to church and attend Mass and God's service. And when at last they have got up, they hurry rather to the table than to church. If they should finally get there, it seems to them that they are standing on glowing coals, and so they can hardly stay there at all, whereas they really ought to remain until they are given leave to return home from church. This happens when Mass is over and the priest says, "Go, the Mass is ended," as if he were saying: this Mass has



quo modo possent; et quod specialiter pro omnibus] circumstantibus facit mencionem in canone misse. Patet ergo quod qui interesse possunt et nolunt, quod quantum in illis est ab illo beneficio privantur. Et sunt nonnulli qui nec de pane sancto nec de aqua benedicta curant. Et forte causa est quia virtutem illorum non agnoscunt.

7 Circa] add autem O. 8 est] om O. 11 ministerium] add iuste O. 15 nocte] sero O. 17–18 iussit . . . inquit] ut illas aperiret respondit O. 18 Scivi] add inquit O. 19 Cum] cumque O. 21 iantari] iantare O. 25 et] om O. 31 sedere] add et O. vigilare] add vana O. 32 Bernardus] christus O. miser] piger O. 33 Dicus] corr in C, apparently from dices to text. 44 possim] possum O. 46 onus] usus C. occupationum] operationum O. 54 deberent] debuerunt O. 56 ociosus] om O. 57 Mattheum] om C.R. 60 racio] racionalis O. 66 sua] add et nemora O. participant] percipiant C. 68 devastant] add illa M.W; add illi R. 71 vorabunt] devorabunt O. 75 autem] ergo O. eorum] illorum O. dignius] dignus O. 76 magis] om O. Pater] frater O. 77 sum] add ego O. 81 faciem] capud O. 83 funus] funis R.W. 84 circumderetur] circumdaretur O. manu] add mea O. 85 precindere] precingere C. 86 pocius] prius C. 96 in] de O. in(2)] a M; de R.W. 109 sanctum] om O. 115 sancto] om O. nec de] vel O.

## V.ii DE VIRTUTE MISSE ET PANIS ET AQUE BENEDICTE

Et ideo iam considerandum est que sit virtus misse, panis, et aque benedictae. Set ut apercius hec intelligantur, primo videndum est de sacerdote missam celebrante qualis esse debet; secundo, de forma et materia corporis de qua fit sacramentum misse; et tercio, de virtute misse.

5 Est ergo sciendum quod sacerdos ad tam sacrum misterium deputatus habebit ista quatuor: debet esse mundus, [f. 112] discretus, pius, et iustus. Mundus autem debet esse a culpa quam in aliis est iudicaturus, quia secundum Augustinum iudicat aliquando qui iudicandus est, seipsum condemnat. Cognoscat ergo seipsum primo et purget quod ab aliis iudicat purgandum, et maxime antequam ad istud sacramentum sumere accedat, advertens concilium Pauli: “Probet autem seipsum homo, et sic de pane illo edat et de calice bibat. Qui autem manducat et bibit indigne, iudicium sibi manducat et bibit.” Et ideo debet sic in omni mundici[a] seipsum ornare, quod sibi cedat ad salutem et aliis in exemplum. Secundo sacerdos debet esse discretus, ut sciat circa sacramentum discernere et intelligere que pertinent ad illud, quomodo tractabitur, quibus dabitur, et quibus negatur. Quod etiam in aliis sit discretus, sicut in confessione, scilicet ut ibi sciat discernere de peccatis, quid veniale sit, quid mortale, et que penitentia cui-  
[cum]que peccato convenit et sufficit, secundum qualitatem et quantitatem  
15 illius. Unde Augustinus: “Caveat, inquit, sacerdos iudex spiritualis, ut sicut non committit crimen nequicie, ita non careat (munere sciencie).”  
20 Tercio debet esse pius, maxime in confessione, ut scilicet diligenter

been sent to the Father; therefore, go, that is, in the Lord’s name return to your homes.

There are also some people of this kind who do not care about the Mass except to get the blessed bread and holy water, and that, they think, is enough. They do not consider the fact that when the priest receives the Body of Christ, he does so not only for himself but for all the faithful who are present or who would want to be if they somehow could; further, that the priest explicitly mentions “all here present” in the canon of the Mass. It is therefore manifest that all who can be present and do not want to, lose the benefit of the Mass, as far as this lies in their power. And many do not even care about the blessed bread and water. Perhaps that is so because they do not understand their value.

15–22 Petrus Alphonsus, *De scientia clericali*, p. 38. Cf. Tubach 4288. 48–49 Matt. 11.28. 53 Hab. 3.14. 58–62 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 16, 11 (PG 56:713). 64 Ps. 108.11. 71–72 Ecclus. 10.13. 74–85 Tubach 2896. 94–95 Prov. 26.14.

## V.ii THE SPIRITUAL POWER OF THE MASS AND OF BLESSED BREAD AND HOLY WATER

Therefore we must now deal with the spiritual power of the Mass and of the blessed bread and water. That this may be understood more clearly, I shall first speak of the priest who celebrates Mass, what he should be like; second, of the form and the elements that belong to the sacrament of the Mass; and third, of the power of the Mass.

We should know, then, that the priest who is appointed to such a sacred mystery will have these four qualities: he must be pure, discreet, pious, and just. He must be pure from the sins which he is to judge in others, for according to Augustine, a man sometimes judges who himself is to be judged and condemns himself. He must therefore understand himself first and cleanse in himself what he judges must be cleansed in others. And especially so before he approaches to receive this sacrament, paying heed to the advice of Paul: “Let a man prove himself, and so let him eat of that bread and drink of the chalice. For he that eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself.” And thus he must deck himself out in all purity, that it may be for his own salvation and as a good example to others. Second, a priest must be discreet, so that he can judge matters that concern this sacrament and understands what belongs to it, how it is celebrated, to whom it is given, and to whom it is refused. He must also be discreet in other things, such as confession, where he must know how to discern matters concerning sins, which is venial, which is mortal, and what penance belongs to each sin and is sufficient, according to

attendat peccatorum contricionem et modum, ut scilicet instruat ad confessionem et satisfactionem ante istius sacramenti suscepcionem, nunc confortando peccatorem si desperet, nunc peccata inquirendo si erubescat, nunc vitam et veniam pollicendo si se corrigat, nunc penas intollerabiles comminando ne mortaliter peccet. Quarto debet esse iustus, considerando utrum quis peccet casu an ex deliberacione, utrum ex se, per se, vel alterius suggestione; gravius enim punietur peccatum innatum quam seminatum. Debet e(ciam) attendere utrum quis ex sua malicia an ex coactione aut necessitate, quia sunt qui rapiunt et furantur compulsi egestate, et sunt qui rapiunt cupiditatis voragine. Et secundum hoc tenetur sacerdos suas penitencias taxare.

Circa [f. 112v] autem materiam et formam istius sacramenti est sciendum quod materia est panis et vinum. Unde Ambrosius libro *De sacramentis*: “Sermone enim Christi hoc conficitur sacramentum, quia sermo Christi creaturam mutat. Et sic—hoc est, conversi(ve) et non aliter—ex pane fit corpus Christi. Et vinum cum aqua in calice missum fit sanguis consecracione Verbi celestis.” Forma autem verborum ex quibus fit sacramentum dicit Magister *Sentenciarum*, libro 4, distinctione 8, capitulo 4, sic: “Consecracione, inquit, quibus fuit verbis attende: que sunt ‘Hoc est corpus meum,’ et iterum ‘Accipite et bibite ex hoc omnes. Hic est sanguis meus.’ Per reliqua omnia que in missa dicuntur aut fiunt, laus Deo defertur.” Dicit etiam ibidem distinctione 2, capitulo 4, quod necessario vino admiscetur aqua, per quam populus signatur qui per Christi passionem redemptus est. “Cum igitur in calice vinum et aqua commiscetur, Christo populus adunatur et credencium plebs in quem credit copulatur. Que copulacio aque et vini sic miscetur in calice Christi, ut mixtio illa non possit separari. Nam si vinum tantum quis offerat, sanguis Christi incipit esse sine nobis.” Hec ibi nota et plus satis.

Et nota quod consecra(to) Christi corpore plura mirabilia ibi considerantur, iuxta illud Psalmi: “Memoriam fecit mirabilium suorum: escam dedit timentibus se.” Quorum mirabilium unum est quod ad verbum hominis una substancia in aliam convertitur. Secundum est quod ad verbum unius sacerdotis et non alterius hominis hoc fieri potest. Tercium est quod illud quod fuit prius, postea non est, et tamen in nullo adnichilatur. Quartum est quod multe substancie convertuntur in aliquid et illud non augmentatur. Quintum [est] quod illud est de novo ubi prius non fuit, et tamen secundum locum non mutatur. Sextum est quod idem corpus in numero sit simul in infinitis locis. Septimum est quod magnum sub modica albedine continetur. Octavum est quod tantum sit de isto corpore sub parte minima, quantum sub tota. Nonum est quod totum corpus [f. 113] manducetur et non tangatur dentibus. Decimum est quod aliqua quantitas dividatur et [tamen] contentum sub una manet indivisum. Undecimum est quod multi [simul] cibum illum

its nature and gravity. Whence Augustine says: “Let a priest, who is a spiritual judge, beware that as he does not commit the crime of sin, thus he must likewise not lack the gift of knowledge.” Third, he must be pious, especially in confession, so that he pays careful attention to the sinners’ contrition and its form; he must instruct the sinner in making his confession and satisfaction before he receives this sacrament, now by comforting him if he despairs, now by asking about his sins if he is ashamed, now promising him life and forgiveness if he amends himself, now threatening him with unbearable punishment so that he does not commit mortal sin. And fourth, the priest must be just and consider whether someone commits a sin by accident or deliberately, whether of his own, by himself, or through someone else’s suggestion. For a sin that springs from a person’s mind is more gravely punished than one planted there. He must further discriminate whether someone has sinned of his own malice, or under constraint, or out of necessity, because some thieves steal because they are forced by poverty, while others do so because they are engulfed in covetousness. And according to such discrimination the priest must determine the penances he imposes.

With respect to the elements and the form of this sacrament, we must know that its elements are bread and wine. Ambrose says in his book *On Sacraments*: “This sacrament is confected by the word of Christ, because the word of Christ changes his creation. And in this way—that is, by conversion and not otherwise—the bread becomes the Body of Christ; and the wine mixed with water in the chalice becomes his Blood, by the consecration of the Word from heaven.” The form of the words by which this sacrament is effected, the Master of the *Sentences* announces as follows, in book 4, distinction 8, chapter 4: “Notice the words by which the consecration is effected: they are, ‘This is my Body,’ and again, ‘Take and drink from it all. This is my Blood.’ Everything else that is said or done in the Mass is a matter of giving praise to God.” And in the same place, distinction 2, chapter 4, he says that necessarily water is mixed with wine, to symbolize the people who are redeemed through Christ’s Passion. “For when wine and water are mixed in the chalice, the people is united with Christ, and the mass of the faithful is joined to him in whom they believe. This joining of water and wine in the chalice of Christ is a mixture that cannot be separated. If someone were to offer only wine, the Blood of Christ would come to be without us.” Further discussion of the sacrament can be found in the same place of the *Sentences*.

Notice that when the Body of Christ is consecrated, many miraculous things can be found in it, according to the words of the Psalmist: “He has made a remembrance of his wonderful works: he has given food to them that fear him.” One of these miracles is that at a man’s word one substance is changed into another. The second is that this comes about at the word of a single priest and not of any other person. The third is that what existed before does not

65 accipiunt et tamen ille cibus integer persistat. Duodecimum est quod accidencia existant in actus suos sine subiecto. Decimum tertium est quod vera caro Christi habet saporem panis. Decimum quartum est quod cibus cuius est nutrire corpus nutriat spiritum. Decimum quintum est quod cuius est incorporari cibanti sibi incorporat cibantem.

70 Et nota quod in isto sacramento benedicto ista sex considero: in figura rotunditatem, in pressura tenuitatem, in aspectu albedinem, in gustu dulcedinem, in una parte dulcis descriptio, in alia parte levis percussio.

[Ronde in schapyng,  
þynne in þe bak yng,

75 Whyte in þe seyng,  
Swete in þe smack yng or tasting,  
On þe to halfe wel y-wrete,  
On þe to þer halfe þynne y-smete.]

80 Primo dico quod videmus in isto sacramento in figura rotunditatem, in signum quod simus rotundi ad omnes per amorem et caritatem; de qua nota supra, parte 3. Secundo, per pressure tenuitatem denotatur quod erimus tenues per penitentiam abstinentie; pro qua nota post, parte 6. Tercio, per albedinem in aspectu denotatur quod erimus puri et albi per castitatem et vite mundiciam; pro qua nota post, parte 7. Quarto, per gustus dulcedinem denotatur quod nichil ibi loqui debemus nisi quod iustum, verum, et honestum est, contra detractores et huiusmodi; nota supra, parte 3. Quinto, per descripcionem crucis et nominis Iesu denotatur primo quod memoriter penes nos retineamus quomodo ille dulcissimus Iesus, qui salvator interpretatur, per virtutem et misterium crucis nos redemit et salvavit a potestate diaboli; unde de cruce nota supra satis, parte 3, de caritate, et de hoc nomine Iesu et de eius potestate similiter nota ibidem. Sexto, per levem percussio-  
95 nem denotatur quod erimus leves quasi nichil curando de istis terrenis, quod directe vadit contra avariciam et cupiditatem; pro quo nota supra parte 4, capitulo 1 et deinceps per totum. De isto nomine Iesu, [f. 113v] quando scribitur Apocalipsis ultimo: "Veni, Domine Iesu," est sciendum quod tante virtutis et potestatis est quod sibi nullus potest resistere nec potest ipsum effugere. Est eciam t(erro)r demonum, salus hominum, et gaudium celestium ordinum; Philippensium 2: "In nomine Iesu omne genu flectatur, celestium, terrestrium, et infernorum," etc.

100 [C]irca autem virtutem et effectum misse est sciendum secundum Bernardum quod istud benedictum sacramentum est "egrotis medicina, peregrinantibus dieta, debiles confortat, valentes delectat, languorem sanat, sanitatem servat. Per illud eciam fit mansuecior ad correpcionem, paciencior ad laborem, ardencior ad amorem, sagacior ad cautelam, ad obediendum prompcior, et

exist thereafter, and yet it is in no way destroyed. The fourth is that many substances are changed into something, and yet the latter is not increased. The fifth is that it is newly where it was not before, and yet it has not changed place. The sixth is that the one Body is simultaneously in an unlimited number of places. The seventh is that such a great Body is contained in a small piece of whiteness. The eighth is that there is as much of this Body in the smallest part as there is in the whole. The ninth is that an entire body is eaten yet is not touched by teeth. The tenth is that a quantity is divided, and yet what is contained in it remains undivided. The eleventh is that many receive this food at the same time, and yet this food remains entire. The twelfth is that the accidentals continue to exist in their effects in the new substance. The thirteenth is that the true flesh of Christ tastes like bread. The fourteenth is that food whose function it is to nourish the body nourishes the spirit. And the fifteenth is that what usually becomes part of the person who eats it, here makes the person who eats it part of itself.

Notice further that I perceive six qualities in this blessed sacrament: roundness in its form, thinness in its molding, whiteness in its appearance, sweetness in its taste, a sweet inscription on one side, and a light compression on the other.

Ronde in schapyng . . .

First I say that in this sacrament we see roundness in its form, as a sign that we must be round to all people through love and charity; on this subject see above, part 3. Second, the thinness of its molding indicates that we shall be thin through abstinence of penance; on which see later, part 6. Third, its whiteness indicates that we shall be pure and white in chastity and purity of our life; for which see part 7 below. Fourth, its sweetness indicates that we must not speak anything other than what is just, true, and honorable, in contrast to backbiters and the like; see above, part 3. Fifth, the impression of the cross and the name of Jesus indicates that we must always keep in mind how this sweet Jesus, whose name means "Savior," has redeemed us through the mystery and power of his cross and has saved us from the devil's power; about this cross see above in part 3 the chapter on charity, and about the name of Jesus and its power see similarly in a chapter of the same part. Sixth, its being compressed to a light weight indicates that we shall be light as if we had no care for earthly things, which is directly opposed to avarice and covetousness; on which see above, part 4, chapter 1 and following, through the whole part. Concerning the name of Jesus, as it is written at the end of Revelation: "Come, Lord Jesus," we should know that it has so much power and strength that no one can withstand or flee from it. For it is a terror to demons, salvation for men, and joy for the celestial ranks; Philippians 2: "In

105 ad graciaram actionem devocior." Hec ille. Item Augustinus, *De civitate Dei*,  
ait quod quocumque die quis devote missam celebraverit vel devote audierit,  
saltem si a peccato mortali immunis exstiterit, quod illa die conceduntur  
sibi cibaria necessaria, [levia colloquia dimittuntur,] iuramenta ignorata  
delentur. Illo eciam die lumen oculorum non amittetur, subito non morietur,  
110 et si alias moriatur, pro communicato habeatur. Dum autem missam audierit,  
non senescit; quilibet passus eundo et redeundo ab angelis numeratur. Hec  
ille.

Et nota similiter quod missa ex sua virtute animam pro qua specialiter  
celebratur a suo purgatorio refrigerat et alleviat, ceteraque anime ibidem  
115 existentes causa ipsius eciam alleviantur a penis suis, scilicet a tot quot  
competunt tante devocioni aut oracioni. Set quantum hoc fuerit, solus Deus  
novit. Si enim multi homines in domo tenebrosa fuerint, quorum unus tantum  
habeat candelam accensam in manu, certum est quod omnes alii participant  
cum eo de lumine. Si vero unusquisque eorum candelam teneat accensam, tanto  
120 lucidiores erunt omnes in domo. Revera sic in proposito. Nam qui celebrat  
pro una [f. 114] anima, quasi unam lucernam tenet in manu unde omnes anime  
illuminantur in purgatorio, hoc est, de lumine illius misse omnes partici-  
pant, gracias illi anime referentes pro qua principaliter celebratur. Set  
quando sacerdos in generali dicit "Lux eterna luceat eis, Domine," etc.,  
125 tunc quasi fa(culam) ardentem accendit omnibus animabus, qua illuminantur  
penales tenebre et accenditur lux gracie. Unde patet quod quanto plures  
missas pro afflictis celebrat quis, tanto lumen animarum augmentat.

Queri tamen solet utrum una missa magis prosit defunctis quam alia,  
quia omnis missa est pro defunctis, set non omnis missa est [de] defunctis.  
130 Primum autem patet quia hostia, quando in tres partes dividitur, tunc una  
pars signat graciaram actionem que est pro sanctis, secunda signat oracio-  
nem que est pro vivis in terra,<sup>o</sup> set tertia propiciacionem signat que est  
pro defunctis afflictis in purgatorio. Unde quidam ponit tales versus:

135 Pars est pro sanctis, pars illa pro sanctificandis.  
Illa refert grates, supplicat illa Deo,

quia tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis supplicamus, set pro sanctis (tantum)  
gracias referamus. Et ideo illa sola missa est de defunctis in qua per  
omnes misse partes fit mencio de defunctis, sicut in introitu cum dicitur:  
"Requiem eternam dona eis," etc., et in Epistola et in Evangelio. Set sicut  
140 dicunt, illa oblacio corporis Christi benedicti equivalet omnibus, et tamen  
ipsa devocio quam habet sacerdos dum offert eukaristiam Deo magis prosit  
uni quam alteri. Et per hoc patet quod sacerdos si promittat alicui celeb-  
rare pro anima alicuius amici sui, quod non solvit promissum suum nisi tan-

the name of Jesus every knee should bow of those in heaven, on earth, and in hell."

Concerning the effect and power of the Mass, we must first know that according to Bernard this blessed sacrament is medicine for the sick and daily food for pilgrims; it comforts the weak, delights those that are well, heals sickness, and preserves health. Through it one grows more meek under correction, more patient in hardship, more ardent in love, more shrewd in one's caution, more ready to obey, and more devout in thanksgiving. And Augustine says, in *The City of God*, that on the day one devoutly celebrates or hears Mass, especially if one is free from mortal sin, all necessary provisions are granted, idle words are forgiven, and forgotten oaths are canceled. On the same day one will also not lose one's eyesight and will not suddenly die, and even if one should die, one will be counted as having received the sacraments. And while one is hearing Mass, one does not grow older; and every step one takes in going to and returning from Mass is counted by angels.

Notice likewise that through its power a Mass lightens and decreases the purgatorial pains of a soul for which it is said in particular, and because of it the other souls in purgatory find a lightening of their pains, as much as such devotion or prayer can bring it. How much that might be, only God knows. If many people are together in a dark house and only one of them has a lighted candle in his hand, it is certain that all the others share his light. But if each one of them has a lighted candle, then all the people in that house will have so much more light. The same applies spiritually to our matter. The person who celebrates Mass for one soul holds, as it were, one lamp in his hand from which all other souls in purgatory gain some light, that is, they all share in the light of grace that comes from that Mass and give thanks to the one soul for whom the Mass is especially said. But when a priest says the Mass "May your eternal light shine upon them, Lord" in general, then he lights, as it were, a burning torch for all the souls, which illumines the darkness of their punishment and kindles the light of grace. Thus it is manifest that the more Masses one celebrates for the souls in purgatory, the more one increases their light.

Sometimes the question is raised whether one Mass is more useful to the dead than another, since every Mass is for the dead, but not every Mass is "of the dead." The first is the case, because when the Host is broken into three parts, one part symbolizes our thanksgiving for the saints, the second part our prayer for those living on earth, and the third part our sacrificial gift for the souls afflicted in purgatory. Hence the verses:

One part is for the saints, another for those to be made such.  
The first one renders thanks, the second prays to God,

tum faciat quantum ad missam pro huiusmodi assignata[m] pertinet. Verumptamen si si(mplic)iter promittat pro anima alicuius celebrare, potest absolvi a promisso quamcumque missam dicat.

Unde narrat Gregorius libro *Dialogorum* de quodam [f. 114v] magnate in Terra Sancta ab hostibus capto, qui cum diu in vinculis sic detineretur, credens uxor eius ipsum esse mortuum pro eius anima omni die missas fecit cantare. Unde quociens essent hostie sacre pro eo oblate, tociens solvebantur vincula eius. Cum ergo tandem domum reversurus uxori que evenerant enarrasset, ipsa commemorans dies et horas quibus pro eo celebrare fecisset, cognovit eum eodem tempore a vinculis absolvi quo pro eo sacramentum offerebatur.

Narratur etiam quod fuerunt duo religiosi multum se invicem diligentes, quorum unus devotus valde et alter aliquantulum dissolutus existebat. Mortuo dissoluto apparuit quadam nocte in choro cum omni obscuritate socio in sua devocione existente. Cum ergo ille pre timore dixisset, "Benedicite," respondit alius, "Dominus." Querens ergo quis esset et quomodo se haberet, respondit socius suus: "Sum, inquit, in maximo purgatorio afflictus propter meas levitates. Set multum me iuvarent oraciones et misse, si quis de me cogitare vellet et orare." Et hiis dictis disparuit. In crastino autem socius ille devotus se disponens ad missam accessit. Et cum venisset ad communionem, hiis verbis cum lacrimis devote pro socio Deum exorabat: "Domine, inquit, Iesu, credo et ore confiteor nullum tam pium, misericordem, ac remunerativum servis suis sicut te, Deum meum. Set nunc ita est quod si quis a(ut) Soldano Babilonie vel cuicumque alteri infideli fideliter in lege sua toto tempore vite sue servisset, et iste in carcere domini sui socium ligatum haberet, et ad dominum accederet nichil aliud petens post amorem domini sui pro toto servicio suo nisi liberacionem socii, revera cito liberaretur. Set iam tibi servivi modo meo per tantum tempus sicut scivi, quamvis non sicut debui, et socium meum [f. 115] habes in tuo carcere purgatorii ligatum. Nichil ergo aliud peto a tua maxima misericordia et pietate pro toto servicio meo nisi socii mei deliberacionem. Et hanc petitionem, si placet, michi concede." Et hiis dictis corpus Christi cum omni reverencia sumpsit. Nocte vero sequente cum in devocione sua prostratus orasset, apparuit sibi dictus socius cum inmensa claritate et illum hiis verbis allocutus est: "Benedictus sis inter omnes socios. Nam per te a pena sum deliberatus, et iam ad gaudium transio." Et statim disparuit.

Patet ergo quod maximum opus misericordie est hic captivos a vinculis eripere, quorum penam sic per exempla perpendimus. Que quidem pena, scilicet purgatorii, secundum beatum Augustinum, omnes alias qualescumque in centuplum excedit naturale(s). De qua narrat venerabilis Beda *De gestis Anglorum*, quod quidam paterfamilias in partibus Northhumbrorum vitam religiosam duxit. Tandem infirmitate correptus primo noctis tempore defunctus

because we pray for both living and dead, but for the saints we only give thanks. And therefore only that Mass is "of the dead" in which throughout all its parts mention is made of the dead, as, for instance, in the introit, when we say: "Give them eternal rest, O Lord," and so forth; and similarly in the readings of the Epistle and the Gospel. But as they say, the offering itself of the blessed Body of Christ is of equal value for all, and yet the particular intention a priest has when he offers the Eucharist up to God may bring greater benefit to one person than to another. From this it is clear that when a priest promises someone to celebrate a Mass for the soul of a friend, he does not make good his promise unless he does all that belongs to a Mass established for this purpose. If, however, he simply promises to say a Mass for someone's soul, the promise can be fulfilled by whatever Mass he says.

Gregory's *Dialogues* tells of a story about a nobleman who was captured by his enemies in the Holy Land. As he was held in fetters for a long time and his wife believed him to be dead, she had Masses sung for his soul every day. And every time the sacred Host was offered up for him, his fetters fell from him. When he finally returned home and told his wife what had happened, remembering the days and hours at which she had Mass celebrated for him, she recognized that he was freed from his fetters at the same time as the sacrament was being offered for him.

It is further reported that there were two religious who loved each other very much; one of them was very devout, the other somewhat dissolute. When the latter had died, he appeared one night rather darkly to his companion, who was praying in the choir. As he exclaimed in fear, "Bless us," the other replied, "O Lord." Then when he asked him who he was and how he was doing, his companion answered: "I am being afflicted with heavy pains in purgatory because of my levity. But prayers at Mass would help me greatly, if someone would think of me and pray." With these words he disappeared. On the following day, his friend disposed himself devoutly at Mass, and when he went to Communion, he devoutly prayed to God for his friend, with tears and in these words: "Lord Jesus, I believe and confess openly that no one is so compassionate, merciful, and ready to reward his servants as you are, my God. But now it is the case that if someone had faithfully served the Sultan of Babylon or any other infidel in his law during his whole life, and this person were to have a friend bound in his lord's prison and were to go to his lord asking, after his lord's love, for no other reward for all this service but the freedom of his friend, surely the latter would be quickly released. I have now served you in my own way for such a long time as well as I knew, even though not as well as I should, and my friend is bound in your prison of purgatory. Thus I ask for no other reward for my service from your great mercy and pity than freedom for my friend. Please grant me this petition." And after these words he received the Body of Christ with all reverence. In the following night, as he was praying



est. Set diluculo reviviscens, repente residebat. Quo viso omnes qui ibi fuerant perterriti fugerunt excepta uxore, que plus ipsum diligebat. Quam ipse consolabatur dicens: "Noli timere, quia iam vere a morte surrexi et adhuc inter homines vivere permissus sum, ita tamen quod aliter quam antea  
 190 vixi vivam." Statimque ad oratorium perrexit ibique oracione facta mox omnem substanciam in tres partes divisit, quia unam uxori, aliam filiis, et terciam pauperibus erogavit. Ipse vero locum secrete mansionis ingressus usque ad diem mortis sue in tantam penitenciam se constrinxit ut, si lingua taceret, duricia quoque vite sue verum esse quod viderat exclamaret. Narra-  
 195 bat autem quomodo ab angelo ductus vidit tam paradisum iocunditatis et glorie quam purgatorium afflictionis et pene quam eciam infernum, [f. 115v] ut ibi patet, confusionis et miserie. Que omnia ut viderat, tam de gaudiis quam de penis et tormentis, regi Alfrido, devotissimo tunc temporis superstiti, ac aliis ut converterentur ad Dei servicium studiosius enarravit.  
 200 Cum autem ipsemet frequencius aquam congelatam ingredi solebat, aliquando usque ad lumbos, aliquando usque ad collum, et orare, et super hoc argueretur ab amicis, respondit se duriora vidisse; unde de duobus malis minus malum eligendum esse. Hec Beda.

[C]irca vero panem et aquam benedictam est sciendum quod ambo ordinati  
 205 sunt contra diaboli potestatem et pro gracie recepcione. Unde quia in primitiva Ecclesia cotidie solebant homines communicari, et postea crescente plebe institutum erat ut dominicis diebus communicarent, set adhuc magis populo crescente ordinatum est ut ter in anno communicet, puta in Pascha, Nativitate Domini, et Pentecosten, ideo propter hoc non quasi eukaristiam  
 210 set corporis Christi commemoracionem, quia tali die, idest die dominica, dari soleba(t) quibuscumque fidelibus, panis benedictus ordinatus est omnibus fidelibus die dominico distribui contra potestatem diaboli et pro corporis et anime, ut patet in sua benedictione, sanctitate et gracia. Aqua vero benedicta, sicut patet in eius exorcismo, effugat demones, et ubicum-  
 215 que fuerit aspersa per invocacionem sancte Trinitatis, nulla demonum infestacio gravabit. Secundum autem aliquos tam panis ille quam aqua delent venialia peccata et conferunt gratiam.

6 et] om O. 11 Pauli] iohannis evangeliste O. 14 sacerdos] om O. 14 negatur] negetur O. 19 et(2)] aut M.W; vel R. 20 Augustinus] add ait O. 21 munere sciencie] vivere sancte C. 23 instruat] instruat M.W; longer om R. 25 peccatorem] om O. 30 eciam] esse C; enim R. sua] propria O. 37 converse] conversio C. 41 fuit] fit R and source. 43 defertur] add hec ille O. 44 aqua] om O. 46 commiscetur] miscetur O. 47 plebs] add enim O; ei source. 50 plus] plura O. 51 consecrato] consecracione C; consecracione R. 60 magnum] tam magnum corpus M.R; longer om W. 69 cibanti] add quod O. 70 considero] add scilicet O. 73-78 Ronde . . . y-smete] text from R. Verse 44, in B1.B3.E.Go1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 80 quod simus] om O. 82 6] add capitulo O. 84 7] add capitulo O. 85 loqui] sencire nec credere M; om R.W. 86 3] add

prostrated in great devotion, his friend appeared in a very bright light and addressed him with these words: "Blessed may you be among all friends. I have been freed from pain for your sake and now pass on to joy." And he disappeared at once.

Thus it is manifest that it is a very great work of mercy in this life to free captives from their bonds, of whose pain we can thus have some idea from these examples. This pain, namely of purgatory, according to blessed Augustine, surpasses all natural sufferings a hundredfold. On this subject, the Venerable Bede tells in his *Deeds of the English* of a landlord in Northumberland who led a very religious life. At last he fell sick and died in the first part of the night. But at dawn he came back to life and suddenly sat up. At this sight all who were present fled in great terror, except his wife, who loved him very dearly. He comforted her and said: "Do not be afraid. I have truly come back from the dead and am allowed to live still among men, but otherwise than I have lived before." He at once went to the oratory, prayed, and then divided all his property into three parts, one for his wife, one for his children, and the third for the poor. He himself entered into a hidden part of his house and mortified himself until his death in such great penance that, if his tongue had been silent, the harsh manner of his life would have proclaimed the truth of what he had seen. For he reported how he was led by an angel and saw both the joy and glory of paradise and the torment and pain of purgatory as well as the confusion and misery of hell, as one can find it in Bede's book. All the things he had seen, the joys and the pains and the torments, he reported to King Aldfrid, the most devout ruler of that time, and to others, so that they might turn to serve God more eagerly. He himself often used to step into ice-cold water, sometimes to his hips, sometimes to his neck, and to pray thus; and when he was criticized for this by his friends, he answered that he had seen worse things, and that of two evils one should choose the lesser. So far Bede.

Regarding the blessed bread and water we must know that both have been instituted against the power of the devil and for the reception of grace. In the early Church people used to receive Communion every day, and later, when the number of Christians increased, it was established that they should receive Communion on Sundays. But as the number of Christians grew even further, it was decreed that they should receive Communion three times per year, namely at Easter, Christmas, and Pentecost. For this reason, not in place of the Eucharist but in commemoration of the Body of Christ, which formerly used to be given to all the faithful on that day, that is, on Sunday, now the blessed bread has been instituted to be given to all the faithful on Sunday, against the power of the devil and for the sanctification and grace of body and soul, as can be seen in its blessing. The holy water, on the other hand, as is shown in its exorcism, drives demons away, and wherever it is sprinkled about under invocation



capitulo O. **91** ibidem] *add* capitulo O. **97** terror] timor C. **99** celestium ...etc.] *om* O. **100** est] *add* primo O. **106** audierit] *add* et O. **110** autem] *eciam* O. **122** illuminantur] *add* alie O. lumine] *add* gracie O. **125** faculam] fasciculam C.M.W; fasciculum R. **129** de] *om* C; pro M; *longer om* R.W. **132** terra] C *has* quia . . . referamus (*lines 136–37*) *here*. **133** quidam ponit tales] *om* O. **136** tantum] tunc C. **144** assignatam] assignata C.M.R; significata W. **145** simpliciter] similiter C. **147** narrat . . . Dialogorum] narratur O. **151** evenerant] venerant O. **161** et] *om* O. **167** aut] a C.M; in W. **183** naturales] naturalem C.R.W. **198–199** superstiti] superstes O. **208** in(2)] *om* O. **209** Domini] *om* O. **210** dominica] dominico O. **211** solebat] solebant C. **216** ille] iste O.

### V.iii DE ACCIDIA IN PRELATIS

Est autem advertendum quod non tantum illud vicium accidie in minoribus apparet set in maioribus sepe latere experitur, puta in prelatibus Ecclesie et aliis illius Ecclesie ministris, qui frequenter nimis tepidi in subditorum supportacione et doctrina inveniuntur, set malum exemplum dando

5 satis vigiles et curiosi. Quos [f. 116] ideo Dominus vocat cecos, cum Psalmista dicens: “Oculos habent et non videbunt,” quasi dicat: oculos sciencie habent et tamen neque peccatum proprium neque aliorum videre volunt. De quibus Sapiencie 1 dicitur: “Excecavit eos malicia eorum”; unde

10 *eciam* et diabol(us). Exemplum: Sicut aquila cum predam acceperit primo eruit oculos illius quam tangat corpus ad comedendum, sic diabolus quosdam prelatos cum ceperit in delectacionibus carnalibus primo oculos mentis evellit, ne proprium videat defectum neque alienum. Unde Psalmista: “Nescierunt neque intellexerunt, in tenebris ambulant,” etc. Et alibi: “Non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum.” Et ideo “ceci sunt duces cecorum,” Matthei 15. Et ideo, secundum Gregorium, “tot mortibus digni sunt quot perdicionis exempla ad alios transmittunt”; unde Ezechielis 4: “Si non annunciareris, inquit, impio iniquitatem eius, ipse quidem in iniquitate sua morietur, sanguinem eius de manu tua requiram.” De talibus ergo dicitur illud Matthei: “Dicunt et non faciunt. Aliis autem inponunt onera gravia et

20 inportabilia, digito autem suo nolunt ea movere.” Et ideo tales sunt simi-

of the Holy Trinity, no attack of demons will grieve us. According to some, both this bread and the holy water delete venial sins and confer grace.

**8–9** Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* 20 (PL 40:1129). **11–13** 1 Cor. 11.28. **20–21** Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* 20 (PL 40:1129). **36–39** Ambrose, *De sacramentis* IV.iv–v.14ff. (CSEL 73:52ff.); quoted by Peter Lombard, see the following note. **40–43** Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV.viii.4 (2:282). **44–49** *Ibid.*, IV.xi.5 (2:301–302). **52–53** Ps. 110.4. **81** *FM* III passim. **82** *FM* VI.iv–vi. **84** *FM* VII.xvii–xx. **86** *FM* III.iii. **90–91** *FM* III.xiv and vii. **94** *FM* IV.x–xii. **95** Rev. 22.20. **98–99** Phil. 2.10. **101–105** Hugh of Strasburg, *Comp. theol. ver.* VI.15. **106–111** This commonplace on “The Virtues of the Mass” or “Meeds of the Mass” was extremely widespread, in Latin and vernacular texts, both prose and poetry. It was attributed to various Fathers and Doctors of the Church. See A. Franz, *Die Messe im deutschen Mittelalter* (Freiburg, 1902; repr. Darmstadt, 1963), pp. 36–72; and *The Lay Folks Mass Book*, ed. T. F. Simmons, EETS 71 (London, 1879), pp. 366ff. **124** From the Communion of the medieval funeral Mass; Legg, p. 433. **139** Introit to the medieval funeral Mass; Legg, p. 431. **147–154** Gregory, *Dialogi* IV.59 (3:196); Tubach 926. **155–179** Tubach 3388; also in Bromyard, “ors,” M.XI.116. **182–183** Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa penitencia* XVIII.34 (PL 40:1127f.). **184–203** Bede, *Hist. eccl.* V.12. **204–217** On blessed bread, etc., see Joseph A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, trans. F. A. Brunner (New York, 1955), 2:325–329, 452–459.

### V.iii SLOTH AMONG THE CLERGY

Notice that this vice of sloth not only appears in people of lower status but can also often be found hiding in those of higher rank, namely in prelates and other servants of the Church, who are often found to be too lukewarm in supporting and teaching their subjects, but alert enough and attentive in giving a bad example. These the Lord calls “blind” when he says with the Psalmist: “They have eyes, but they shall not see,” as if he were saying: they have the eyes of knowledge and yet do not wish to see their own sin or that of others. Of those is said in Wisdom 1 that “their own malice has blinded them,” and the devil does likewise. As an example, just as the eagle, when he catches his prey, first pecks out its eyes before he touches its body to eat it, so the devil, when he has caught any prelates in fleshly delights, first plucks out the eyes of their mind so that they may not see their own or other people’s fault. Whence the Psalmist says: “They have not known nor understood; they walk on in darkness,” etc. And elsewhere: “There is none who does good, not a single one.” Consequently, “the blind lead the blind,” Matthew 15. And therefore, according to Gregory, they are worthy to die as many deaths as they give examples of damnation for others; thus Ezekiel 4 says: “If you do not warn the wicked of his iniquity and he dies in it, I shall require his blood at your hand.” And in Matthew it is said of such people: “They say and do not practice. On others they lay heavy and unbearable burdens, but they will not move

les sacco pigmentarii qui bonum odorem refundit et tamen sibi feces retinet. Similiter eciam ioculatoribus qui probitates multas referunt et tamen illa facere renuunt. Et similiter pauperibus contractis ante portam civitatis iacentibus, qui bonas habent linguas set cetera membra pessima. Unde  
 25 Ieronimus: "Qui bene docet et male agit, Deum instruit quomodo ipsum dampnare debeat." Et Bernardus: "Miror, inquit, de prelati cuius ordinis sunt, qui in vestibus incedunt ut milites, in dignitate Ecclesie ut clerici, et non pugnant ut milites, non predicant ut clerici. Unde (dicit ipse) cum  
 30 nullius ordinis sunt, ibunt ubi nullus ordo est set sempiternus horror inhabitans." Crisostomus eciam super Mattheum, super illud "Super cathedram Moy- [f. 116v] si": "Video, inquit, nonnullos in scola perversitatis residere qui elemosinas pauperum fidelium dumtaxat ut bene vivant conantur diripere, qui ipsos in cultu dominico deberent informare et animas errantium consolidare, qui magis de oblationibus fidelium ventrem student pinguescere  
 35 quam animarum refectionem spiritualiter eis impendere; 'stipendium ergo illorum est mors.' "

Cum ergo tales ad ecclesiam vel oratorium veniunt, nulla interveniente devocione cum tedio et anxietate Dei officium sincopando (ruminant), per quod Deum offendunt et seipsos a merito evacuant. Unde quedam anachorita  
 40 sancte vite semel narravit cuidam episcopo Wygornie de quodam sacerdote tabernario et guloso, qui ibidem sedere solebat usque ad mediam noctem, diu scilicet potare, et tarde cubare, et de mane nimis dormire et ad ecclesiam dissolute venire, ibique indistincte officium psallere, sincopando et festinando in tantum quod uno versu semidicto a clerico alium inchoavit, et  
 45 sic de aliis similiter. Quod tandem admirans dicta domina Deo frequenter supplicabat, ut aliquatenus ostenderet si eius obsequium Deo placeret. Unde quadam nocte dum se oracioni dedisset, audivit vocem venientem et ei sic Anglice loquentem:

50 Longe-slepers and ouer-lepers,  
 For-skipers and ouer-hippers,  
 I holde hem lither hyne.  
 I am not heryn,  
 Ne thay bith not myne.  
 But þey sone amende,  
 55 Thay shullen to hell pyne.

Et ideo contra tales dicitur in Psalmo: "In labore hominum non sunt, et cum hominibus non flagellabuntur," quasi diceret: quia non laborant fideliter in terris in Dei officio et aliis operibus virtuosus set in pigricia et desidia torpescunt, ideo non [f. 117] flagellabuntur in penis purgatorii  
 60 cum ceteris hominibus salvandis, set pocius deputentur flagellis infernali-

them with their own finger." Therefore they are like the bag of a cosmetics dealer which spreads a good smell yet contains excrement; and like storytellers who tell of noble deeds yet refuse to do them themselves. And they are like crippled poor people who lie at the city gate: they have good tongues, but their other members are very poorly. Jerome thus says: "He who teaches well and acts badly gives God a lesson how he should condemn him." And Bernard says: "I wonder to what status prelates belong: they walk about in clothes like knights and in ecclesiastical dignity like clerics, and yet do they neither fight like knights nor preach like the clergy. Hence (says he), as they belong to neither order of society, they will go to where there is no order but everlasting horror." And Chrysostom in his work on Matthew, commenting on the words, "On the chair of Moses," says: "I see many sitting in the school of perverseness who try to rob the alms of the faithful poor merely that they themselves may live well, who should educate them in the worship of the Lord and strengthen the souls of those who are going astray. They are more intent upon filling their own stomach with the alms of the faithful than on giving them spiritual food for their souls; 'their reward is death.' "

When such people come to the church or an oratory, they mumble through the divine office without devotion but in boredom and with an anxious mind and clip its words, whereby they offend God and deprive themselves of any merit. For this reason, an anchoress of holy life once told the bishop of Worcester of a priest who was a glutton and tavern-hunter, who used to sit there sometimes till midnight, drink long and go to bed late, and in the morning he would oversleep and come to church in a state, and then he would mumble through the office and swallow its words and hurry along, so that he would start a new verse before his assistant had finished half of his own, and so on likewise with the rest of his service. The anchoress was much astonished by this and often asked God to show her if such service pleased him. Then one night, as she was in prayer, she heard a voice come to her and say in English:

Long-sleepers and prayer-leapers,  
 Overskipers and word-clippers—  
 Evil servants, I reckon well.  
 Neither myself theirs  
 Nor them mine do I tell.  
 Unless they amend soon,  
 They go to the pains of hell.

Therefore, against such people it is said in the Psalm: "They are not in the labor of men, and they shall not be scourged like other men," as if to say: since on earth they do not work faithfully in God's service and in other virtuous deeds but rather lie torpid in sloth and laziness, they will not be

bus et eternis. Quam ergo iocundum erit in iudicio audire illud Matthei (11): "Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis," scilicet in bonis operibus, "et ego reficiam vos." Et quam durum audire illud Psalmi: "Discedite a me, omnes qui operamini iniquitatem!" Versus:

65           Quantus erit luctus cum iudex dixerit "Ite,"  
              Tantus erit fructus cum dixerit ipse, "Venite."

2 set] *add* eciam O. 9 diabolus] diaboli C. 17 eius] *om* O. 27 qui] quoniam O. 31 Moysi] *add* sederunt O. 38 ruminant] minuunt C. 41 solebat] *add* aliquando O. 43 dissolute] indissute M.W; indissolute R. 48 loquentem] dicentem O. 49–55 Longe-slepars . . . pyne] *Verse 45*, in B1.B3.CC.E.Et.Go1.Go2.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.W2. 57 quasi] acsi O. 62 11] 2 C. 64 iniquitatem] *add* unde O.

#### V.iv QUARE ACCIDIA SIT DETESTANDA

Est igitur istud peccatum accidie odiosum et detestandum: primo, [quia] dulcedinem devocionis tollit et destruit; Psalmista: "Omnem escam," scilicet devocionis, "abominata est anima eorum," scilicet pigrorum. Secundo, quia nullum fructum bone conversacionis profert. Unde Gregorius (33)

5 *Moralium*: "Infructuose, inquit, sunt arbores salicis, et tamen tante viriditatis sunt ne arescere vix possunt." Sic accidiosi mundo virescunt carnaliter, set spiritualiter infructuosi arescunt; Osee 9: "Fructum nequaquam faciunt." Tercio, quia quanto magis quiescit, tanto magis putrescit. Et ideo bene comparatur aque putride. Natura enim aque est quod per motum et

10 cursum depuratur et in sua puritate conservatur, set per quietem putrescit et corrumpitur et in vermes resolvitur. Revera sic ociosi putrescunt spiritualiter, quia singula vicia alia seriatim sibi addunt; unde Ezechielis 16: "Hec fuit iniquitas Sodome, saturitas panis et ocium."

Contra ergo istud vicium narratur de duobus militibus, quorum unus

15 strenuus erat et audax et alius vecors nimis. Isti tamen coniuraverunt quod sicut fratres lucra in omnibus dividerent. Venientes ergo ad quandam civitatem ubi fuerat torneamentum proclamatum, cum ille miles vecors didiceret quod pars adversa [fuerat] potencior, cepit timere languore simulato et quiescens in lecto. Alter ad torneamentum perrexit, [f. 117v] ubi strenue

20 agens plures equos lucratus est. Quo facto rediit ad socium, querens de

scourged in the pains of purgatory with other people who will be saved, but instead will be handed over to the eternal scourges of hell. How joyful will it be to hear at the Judgment the words of Matthew 11: "Come to me, all you that labor and are burdened," namely in doing good deeds, "and I will refresh you." And how hard will it be to hear those words of the Psalm: "Depart from me, all you workers of iniquity!" Hence the verse:

As great will be the grief when God our judge says, "Go,"  
As our joy will be when he says to us, "Come!"

6 Ps. 113.5; 134.16. 8 Wisd. 2.21. 12–13 Ps. 81.5. 13–14 Ps. 13.1, etc. 14–15 Matt. 15.4. 15–16 Gregory, *Regula pastoralis* III.4 (PL 77:54). 16–18 Ezek. 3.18. 19–20 Matt. 23.3–4. 25–26 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 31 (PG 56:876). 26–30 Bernard, *De consideratione* III.v.20 (3:447–448). 30–31 Matt. 23.3. 35–36 Rom 6.23. 39–55 See Karl Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung im englischen Hochmittelalter* (Munich, 1973), pp. 321–325. 56–57 Ps. 72.5. 62–63 Matt. 11.28. 64 Ps. 6.9. 65–66 *Prov* 23647 and 30991a; an English verse rendition in "Unrecorded," No. 7.

#### V.iv WHY SLOTH MUST BE SCORNE

This sin of sloth, then, is hateful and detestable, first, because it takes away and destroys the sweetness of devotion; as the Psalmist says: "Their soul," that is, of lazy people, "abhorred all manner of meat," that is, of devotion. Second, because it bears no fruit of a good life. Whence Gregory says, in book 33 of his *Moral Commentary on Job*: "Willow-trees bear no fruit, and yet they are so green that they can hardly grow dry." In the same way, slothful people look outwardly green before the world, but spiritually they are dry and bear no fruit; Hosea 9: "They yield no fruit." And third, because the more a slothful person is at rest, the more he rots. For this reason he can easily be compared to foul water. For as long as water moves and runs, it is naturally kept fresh and retains its freshness; but when it is stagnant, it turns foul and corrupt and grows vermin. In the same way, idlers grow foul spiritually, for they let every vice grow in them, one after the other; whence Ezekiel 16 says: "This was the iniquity of Sodom: fullness of bread and idleness."

To counter this vice, there is a story about two knights; one of them was strong and brave, the other a great coward. At one time they swore to each other that they would share all their winnings like brothers. Now, as they came to a city where a tournament had been proclaimed, when the cowardly knight had found out that the opposing party was more powerful, he grew fearful and

statu suo. Qui audiens torneamentum f(ini)tum et quod socius bene expedisset, capud suum erexit dicens: "Karissime frater, spero quod bene valeo si haberem unam offam in vino." Qua accepta sanus factus est. Redientes ergo versus domum ad locum ubi iter suum dividebatur, dixit miles vecors socio:

25 "Nosti, frater mi karissime, iuramentum et fedus inter me et te? Ex quo ergo tu ad manerium tuum et ego ad meum pergam, iustum est ut lucrum equorum qu(o)s in hoc torneamento lucratus es mecum participes." Cui miles: "Karissime frater, nolo iuramento prestito contraire neque tibi falsus esse. Et tamen scire debes quod duo in hoc torneamento lucratus sum, scilicet bonos equos et bonos ictus. Unde in fide qua teneor Deo et vobis, si bonos equos omnino vultis mecum dividere, et ictus bonos dividetis." Et extracto gladio cepit eum fortiter verberare. Spiritualiter autem loquendo:

30 Christus Filius Dei et nos fratres sumus, qui tantum nos dilexit quod quicquid in vita sua lucrabatur in triginta duobus annis, nobiscum se dividere repromisit. Set certe in hoc torneamento vite huius lucratus est multam gloriam per angustias et tribulaciones diversas. Et ideo, si illam gloriam secum participare velimus, oportet hic aliqu(id) de pena sustinere, quia aliter nequaquam suam gloriam nobiscum participabit, quia iuxta beatum Gregorium in *Omelia unius martiris*: "Non coronabitur quis nisi qui legitime certaverit," etc.

40

4 33] in C; 23 R. 6 ne] ut O. 15 tamen] add semel O. 17 didiceret] didicerat O. 21 finitum] factum C. 24 domum] add simul O. 27 quos] quis C. 29 debes] debetis O. 36 multam] maximam O. 37 aliquid] aliqua C. 39 quis] om O. 40 etc.] om O.

## V.v DE OCCUPACIONE SANCTA

[S]ed ad istud vicium expugnandum et extirpandum iam procedit in medium vivacitas sive agilitas in honestis et bonis occupacionibus. Set nota quod occupacio bona et honesta duplex est, scilicet activa et contemplativa, hoc est, temporalis et spiritualis. Primum patet in exterioribus

5 laboribus, quibus utuntur [f. 118] homines temporibus debitis ad diversa necessaria, sicut arando, seminando, metendo, brixando, pandoxando, scindendo, consuendo, edificando, et huiusmodi. Que quidem occupaciones temporibus debitis—quod dico contra illos qui violant dies sanctos per huiusmodi occupaciones et contra preceptum Dei, qui dicit "Sabbata sanctifica"—

10 sunt viriliter operanda propter tria. Nam primo temporibus debitis est operandum viriliter propter aliarum creaturarum assimilacionem et imitationem. Omnis enim creatura occupatur in aliquo ministerio; Psalmista: "Omnia

stayed in bed feigning some illness. The other went to the tournament, where he fought fiercely and won many horses. After that he returned to his companion and inquired after his health. When the latter heard that the tournament was over and that his companion had fared well, he lifted his head and said: "Dearest brother, I think I shall be well if I have a sop of wine." He took it and was healed. As they then were returning home together and came to the place where their ways parted, the coward said to his companion: "Do you remember, dearest brother, the oath and pact we made? As you now go to your manor and I to mine, it is just for you to share with me the horses you have won in the tournament." Then the brave knight replied: "Dearest brother, I will not go against our oath nor be false to you. And yet you must know that I have won two things in that tournament: good horses and good blows. Therefore, upon the faith by which I am bound to God and to you, if you will share the good horses with me, you shall also share the good blows." And he drew out his sword and gave him a good beating. In spiritual terms, Christ, the Son of God, and we are brothers; he loved us so much that whatever he gained in the thirty-two years of his life, he promised to share with us. But truly, in the tournament of his life he won great glory through various sufferings and tribulations. Therefore, if we wish to share that glory with him, it is necessary for us to endure here some of his suffering, for otherwise he will in no way share his glory with us. For according to Blessed Gregory in his *Homily for One Martyr*: "No one will be crowned unless he has fairly fought."

2–3 Ps. 106.18. 5–6 Gregory, *Moralia* XXXIII.v.11 (PL 76:676). 7–8 Hos. 9.16. 13 Ezek. 16.49. 14–32 Tubach 2965; also in Harley 7322 (fol. 40v); *Convertimini* (fol. 117); Holcot, Sermon 83. 39–40 2 Tim. 2.5; see Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 37, 1 (PL 76:1275).

## V.v HOLY ACTIVITY

In order to overcome and uproot sloth, liveliness or busyness in honorable and good works now enters the ring. But notice that holy and honorable activity is of two kinds, active and contemplative, that is, temporal and spiritual. The first kind occurs in physical work which people undertake in due season and for various necessary purposes, such as plowing, sowing, reaping, brewing, baking, tailoring, sewing, building houses, and the like. These kinds of work are to be undertaken "in due season"—and this I say in order to warn those who violate the holy days by doing such work against God's commandment which says, "Sanctify the Sabbath." This work should further be undertaken in a strenuous manner for three reasons. First, one must work strenuously in due season in harmony with and imitation of the other creatures. For every creature is engaged in some task; as the Psalmist says: "All things serve you." But

serviunt tibi.” Set nota quod duplex est ministerium, scilicet unum spirituale, de quo Apocalipsis 4 dicitur: “Requiem non habebant sancta animalia dicencia, ‘Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus,’ ” etc. Et aliud est corporale, quod fit modo per creaturas superiores que sunt in celo, sicut sol, luna, et stelle, de quibus Iob 38 dicitur: “Con(c)entum celi quis dormire faciat?”; modo per creaturas inferiores, de quibus dicitur: “Cunctis diebus terre sementis frigus et estus, yemps et estas, dies et nox non requiescent,” scilicet occupari ad Dei laudem in illis occupationibus ad quas create sunt. Merito ergo tenetur homo similiter operari ut ceteris creaturis similetur; Corinthiorum 2: “Laboramus operantes manibus nostris.”

Secundo est viriliter operandum propter laboris occupationem; Galatarum 6: “Opus bonum facientes non deficiamus. Tempore enim suo metemus non deficientes.” Sic enim fecit Christus, sicut patet, predicando, docendo, etc., a nativitate usque ad mortem. In quo spacio, ut totaliter desidiam auferret, nulla mollicies in manibus aut pedibus aut in quibuscumque aliis sui corporis membris est inventa. Et ideo qui bene occupari recusant, Christi discipuli se esse negant. “O,” inquit Bernardus, “quam terribile erit ociosis quando exquiretur quomodo tempus nostrum expendimus quod datum est nobis [f. 118v] ad merendum! Quoniam (dicit ipse) totum tempus nostrum ordinatum est ad veniam impetrandam, penitentiam agendam, gratiam promerendam, et gloriam ex misericordia Salvatoris consequendam. Quid ergo responditis in illa die quando exigetur a te in ictu oculi totum tempus vivendi tibi impensum? Certe (dicit ipse), dicitur de te sicut de servo malo, Matthei 22, ‘At ille obmutuit.’ ” Et [tunc] secundum Gregorium sciencia sua sibi non proderit, quia quando iuxta illam operari debuit illam amisit. Unde Crisostomus super Mattheum ostendit quibus verbis arguet Dominus ociosos in die iudicii dicens: “Ego propter vos factus sum homo, propter vos alligatus, delusus, cesus, crucifixus, mortuus. Ubi est ergo tantarum iniuriarum fructus? Ecce precium sanguinis mei dedi pro redempcione animarum vestrarum. Ubi est ergo servitus vester quem michi pro precio sanguinis mei dedistis? Ego supra gloriam meam vos habui, cum essem Deus apparens homo, et viliozem [me] omnibus rebus vestris fecistis. Que ergo iusticia vel fides in vobis? Quis ergo accusabit vos ibi? Certe ipsa consciencia et peccata; Sapiencie 4: ‘Venient in cogitatione peccatorum suorum timidi, et traducent illos ex adverso iniquitates illorum.’ ” Unde secundum beatum Bernardum tunc illorum opera simul loquentur et dicent, “Tu nos egisti et opera tua sumus. Non deseremus te, set semper tecum erimus et tecum ad iudicium pergemus.”

Tercio viriliter laborandum est propter malorum vitacionem, quia ab opere bono cessacio est immundarum cogitationum introductio; unde Gregorius (5) *Moralium*: “Quanto securius ab internis actionibus cessant, tanto lacius inmundae cogitationes strepitum in se per ocium congregant,” et frequenter

notice that such office is twofold. One is spiritual, which is spoken of in Revelation 4: “The holy animals did not rest saying, ‘Holy, holy, holy,’ ” etc. The other is physical, which is done either by higher beings that are in the heavens, such as the sun, moon, and stars, of which Job 38 says: “Who can make the harmony of heaven sleep?” or by lower beings, of whom is said: “All the days of the earth, cold and heat, winter and summer, day and night shall not cease,” that is, in being occupied about God’s praise in those tasks for which they were created. Therefore man is rightly held to work in like fashion, so that he may be in harmony with other creatures; Corinthians 2: “We labor, working with our own hands.”

Second, one must work strenuously in order to be kept occupied; Galatians 6: “In doing good, let us not fail. For in due time we shall reap, if we do not fail.” Christ did this manifestly when he preached and taught and so forth, from his birth to his death. During that time there was no slackening of his hands or feet or other parts of his body, so that he avoided idleness completely. Therefore, people who refuse being well occupied confess that they are not disciples of Christ. “Oh,” says Bernard, “how terribly will idlers fare when we are asked how we have spent our time that has been given us to gain merits! For our whole time is given us to pray for forgiveness, to do penance, to earn grace, and to obtain glory from the mercy of our Savior. What then will you answer on that day when you are required, in the twinkling of an eye, to give an account of the entire time of your life that was granted to you? Surely, then will be said of you as it was of that bad servant of Matthew 22: ‘But he was silent.’ ” And according to Gregory his knowledge will not help him then, because he wasted it when he ought to have used it in his actions. Whence Chrysostom in commenting on Matthew shows with what words the Lord will accuse the idle on judgment day, when he says: “For your sake I became man, for your sake I was bound, scoffed, struck, crucified, and killed. Where then is my reward for so many sufferings? I gave my blood as price for the redemption of your souls. Where then is your service which you owe me for the price of my blood? I prized you more highly than my glory, since I was God yet appeared as a man, and you have made me more vile than anything of yours. What justice or faith, then, is in you? Who is it then that will accuse you there? Surely, your own conscience and your sins; Wisdom 4: ‘They shall come with fear at the thought of their sins, and their iniquities shall stand against them to convict them.’ ” Wherefore, after Blessed Bernard, their deeds will then speak up all together and say: “You have performed us and we are your deeds. We will not leave you but be always with you and go with you to your judgment.”

Third, one must work strenuously in order to avoid evil, for by desisting from good work we admit impure thoughts; whence Gregory says in book 5 of his *Moral Commentary*: “The more they rest from internal activity, the more do our

- 55 huiusmodi cogitationes malas ad actum ducunt. Et ideo sicut aquilam alte volentem cadaver putridum facit descendere, sic hominem contemplantem cogitationes inmundae ad [f. 119] actum putridum et criminis. Bene ergo ait Ieronimus ad Rusticum monachum: "Semper, inquit, aliquid boni operis facite, ne diabolus vos inveniat inocupatos" et ne ex ociositate aliquem aditum
- 60 ad animas diripiendas valeat invenire. Nam sic est de diabolo sicut de aliquo alium insequente quem nititur capere. Quia si lento passu incedat aut diu expectat, hostis eum cito invadit. Si vero expedite vadat, tunc frequenter hostis insidias evadere potest. Verbi gratia: Bestia silvestris cum a canibus venatur, si tunc retardet cursum aut in currando aliquamdiu
- 65 expectat, cito et de facili capitur. Revera sic homo piger et accidiosus, dum in opere bono sompnolentia torpescit, a venatore diabolo cito capitur et cruciatur; Proverbiorum 23: "Desid[er]ia occidunt pigrum." Et iuxta consilium Apostoli Corinthiorum 14: "Omnia honeste et secundum ordinem fient in vobis," hoc est, in caritate et bona intentione, quia si aliter
- 70 fiant, stulta sunt et nullius utilitatis; si vero in caritate fiant, sine merito nusquam recedant quocumque modo et tempore fiant.
- Unde narratur de quodam potente et divite set male vite et incompositae, qui tamen mediante gracia Spiritus Sancti transiens quodam die per quoddam nemus de sua miseria in peccatis cogitabat et quod vitam emendaret
- 75 et aliquid faceret. Inter alia bona unum specialiter elegit, scilicet quod cenobium pro bonis viris et religiosis ad Dei honorem construeret, ut pro se et suis tam in vita quam in morte intercessores haberet. Istis ergo precogitatis, gladium quo erat accinctus extraxit et modo suo cenobium precogitatum cum ecclesia et aliis edificiis mensuravit. Quo facto domum
- 80 rediit in sancta voluntate perdurans. Set a casu morte subitanea preventus in via moriebatur. Accedentes ergo spiritus tam boni quam mali, quis eius animam tolleret decertabant, allegan- [f. 119v] tes hinc inde mali mala, boni bona pro eo. Dixerunt autem boni angeli quod in ultima voluntate planxit peccata et illa deserere proposuit, in cuius signum dictum cenobium
- 85 in Dei honorem ordinavit. Cum ergo spiritus mali adhuc illud non esse constructum asserebant, cor defuncti apperuerunt, ut videbatur, angeli boni ad confusionem aliorum. Et ecce in eius cordis medio quasi cenobium aureum cum omnibus pertinentiis quoad ecclesiam et aliis edificiis conspexerunt. Quo viso demones recedendo clamabant: "Heu nobis miseris, heu, quod in tam
- 90 parva hora amisimus ° per tantum tempus nostra opera laboriosa °!" Et hiis dictis sublato corpore ab angelis spiritus maligni recesserunt. Unde qualitercumque se habuerit homo in vita, non desinet propter hoc exequi bona opera, quia in quacumque hora veraciter peccator ingemuerit de peccatis, "vita vivet et non morietur."
- 95 Est autem alia occupatio contemplativa et spiritualis, in qua omnes Christi fideles tenentur occupari, que in multis consistit, et specialiter

impure thoughts gather widespread tumult in them through idleness," and often they lead such evil thoughts to the deed. Therefore, just as a rotten corpse causes the high-flying eagle to come down, thus impure thoughts pull a contemplative to rotten and sinful action. And so Jerome says rightly to the monk Rusticus: "Always engage in doing something good, that the devil may find you busy and may not, because of your idleness, find a way to catch your souls." For with the devil it is just as it is with someone who follows another person whom he tries to catch. If the latter walks slowly or waits for a long time, his enemy soon falls upon him. But if he goes fast, he can often evade his enemy's pursuit. For instance, if a wild animal that is hunted by dogs slows down or hesitates some time on its run, it is caught quickly and easily. In the same way, when a lazy, slothful person grows languid with sleepiness in his good work, he soon gets caught and tortured by the devil, his hunter; Proverbs 23: "His desires have killed the slothful." Therefore, after the counsel of the Apostle in Corinthians 14: "Let all things be done decently and according to order among you," that is, with a good intention and charity, for otherwise they are foolish and of no use; but if they are done in charity, they will never leave you without merit, in whatever way and at whatever time they may be done.

There is a story about a powerful person who was rich but lived a bad, disorderly life. Yet one day, as he passed through a forest, by the grace of the Holy Spirit he reflected on how wretched he was in his sins and thought he should amend his life and do something good. Among various good works he chose one in particular, namely to build a house for good and religious men in God's honor, so that he might have intercessors for himself and his family both in life and in death. When he had thought about these things, he drew out the sword he was carrying and after his fashion drew a plan of the religious house he was thinking of with a church and other buildings. After that he returned home with these holy plans in his mind. But he happened to be overcome by sudden death and died on the way. Then both good and bad angels came and began to dispute which of them should take his soul, the bad angels reciting his evil deeds, the good angels his good ones. Now, the good angels said that with his last act of will he had wept for his sins and intended to leave them, in sign of which he planned the religious house in God's honor. But when the bad angels asserted that he had not yet build it, the good angels, as it seemed, opened his heart, in order to overcome the others. And lo, in the middle of his heart they found something like a golden house for religious with all that belongs to it, a church and other buildings. When the demons saw that, they drew back and shouted: "Woe to us wretches, woe! In such a short time we have lost what we had worked for so hard and so long!" With these words the body was taken away by the angels, and the evil spirits withdrew. Therefore, in whatever circumstances a person may find himself in his life, he should not for



in tribus, scilicet cordis contricione, oris confessione, et operis satisfactione; similiter in pugna contra mundum, carnem, et diabolum. Et nota quod, quamvis Psalmista dicat: "Preoccupemus faciem eius in confessione,"  
 100 acsi apercius diceret: contra omnes alias occupaciones, in occupacione confessionis tamen teipsum, o peccator, occupari est necesse ante faciem sacerdotis qui ibi locum Dei occupat. Quia tamen hec occupacio est quasi quedam domina que nullo modo incedere potest sine duabus domicellis specialiter sibi assignatis, que sunt he(e): contricio precedens et satisfactio  
 105 subsequens, ideo de contricione [esset] primo dicendum. Set tamen ad virtutem penitencie, ex qua predictae occupaciones contricionis, confessionis, et satisfactionis oriuntur, est prius accedendum et aliquid in generali dicendum.

3 bona] sancta O. 9 Sabbata] sabbatum O. 17 Concentum] contentum C.R.W. faciat] faciet O. 21 similetur] assimiletur O. 27 aut(2)] om O. 28 est inventa] om O. 29 discipuli] discipulos R corr. terribile] add ergo O. 43 Ego . . . habui] ego vos secundum gloriam meam habui O. 53 5] in C. 59 ne . . . inoccupatos] ut . . . occupatos O. 65 facili] levi O. 67 23] om O. occidunt] occiderunt O. Et] add ideo O. 75 alia] que O. 85 in] ad O. 86 boni] om O. 90 amisimus] add quod C. laboriosa] add perquirebat C. 100 contra] ante O. 104 hee] hec C.M.W. 105 subsequens] sequens O.

## V.vi DE PENITENCIA IN GENERALI

[f. 120] [C]irca quam est primo sciendum quod penitencia secundum Augustinum est "mala preterita plangere et iterum plangenda non committere," hoc est, sic a peccato cessare quod voluntatem peccandi non habeat de cetero. Hinc est quod Magister *Sentenciarum* libro 4 ait: "Penitencia est  
 5 gracia cum emendacionis proposito, cum commissa plangimus et odimus et plangenda iterum committere nolimus," quia secundum Augustinum in *Soliloquio*, "inanis est penitencia quam sequens coinquinat culpa." "Nichil prod-est homini ieiunare, orare, et alia pietatis opera facere nisi mens ab iniquitate revocetur."  
 10 Et nota quod duo sunt tempora penitencie, scilicet temporaneum et serotinum. Primum est ydoneum et congruum, ut scilicet tempore quo quis peccat eo peniteat, vel dum sanus est et fortis, non quando infirmus et debilis. Quia secundum Augustinum: "Si tunc penites quando peccare non potes, peccata dimittunt te, non tu illa." Secundum non est ita congruum,  
 15 quia illud fit in fine vite, quando robur ad penitendum non suppetit. Et

that reason desist from doing good works, for in whatever hour a sinner is sorry for his sins, "he will live and not die."

There is another kind of activity, contemplative and spiritual, in which all Christians are held to keep themselves busy. This consists in many things, but especially in these three: contrition of heart, confession of mouth, and satisfaction in deed; and similarly in the fight against the world, the flesh, and the devil. And notice that although the Psalmist says, "Let us come before his presence in confession"—as if to say: before all other activities—, yet it is necessary for you, sinner, to be active in the presence of the priest, who in confession takes God's place. But this activity is like a noble lady who can in no way make her appearance without two ladies in waiting that are especially attached to her, namely contrition, who walks before her, and satisfaction, who follows her. Hence we must first speak about contrition. And yet before we do so, we must first consider what power penance has, from which the said three activities—contrition, confession, and satisfaction—derive, and say something about it in general.

9 Cf. Exod. 20.8. 12–13 Ps. 118.91. 14–15 Rev. 4.8. 17 Job 38.37. 18–19 Gen. 8.22. 22 1 Cor. 4.12. 24–25 Gal. 6.9. 29–36 Cf. Bernard, *De diversis*, sermo 17, 3 (6.1:152). 36 Matt. 22.12. 36–37 Perhaps Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 9, 1 (PL 76:1106–1107). 39–44 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 49 (PG 56:919). 46–47 Wisd. 4.20. 48–50 *Meditationes piissimae* II.5 (PL 184:488). 53–54 Gregory, *Moralia* V.xxxi.55 (PL 75:709). 58–59 Jerome, *Ep. 125* 11 (CSEL 56:130). 67 Prov. 21.25. 68–69 1 Cor. 14.40. 72–91 Tubach 3342. 94 Ezek. 18.21. 99 Ps. 94.2.

## V.vi ON PENANCE IN GENERAL

Concerning penance, then, we must first know that according to Augustine it means to weep for past sins and not to commit again what one weeps for, that is, so to abandon sin that one has no further desire for it. For this reason, the Master of the *Sentences* says in book 4: "Penance is grace with the intention to amend oneself, when we weep for our sins and hate them and do not want to commit again what we weep for," for according to Augustine in his *Soliloquy*, "that penance is in vain which is soiled by subsequent sin." "It avails man nothing to fast, to pray, and to do other works of piety unless he recalls his mind from evil."

Notice that there are two times of penitence, one timely and the other late. The first is fitting and suitable, namely when a person repents at the time he sins, or while he is healthy and strong, not sick and weak. For according to Augustine: "If you repent when you can no longer sin, your sins leave you, not you them." The second kind is not as suitable, for it is done at the end of one's life when one's strength may not suffice for doing penance.

tamen secundum Evangelistam: "Maius gaudium est in celo super uno peccatore penitentiam agente," quamvis tempore serotino, "quam super nonaginta novem non indigentibus penitencia." Exemplum: Dux autem in prelio illum militem plus commendat qui post fugam conversus hostes in prelio fortiter premit  
 20 quam illum qui numquam fugit nec umquam viriliter egit. Sic Christus peccatorem qui prius per malas diaboli suggestiones a bono inchoato fugit set postea inde recedit et ab omni malo declinat ad bellum revertens et hostes devincit. Item si homo ad totum victum suum non haberet nisi unum denarium, qui quatuor continet quadrantes, si illum sapienter expenderet et iterum  
 25 per illum dives deveniret, multum laudaretur. Si vero ulterius tres partes illius expenderet et quarta [f. 120v] remaneret, et inde totam substantiam sive bene sive male expensam omnino recuperaret, adhuc magis laudaretur. Revera sic in proposito. Per istum denarium intelligo vitam hominis que ex quatuor etatibus constat, scilicet ex puerili, iuvenili, virili, et senili.  
 30 Set ut communiter tres prime etates predictae ab homine in vanitatibus consumuntur. Si ergo in quarta etate et ultima sollicitate sibi provideat et in illa alia perdita recuperaret et dives in moribus [bonis] fieret, recte laudandus censetur, quia non inchoantibus penitentiam set in illa fortiter perseverantibus premium promittitur, quia scribitur: "Qui autem perseveraverit usque in finem, hic salvus erit."

Et nota quod quamvis sit aspera ad oculum, est tamen valde levis et proficua quoad effectum. Unde refert Dioscorides quod pionium appensum circa colla puerorum non permittet eos cadere. Unde dicit se vidisse quemdam puerum circa cuius [collum] erat pionium appensum, et illo cadente  
 40 cecidit puer. Set iterum circa collum eius ligatum stetit puer. Spiritualmente per istud pionium, quod est nigrum exterius et interius habet nucleum album, intelligo penitentiam veram, que quamvis [exterius] fuerit aspera et quasi nigra et contemptibilis, habet tamen interius nucleum album, scilicet virtutem penitencie, que tanta est ut dum aliquis fuerit in illa, non cadet  
 45 in peccatum mortale. Et si a casu suggestionis diabolica ceciderit, secundum Psalmistam tamen "Dominus supponit manum suam," scilicet dando gratiam resistendi illi et cum illa firmiter stare, quia "si ceciderit iustus, non collidetur." De ista ergo penitencia sancta et meritoria bene ait Bernardus: "O, inquit, felix penitencium humilitas, tu vincis invincibilem quamcito, etiam tu tremendum iudicem convertis in patrem."

Et nota quod quatuor movent ad [f. 121] penitentiam, de quibus Bernardus ait: "Nimis, inquit, durum est illud cor quod non emolli[un]t Dei beneficia, nec terrent inferni supplicia, nec alliciunt gaudia promissa, nec castigant temporalia flagicia." Hec ille.

55 Item nota quod septem considero impedimenta [penitencie]. Primum est pusillanimitas illam aggrediendi. Et tales similes sunt equo qui terretur a trunco vel umbra. Secundum est pudor confitendi; et tamen, secundum

And yet, as the Evangelist says, "there is greater joy in heaven over one sinner who repents," even if late in life, "than over ninety-nine who do not need penitence." A general in battle has greater praise for a soldier who after first fleeing returns and presses hard upon his enemies, than for one who has never fled nor ever borne himself manly. So will Christ praise the sinner who has first, under the devil's evil suggestions, fled from the good he had begun, but then returns, leaves all evil behind, comes back into the battle, and overcomes his enemies. Likewise, if a man had only one penny (which has four farthings) for his needs and spends it so wisely that he becomes rich from it, he would deserve much praise. But if he had spent three parts of that penny and only one farthing were left, and if with that he were to recover his wealth totally, whether he had spent it well or badly, he would deserve even greater praise. Thus it is also in spiritual matters. By the penny I understand man's life, which consists of four ages: childhood, youth, manhood, and old age. But often a man's first three ages are spent in vain enterprises. Yet if he eagerly provides for himself in his fourth and last age and recovers the things he has lost and becomes rich in good manners, he is rightly worthy of praise, for the prize is not promised to those who begin a life of penance, but rather to those who firmly persevere in it; for it is written: "He that perseveres unto the end shall be saved."

Notice that although penance may be hard at first sight, it is yet very light and useful when one looks at its effect. Dioscorides tells us that a peony tied around the neck of children keeps them from falling. He reports that he once saw a child around whose neck a peony had been tied; when the peony fell off, the child also fell, but when it was tied back on his neck, the child stood up again. Spiritually speaking, by this grain, which is black outside and has a white kernel within, I understand true penance. Although it is hard and, as it were, black and contemptible on the outside, it yet has a white kernel within, namely its effect, which is such that, if a person bears it, he will not fall into mortal sin. And if he should happen to fall, by the devil's suggestion, still "the Lord puts his hand under him," according to the Psalmist, namely by giving him grace to resist and thus with it to stand firm, for "if the just man were to fall, he shall not be bruised." About this holy and meritorious penance, therefore, Bernard says fittingly: "O blessed humility of the penitent, you quickly overcome the Invincible, and the awesome judge you turn into a loving father."

And notice that four reasons move a person to penitence, which Bernard mentions: "That heart is too hard which is not softened by God's benefits, nor frightened by the punishments of hell, nor attracted by the promised joys, nor chastened by temporal mishaps."

Notice further that I count seven impediments to penitence. The first is pusillanimity in beginning it. Such people are like a horse that shies at a

- Augustinum, pudor est maxima pars penitencie. Tercium est delectacio peccandi. Set caveat quia secundum Augustinum temporale est quod delectat, set eternum quod cruciat. Quartum est spes diu vivendi. Set Dominus contra hoc dicit: "Securis iam ad radicem arboris posita est," Matthei 3. Quintum est desperacio gratiam optinendi; set contra hoc dicit Dominus: "Quacumque hora ingemuerit peccator, vita vivet." Sextum est timor recidivandi. Unde Augustinus de Christo: "Quando, inquit, cecidi, erexit me; et quando steti, tenuit me; et quando ivi, duxit me," quasi diceret: ne timeas, homo, quia in necessitate paratus est Dominus auxilium prebere. Septimum est confidentia in misericordia Dei. Set hoc est in Spiritum Sanctum peccare; unde Gregorius: "Misericordiam Dei debemus erubescere, si eius iusticiam nolumus formidare."
- 70 Et nota quod effectus penitencie est quod per eam homo absolvitur a peccatis, restituitur Ecclesie, reconciliatur Christo, ditatur donis spiritualibus, de filio diaboli filius Dei efficitur. Per illam eciam paradisus aperitur, angel(o)s letificat, amissa bona revocat, et penam eternam devitat. Et ideo iuxta concilium Evangelii qui sic dicit: "Penitentiam agite, appropinquabit regnum celorum."

3 quod] ut M.R.; et W. 6 nolumus] nolumus O. 15 suppetit] suppetat O. 19 prelio] premio C. 25 laudaretur] add revera sic in proposito *canc* C. 38 colla] collum O. 41 pionium] granum O. 44 in] cum O. 49 invincibilem] invisibilem C. 52 emolliunt] emollit C.W. 54 ille] bernardus O. 56 aggrendi] aggerendi C. 59 caveat] caveant O. 62 hoc] *om* O. 64 Christo] add ait O. 68 nolumus] nolumus M.W.; no R. 73 angelos] angelus C.

### V.vii DE CONTRICIONE

- [C]irca autem partes penitencie in speciali est modo dicendum, et primo de contricione, que est eius prima pars integralis, de qua sic procedam: primo, quid sit contricio et quomodo acquiritur; secundo, de quibus conterendum esse videtur; tercio, que mala eveniunt converti differentibus; quarto, que bona eveniunt [f. 121v] vere conterentibus.

Est ergo contricio, prout habetur *De penitenciis*, distinctione 1, "dolor voluntarie assumptus cum voluntate confitendi et satisfaciendi habi-

tree-trunk or a shadow. The second is shame to confess; and yet, according to Augustine, shame is the most important part of penitence. The third is pleasure in sinning. But let such people beware, for according to Augustine, what delights us is temporal, but what torments us, eternal. The fourth is hope of a long life. But against this the Lord says in Matthew 3: "Now the axe is laid to the root of the tree." The fifth is despair of receiving grace. But against this the Lord says: "At whatever hour the sinner groans, he shall live." The sixth is fear to fall back into sin. With respect to this, Augustine speaking of Christ says: "When I fell, you helped me up; when I stood, you held me firm; and when I walked, you guided me," as if he were saying: do not be afraid, man, for God is ready to give his help in your need. And the seventh impediment is overconfidence in God's mercy. But this is a sin against the Holy Spirit; whence Gregory says: "We must blush before God's mercy, but we should not fear his justice."

And notice finally that the effect of penitence is that through it man is absolved from his sins, restored to the Church, reconciled with Christ, enriched with spiritual gifts, and from being a child of the devil made a child of God. It further opens paradise, makes the angels happy, brings back goods that had been lost, and wards off eternal pain. Therefore, after the counsel of the Evangelist: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand."

2-3 A ubiquitous scholastic definition, frequently attributed to Augustine and perhaps from Ps.-Ambrose, *Sermo* 25 1 (PL 17:655). 4-6 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV.xiv.3 (2:318). 6-9 *Ibid.*, 2-3 (2:318-319). 13-14 Augustine, *Sermo* 393 (PL 39:1715); cf. Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV.xx.1 (2:372). 16-18 Cf. Luke 15.7. 18-20 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 34, 3 (PL 76:1248). 34-35 Matt. 10.22. 37-40 From Galen; see *Macer floridus*, no. 49, lines 1617-1627 (ed. Louis Choulant, Leipzig, 1832). 46-48 Ps. 36.24. 49-69 Almost identical in Hugh of Strasburg, *Comp. theol. ver.* VI.21. 49-50 Gueric d'Igny, *In quadragesima*, sermo II, 1 (PL 185:96). 52-54 Cf. Bernard, *De consideratione* I.ii.3 (3:396). 58 Cf. Gratian, II.33.3.1.88 (1:1188). 59-60 Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo* 117 in app. 3 (PL 39:1978). 61 Matt. 3.10. 62-63 Cf. Ezek. 18.21. 68-69 Perhaps based on Gregory, *Moralia* XVI.lxviii.82 (PL 75:1161). 70-74 Almost identical in Hugh of Strasburg, *Comp. theol. ver.* VI.22. 74-75 Matt. 3.2, etc.

### V.vii CONTRITION

Now we must deal with the parts of penance separately, and first with contrition, its first integral part. I shall deal with it as follows: first, what contrition is and how one acquires it; second, what one should be contrite of; third, what evil results come to those who delay their conversion; and fourth, what good effects come to those who are truly contrite.

As defined in distinction 1 of the section "On Penitence" in the *Decretum*, contrition is "grief that is willingly borne with the intention to confess and

ta oportunitate," quia nisi illa huiusmodi voluntas habeatur, non contritio set attritio nominatur; vel sic: "Contritio est dolor pro peccatis semper puniens in se quod dolet amisisse."

10 Et revera huiusmodi contritio multipliciter adquiritur. Nam primo faciendum est quasi quoddam circumum de anima et corpore, cuius unus pes, scilicet corporis, figatur in terra, et alius pes, scilicet anime, circum-  
 15 giratur per circumferenciam tocus vite humane, scilicet a nativitate hominis usque ad eius mortem. Et sic facta discutere iuxta illud Psalmi: "Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos in amaritudine anime mee," hoc est, revolvere et cogitare debes quantum vixisti, quomodo tempus tuum expendisti, quot bona dimisisti, quot mala commisisti, qualem societatem peccando amisisti (quia Dei et Ecclesie), quibus adhesisti (quia diabolo et sociis  
 20 eius). Item cogitare debes ubi es, quia in hac valle miserie et lacrimarum plena miseriis et infortuniis; ubi fuisti, quia in peccatis et aliis doloribus in conceptu et in partu; Psalmista: "In peccatis concepit me mater mea." Si ergo in matrem aut in prolem conspicis, utrobique dolor et miseria: in tristitia parit mater, et cum luctu et eiulatu proles educitur,  
 25 quia, ut metrica dicitur:

Tot clamant e vel a quotquot nascuntur ab Eva.

Unde Ieronimus: "Quis, inquit, det oculis meis fontem lacrimarum ut defleam miseriam humani generis, progressum dampnabilem, dissolutionis egressum? Consideraveram enim cum lacrimis de quo factus est [homo], quid faciat  
 30 homo, quid facturus sit homo. Sane formatus de terra, conceptus in culpa, natus cum pena, et ideo magis lugendum est quam gaudendum." Hec ille.

Considerandum est eciam quo devenies, [f. 122] quia ad iudicium terribile pro minimo facto rationem redditurus, nesciens utrum odio vel amore dignus fueris. Et [ideo] in *Vitas Patrum* dixit quidam senex cuidam homini:  
 35 "Vade et talem fac cogitationem tuam sicut iniqui faciunt qui sunt in carcere. Ipsi enim interrogant alios ubi est iudex et quando veniet, et in ipsa expectatione suarum penarum plorant." Revera ita facere deberet quis-  
 40 cumque fidelis, animam scilicet suam obiurgare dicens: Ve michi, quomodo habeo stare ante tribunal Christi, et quomodo sibi de actibus meis ibi habeo respondere? Unde narratur ibidem quod Abbas Helias dixit fratribus suis: "Tres res pre ceteris timeo: una est quando egressura est anima mea de corpore, alia quando occursurus sum Deo, set tertia quando proferenda fuerit contra me sententia."

Item considerandum est ubi non es, quia non in gloria, ad quam nemo  
 45 pertingere potest nisi per tormenta et lamenta, quod bene figuratur 2 Regum 3 quando ad Abner dixit David: "Non videbis faciem meam antequam adduxeris michi Mychol, et tunc veniens videbis faciem meam." Michol autem interpre-

to make satisfaction when the opportunity arrives," for when this intention is not present, one cannot speak of contrition but only of attrition. Another definition is: "Contrition is grief for one's sins, which is always sorry for what it grieves to have lost."

Such contrition may be acquired in many ways. First, one should make, as it were, a pair of compasses of one's body and soul: one foot, namely one's body, should be stuck in the ground, and the other, that is, one's soul, should be drawn over the circumference of a man's whole life, from his birth to his death. And then you must examine your deeds, after the words of the Psalm: "I will recount to you all my years in the bitterness of my soul," that is, you must turn over in your mind and reflect on how long you have lived, how you have employed your time, how many good deeds you have failed to do, how many evil ones committed, what fellowship you have lost through sin (namely that of God and the Church), and who have become your companions (namely the devil and his followers). You must further reflect on where you are—in this vale of wretchedness and tears, so full of misery and unhappiness; and on where you have been—in sins and other pains at your conception and birth. The Psalmist says: "In sins did my mother conceive me." For if you look at a mother or at her offspring, in either place is pain and misery. A mother gives birth in pain, and her offspring is brought up in sorrow and weeping, because in the words of a verse,

All who are born of Eve cry out, Alas, our woe!

Whence Jerome says: "Who will give my eyes a fountain of tears that I may bewail the wretchedness of mankind, its damnable life and final dissolution? I had considered with tears what man is made of, what he does, and what he will do. Truly, he is made of earth, conceived in sin, and born with pain; and thus, there is more reason for sorrow in these things than joy."

And you must further reflect on where you will go—to that terrifying judgment where you will have to render an account of your least deed and will not know whether you are worthy of hatred or of love. Therefore in *The Lives of the Fathers* a hermit said to someone: "Go and make your thoughts like those of criminals in prison. For they ask others where the judge is and when he will come, and they weep in expectation of their punishment." Indeed, every faithful person should do thus, that is, admonish his soul earnestly and say: "Alas, how will I stand before Christ's judgment seat, and what can I answer him there for my deeds?" In the same book it is reported that Abba Elias told his brethren: "Three moments I fear above all else: when my soul will leave the body; when I shall meet God; and when the judgment will be pronounced against me."

You must further reflect on where you are not—in that glory to which no

tatur aqua ex omnibus, supple peccatis, quasi diceret Dominus: Non faciam cum peccatoribus misericordiam aut amicitiam nisi per fletum et compunctionem. Et ideo dicitur Ieremie 31: "In fletu venient et in misericordia reducam eos." Si ergo hoc modo annos tuos recordatus fueris et facta tua, cito percipies quod tu ipse es causa proprie miserie; quo facto statim ex hoc verecundaberis et tibi occurret peccati detestacio; qua habita ad cordis contricionem levissime devenies, per quam gratiam divinam in omni parte extorques, que quidem gracia secundum Augustinum arra est celestis glorie.

Est autem de Deo et homine peccatore sicut inter mercatores in nundinis et aliis mercacionibus. Videmus enim in talibus quod cautus mercator quando vidit [f. 122v] proficuum suum in quibuscumque rebus et mercimoniis, si voluntatem suam a venditore non poterit leviter adquirere nec cum illo de illis concordare, tunc cautulose ducit eum ad tabernam et ibi facit eum bene comedere et maxime bibere. Et quando vidit illum bene madefactum optimo potu, tunc negocium suum proponit, et ut communiter ibi sic datis arris intentum optinebit cicius. Ymaginemini hoc modo totam vitam nostram quasi quasdam nundinas esse, quia sicut in nundinis est frequencia mult(a) et concursus populi, apparatus multus et ornamenta diversa, merces varie et celle diverse et multe, et tamen in brevi postmodum de tali loco omnia distrahuntur et alibi deducuntur et totum tempus ibi expensum nisi quis caucius de bonis suis ordinaverit amittitur emendo vel vendendo, nec in tali loco aliquid remanet nisi sordes maiores quam alibi—revera sic in vita ista videmus quasi in nundinis ornamenta diversa, pompam multiplicem, sicut in pannis, equis, speciebus, etc. Set post modicum saltem in morte omnia hec distrahuntur et evanescent nec aliquid in loco illo apparebit nisi sordes viciorum magis quam alibi, nisi quis melius tempus suum in vita penitencie expendit; Iob 27: "Dives cum dormierit, nichil secum auferet. Aperietque oculos et nichil inveniet." Set iam advertite, quia ad istas nundinas humane vite venerunt diversi mercatores sollempnes et magni nominis, scilicet Deus, diabolus, caro, et mundus. Deus enim proponit merces suas optimas et preciosissimas homini peccatori, scilicet gloriam et gratiam; diabolus vero peccatum et penam; set caro et mundus, quasi duo socii participantes in lucro et dampno, proponunt voluptatem et cupiditatem. Cauter ergo oportet procedere si boni mercatores [f. 123] esse velimus. Nam si cum tribus ultimis nos intromittamus, decipient nos in pugno, quia quicquid proponunt, quamvis ad oculum delectabile videatur, in effectum tamen non est nisi amaritudo, miseria, et dampnatio. Illos ergo caveamus et ad primum, scilicet Christum, accedamus et videamus si cum eo pro mercibus concordare possimus. Unde quamvis aliquid nobis videatur quod durus sit in principio, nobis quasi resistens eo quod ipse dicit: "Non omnis qui dicit 'Domine, Domine,' " supple: vel semel vel bis (vel) ter, "non intrabit

one can come without torments and wailing, as is prefigured in 2 Kings 3 when David said to Abner: "You will not see my face until you bring Michal to me, and then when you come, you shall see my face." Michal means "water from all" (add: sins), as if the Lord were saying: I shall not give sinners mercy and friendship unless they weep and have remorse. And therefore it is said in Jeremiah 31: "They will come with weeping, and I shall lead them back in mercy." If you, then, have remembered your years and your deeds in this fashion, you will soon understand that you yourself are the cause of your wretchedness. When this happens, you will at once feel shame and come to detest your sin. And with this you will easily come to heartfelt contrition, through which you will wrench grace from God, which according to Augustine is the pledge of heavenly glory.

The relationship between God and sinful man is like that among merchants at fairs and other businesses. For we observe that when a sharp merchant sees that he can make a profit in some transaction and merchandise but cannot get his will easily with the seller or agree with him, then he slyly takes him to a restaurant and makes him eat and, particularly, drink well. And when he finds him well lubricated, then he proposes his business deal; the two then make their pledges, and he gets easily what he has been wanting. In the same way imagine that our whole life is like a fair, for as at a fair there is a great crowd of people, much show and display, many kinds of merchandise, and lots of stands of all sorts; and yet, in a short while everything is taken away from such a place and carried somewhere else, and unless one has disposed of one's wares carefully, one loses all one's time that is spent there in buying and selling, nor is anything left in that place except more dirt than anywhere else. In the same way, just as at fairs we see much show and pomp in this life, such as can be found in clothes, horses, cosmetics, and so forth. But after a while, for sure, all of them are taken away by death and disappear, and in their place nothing will appear except the dirt of sins, which is greater than anywhere else, unless one has spent one's life better in doing penance; Job 27: "The rich man, when he sleeps, shall take nothing away with him. He will open his eyes and find nothing." But behold: to this fair of man's life several merchants have come who are stately and of great reputation, namely God, the devil, the flesh, and the world. God offers sinful man the best and most precious wares: grace and glory. The devil offers sin and punishment. But the flesh and the world, like two partners who share their profit and loss, offer lust and delight. If we want to be good merchants, we must proceed with due caution. For if we deal with the latter three, they will cheat us with a left, for though whatever they offer us may look pleasant to the eye, its end result is nothing but bitterness and misery and damnation. Let us therefore beware of them and go to the first merchant, that is, Christ, and see if we can come to an agreement with him about his wares. If he should seem to be hard to



- 90 in regnum celorum," propter hoc non dimittamus set ducamus illum ad tabernam contricionis et [sibi] propinemus habundanter cibum et potum lacrimarum, iuxta illud Psalmi: "Cibabis nos pane lacrimarum et potum dabis nobis in lacrimis in mensura." Et revera tunc cum sic biberit bene et arram cordis tui contriti acceperit, intentum sue gracie optinebis in presenti,
- 95 per quam ad promocionem et divicias eternas devenies, iuxta illud Psalmi: Si dederis "cor contritum et humiliatum," scilicet pro peccatis tuis, certe Deus non despiciet, set prout illud Psalmi dicit: "Tunc gratiam et gloriam dabit Dominus," scilicet gratiam in presenti bene vivere et gloriam in futuro.
- 100 Nichil enim tantum ab homine petit sicut cor, sicut patet Proverbiorum 23 ubi dicit: "Fili, prebe michi cor tuum." Unde notandum est quod est de Deo sicut de falcone qui, cum ad predam volaverit et avem acceperit, si tunc cor avicule tantum sibi detur eo quod debitum eius est, bene contentus est et non plus curat nec petit. Revera sic Christus, postquam genus humanum quasi avem avolatam de campo inferni depredaverit, si cor hominis sibi detur non plus querit.
- Set a[d]verte: Videmus enim quod antequam cor avicule detur falconi, primo scinditur et quicquid sanguinis vel corrupcionis fuerit interius expellitur et bene [cum] aqua mundatur. Sic certe cor [f. 123v] hominis, quod de iure Christo debetur, oportet quod primo bene mundetur per aquam lacrimarum [et] per cultellum acute contricionis in particulas scindatur, quia ipse dicit per Ioelis 2: "Scindite corda vestra," etc. Et si non habetis cultellum ad hoc aptum, formetur unus hoc modo. Primo enim materia calibis erit de capite lancee et clavorum per que latus Christi erat apertum et duo manus et pedes perforati erant. Manubrium autem sit de lignis crucis indentatum. Virolla utriusque finis sit de corona asperrima qua coronabatur. Compactio, idest *cement*, qua scindulum manubrio coniungitur, sit amor ille in mente conglutinans; ista tamen asperrima pro te peccatore misero voluit sustinere. Cultellus ergo iste iam debet molari super corpus
- 115 illud benedictum, quod ita dure et crudeliter super crucem fuit molatum quod non remansit sane iunctura cum iunctura. Non enim videbatur miserrimis Iudeis sufficere illum occidere, set corpore illo benedicto se non extendente sufficienter ad foramina in cruce facta, nisi manus et pedes cum cordis traxisset quousque ad foramina pervenerunt, per quod diruptis nervis et venis totum corpus dissolverunt. Quantumcumque autem acuitas istius cultelli tibi videtur obtusa et non satis acuta, debes illam disponere et acuere super linguas pessimorum Iudeorum dicencium ipsum esse prophetam (falsum), demonium habentem, turbarum seductorem, et cetera huiusmodi; ut sic saltem discas impropria propter Deum sustinere, qui tanta
- 125 pro te sustinuit pacienter. Et si non habeas per quod poteris istum cultellum portare neque vaginam formare, accipe unam de coreo corporis Christi
- 130

bargain with at first—as if he were holding back from us, because he himself says: "Not everyone that says to me, 'Lord, Lord,' " add: once or twice or three times, "shall enter into the kingdom of heaven"—, let us not allow him to go away for that but rather take him to the tavern of contrition and treat him richly with the food and drink of our tears, after the words of the Psalm: "You will feed us with the bread of tears and give us for our drink tears in measure." And when he has drunk well and accepted the pledge of your contrite heart, you will receive his promise of grace in this life, through which you will come to profit and eternal wealth, after the words of the Psalm: if you give him "a contrite and humble heart," that is, for your sins, God will certainly not despise it, but as the Psalm says, "then the Lord will give his grace and glory," grace to live well in the present, and glory in the future.

For God desires nothing so much from man as his heart, as can be seen in Proverbs 23 when he says: "Son, give me your heart." Here we should notice that God acts just like a falcon: when the latter flies to its prey and catches a bird, if he then is only given the heart of a small bird, which is his due, he is well satisfied and cares or asks for no more. In the same way, after Christ has caught mankind as his prey from the field of hell, like a bird that had flown off, if only man's heart is given to him, he will ask for nothing more.

But take notice: we know from experience that before the heart of a small bird is given to the falcon, it is first cut into pieces, and whatever blood or corruption might be inside is taken out, and it is cleaned well with water. Thus, surely, man's heart, which by right belongs to Christ, must first be cleansed with the water of our tears and cut into pieces with the knife of sharp contrition, for he himself says through Joel 2: "Rend your hearts," and so forth. And if you do not have a knife for this purpose, make one in the following way. First, its steel blade shall be made from the spearpoint and the nails with which Christ's side was opened and his two feet and hands were pierced. Its hilt shall be inlaid with the wood of the cross. The boss at either end shall be from the sharp crown with which he was crowned. And the glue, that is, the *cement*, with which the blade is fastened to the hilt, shall be that love that spiritually binds together; for he wanted to suffer such bitter pains for your sake, wretched sinner. This knife must then be whetted on his blessed body, which was so fiercely and cruelly whetted on the cross that hardly any joints remained together. For the wretched Jews did not think it was enough to kill him, but when his blessed body would not reach the holes that had been drilled in the cross, they had to stretch his hands and feet with ropes until they came to the nail holes, whereby they broke his nerves and veins and tore his whole body apart. When this knife seems blunted and not sharp enough, you must sharpen it on the tongues of the wicked Jews who exclaimed that Christ was a false prophet who had a demon, a seducer of the



benedicti sic perforati et lanceati; nec oportet te ire ad alium vaginato-  
rem ad illa depingenda, nam ubicumque aspexeris invenies rub[e]um sangui-  
neum super [f. 124] album coreum. Et istam portare debes cum memoria funi-  
135 colorum et cordarum quibus sic tractus erat et flagellatus. Si ergo iste  
cultellus iuxta cingulum cordis tui debite fuerit appensus, certus sum quod  
in sola passionis sue memoria cor durum incipiet in te pro peccatis conteri  
et molliri.

Et nota quod est de Deo et peccatore sicut de nutrice et puero. Ipsa  
140 enim quando puer iacet in cunis et dormit, recedit ab eo et quasi pro tunc  
non curat de eo. Set statim quando excitatur et ceperit lacrimari et clama-  
re, continuo currens (revertitur) et illum ablactando demulcet et post  
elevat et cum cantu in brachiis deportat. Revera sic Christus. Dum enim  
145 homo in peccatis manet et iacet, quasi obstinatus dormit, certe quasi de  
illo non curans recedit Christus. Set cum ad memoriam et penes se, ut  
dictum est, deliberaverit quot bona dimisit et quot mala commisit, etc., et  
ceperit flere pro peccatis et contristari, statim adest Christus ut nutrix,  
promptissimus illum ablactans, modo ex una parte de mamilla gracie, modo  
ex alia parte de mamilla pietatis et misericordie, dicens illud Regum 1:  
150 "Non vadam donec ablactetur puer infans, et duca(m) eum (u)t appareat in  
conspectu Domini." Et Osee 11 ait Dominus: "Ego quasi nutricius portabam  
eos in brachiis meis."

De ista ergo contricione sic adquisita, quante virtutis sit quod ipsa  
quoque Dominum absentem cito reducit et delet peccatum et penam, narratur  
155 de quadam muliere, de qua instigante diabolo pater suus prolem suscitave-  
rat. Que postea ab alio lecatore dilecta in mortem patris sui consensit et  
illum latenter occidit. Quapropter in peccatum desperationis cecidit. Con-  
tingit ergo fratrem quendam predicare in quadam ecclesia ubi ipsa fuit de  
Dei misericordia, que tam magna [f. 124v] est quod omnia peccata vere con-  
160 tri(tis) dimittit. Ex hoc compuncta et ad spem salutis reducta ultra se  
continere non potuit set in medio omnium surrexit et stans a fratre ques-  
ivit si verum esset quod dixerat. Ipse ergo vera esse omnia per exempla et  
narraciones probavit et affirmavit. Ait mulier: "Et ego, inquit, misera  
tale facinus et tale commisi. Unde si verum sit quod dicis, misericordiam  
165 Dei humiliter depono." Et nimio dolore pro peccatis compuncta cadens in  
terram mortua est. Cum ergo homines de eius sepultura hesitassent, utrum  
scilicet digna esset in loco sacro sepeliri an non, ecce vox audita est  
dicens: "Sepelite eam honorifice, quia iam coronatur in gloria; ex nimia  
enim contricione mortua est." Et hiis dictis evanuit. Unde pro peccatore  
170 contrito de Dei misericordia confidente pulcre ait Bernardus super illud  
Genesis: "Maior est iniquitas mea quam ut veniam merear": "Mentiris (inquit  
Bernardus), o Chaym, quoniam sicut scintilla ignis in medio mari, sic mise-  
ricordia Salvatoris super maliciam hominis"; Psalmista: "Miseraciones eius  
super omnia opera eius."

crowds, and other things of this kind, so that you may learn to suffer such  
reproaches for God's sake, who patiently suffered so much for you. And if you  
have nothing to carry this knife in, such as a sheath, you must make one from  
the leather of that blessed body that was thus pierced and cut; nor need you go  
to a sheathmaker to have it painted, for wherever you look, you will find red  
blood on the white leather. And this sheath you must carry remembering the  
ropes and cords with which Christ was pulled along and scourged. If then this  
knife is devoutly fastened on the belt of your heart, I am sure that your  
hardened heart will begin to be sorry for your sins and become soft within you,  
by the very remembrance of his Passion.

And notice that the relationship between God and a sinner is like that  
between a nurse and her child. When the child lies in its cradle and is  
asleep, she leaves it and, as it were, takes no care of it for the time being.  
But as soon as it wakes up and begins to cry and shout, she comes running back  
and nurses it and then raises it up and carries it about in her arms singing to  
it. So it is also with Christ. For when man remains in sin and, as it were,  
lies hardened and asleep, then Christ leaves him as if he did not care for him.  
But when the sinner remembers and, as I said, considers within him how many  
goods he has lost and how many evil deeds he has done, and so on, and begins  
to weep for his sins and grow sad, Christ is at once at his side like a nurse,  
ready to nurse him, now from the one breast of grace and now from the other  
of pity and mercy, saying the words of Kings 1: "I will not go till the child is  
weaned and till I may carry him so that he may appear before the Lord." And in  
Hosea 11 he says: "Like a foster father I carried them in my arms."

How much power such contrition has to call back the Lord in his absence and  
to cancel sin and punishment is shown in a story about a woman of whom, by  
instigation of the devil, her own father had a child. Later on this woman was  
loved by another lecher, agreed with him to kill her father, and did so secret-  
ly. For this she fell into the sin of despair. Then it happened that in some  
church where this woman was present a friar gave a sermon about God's mercy,  
which is so great that it forgives any sins of which one truly repents. At  
this the woman was stung by remorse and led back to hope for salvation; she  
could not contain herself but rose in the midst of the congregation and stand-  
ing there asked the friar whether it was true what he had said. He confirmed  
with stories and examples that all he had said was true. Then the woman said:  
"I miserable wretch have committed such and such a crime. If what you say is  
true, I most humbly ask for God's mercy." And pierced by great grief for her  
sins, she at once fell to the ground and was dead. While the people there were  
not sure what they should do about her burial, namely whether or not she was  
worthy to be buried in hallowed ground, a voice was heard saying: "Give her an  
honorable burial, for she is already crowned in glory. She has died from great  
contrition." And with this the voice was gone. Therefore Bernard has some  
beautiful words about the penitent sinner who trusts in God's mercy, as he com-

6 penitentiis] penitencia O. 1] 17 O. 8 habeatur] *om* O. 23 in(2)] *om* O. conspicias] conspiceris M.W; conspexeris R. 26 Tot] omnes O. 27 Ieronimus] *add* dicit O. 31 ideo] *add* in hiis O. 39 stare] astare O. 41 suis] *om* O. 45 figuratur] figuratum est O. 59 vidit] videt O. proficuum] profectum O. 65 multa] multus C. 89 vel(3)] aut C.M. 91 propinemus] proponemus O. 96 tuis] *om* O. 110 quod primo] prius quod O. 118 in mente] immense O. 128 falsum] aut C; alium W. 131 accipe] *om* O. 132 alium] aliquem O. 133 rubium] rubum C.M. 134 debes] debet O. 142 continuo] continue O. revertitur] revertat idest rockyth C. 146 dictum] predictum O. et] *om* O. 150 ducam] ducat C.M.W. ut] et C. 154 quoque] -met M.W. 158 fratrem] predicatorem R.E.Jo.L3.LC; fratrem predicatorem group r.Sp; sacerdotem B4; sanctum hominem L1. groups t.z; *story om* group x. *All full manuscripts recorded.* 160 contritris] concontrionis C.W. 163 probavit et] *om* O. 165 Et] *add* statim O. 170 confidente] *om* O.

### V.viii DE QUIBUS CONTERENDUM EST

[E]st autem nunc secundo advertendum de quibus conterendum est et quare videtur conteri. Ubi respondendum est: Primo propter Dei offensam quam peccator contra se graviter provocavit; unde Psalmista: “Usquequo, Domine, oblivisceris me in finem,” etc.; “quamdiu ponam concilia in anima mea,” etc. Secundo propter diaboli servitutem, cui se subiugavit; I(ohannis) 8 dicitur: “Qui enim facit peccatum, servus est peccati”; Petri 2: “A quo enim quis superatus est, servus eius factus est.” De hoc dolebat Psalmista: “Dolor meus in conspectu meo semper.” Tercio propter omnis boni amissionem quo diabolus ipsum spoliavit; Ecclesiastici 9: “Qui enim in uno peccavit, multa bona perdidit”; Ruth 1: “Nolite me vocare N(o)emi, idest pulcram; set vocate Maram, idest [f. 125] amaram, quia amaritudine replevit me Dominus”; et subdit causam: “Egressa (sum) plena,” [idest] meritis et operibus bonis, “et vacuam me reduxit Dominus.” Quarto de bonorum naturalium vulneracione per quam impotens redditur anima; unde Psalmista: “Defecit in dolore vita mea”; et causa: “quia infirmata est in paupertate virtus mea,” quasi dicens: non solum exspoliatus set etiam vulneratus et secundum hoc impotens effectus sum et infructuosus Deo. Quinto timore pene iehennalis quam peccando meruit; Ecclesiastici 21: “In fine illorum,” scilicet mortaliter peccantium; et Ad Romanos 6: “Stipendia autem peccati mors.”

20 Unde Psalmista dolens ait: “Dolores inferni circumdederunt me, quia preoccupaverunt me laquei mortis,” scilicet peccata trahencia ad mortem. Et ideo ait Iob 10: “Dimitte me, Domine, ut plangam paululum dolorem meum.” Sexto de amissione glorie; Ysaie 28: “Tollatur impius, ne videat gloriam Dei.” Unde dolens ait Ieremie 10: “Transiit messis, finita est estas,” hoc est

25 [tempus] ydoneum ad bene operandum, “et nos salvati non sumus,” set gaudium eternum, quod Christus est, amisimus.

ments on the verse from Genesis, “My iniquity is greater than that I deserve pardon”: “You lie, O Cain, for the mercy of our Savior is greater than man’s mischief, as a spark is in the middle of the ocean.” And the Psalmist declares: “His tender mercies are above all his works.”

7–8 Raymundus, *Summa* III.xxxiv.8 (p. 443). 9–10 Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* VIII.22 (PL 40.1120). 16 Isa. 38.15. 22–23 Ps. 50.7. 26 Innocent III, *De miseria* I.6 (p. 13). 27–31 *Ibidem*, I.1 (p. 7). 34–37 *VP* V.2 (PL 73:860). 40–43 *VP* Appendix, 97 (PL 74:392). 46–47 2 Sam. 3.13. 50–51 Jer. 31.9. 75–76 Job 27.19. 88–90 Matt. 7.21. 92–93 Ps. 79.6. 96 Cf. Ps. 50.19. 97–98 Ps. 83.12. 101 Prov. 23.26. 112 Joel 2.13. 150–151 1 Sam. 1.22. 151–152 Hos. 11.3. 155–169 Tubach 2731 (and 2729, 2739). See Reichl, *Religiöse Dichtung*, pp. 160–162. The exemplum was also translated into English verse: see W. Heuser, *Anglia* 30 (1907), 200–205. 171–173 Already used at *FM* II.iv.79–82. 171 Gen. 4.13. 173–174 Ps. 144.9.

### V.viii WHAT ONE MUST BE CONTRITE FOR

Now we must, in the second place, ask for what things and why we should be contrite. The answer is, first, because of the offense done to God, which provokes his heavy wrath against the sinner. Therefore the Psalmist says: “How long, O Lord, will you forget me until the end,” etc.; “how long shall I take counsel in my soul,” etc. Second, because of the sinner’s slavery to the devil, under whose yoke the sinner has put himself; in John 8 it is said: “Whosoever commits sin is the slave of sin”; and in Peter 2: “By whom a man is overcome, he is his slave.” At this the Psalmist grieved: “My sorrow is continually before me.” Third, because of his losing all his good of which the devil has robbed him; Ecclesiasticus 9 says: “He who has offended in one, has lost many good things”; and Ruth 1: “Do not call me Noemi (that is, ‘beautiful’), but call me Mara (that is, ‘bitter’), because the Lord has quite filled me with bitterness”; and she gives as her reason: “I went out full,” that is, of merits and good works, “and the Lord has brought me back empty.” Fourth, because of the wound inflicted on his natural gifts, by which his soul is rendered weak. Whence the Psalmist says: “My life is wasted with grief”; and the reason for this is: “My strength is weakened through poverty,” as if he were saying: I have been not only robbed but also wounded and thereby become feeble and fruitless for God. Fifth, because of the fear of hell pains which he deserves for his sins. Ecclesiasticus 21: “In their end [is the darkness of hell and pains],” that is, of those who commit mortal sin; and Romans 6: “For the wages of sin is death.” For this reason the Psalmist laments and says: “The sorrows of hell have encompassed me, and the snares of death have prevented me,” that is, the sins which draw me to death. And thus Job 10 says: “Suffer me, Lord, that I may lament my sorrow a little.” Sixth, because of the loss of glory; Isaiah 28: “Let the wicked be taken away, that he may not see

Et nota quod Christus amittitur tribus modis. Primo per peccatorum multiplicacionem, scilicet inter illos qui peccata peccatis continue addunt, qui bene assimilantur latronibus qui, cum semel vel bis a suspensio

30 evaserint, plus semper et plus ad hoc inardescunt. [Unde Gregorius: "Peccatum quod per penitenciam non diluitur mox suo pondere ad aliud trahit."] Secundo amittitur in mundana prosperitate; unde Augustinus: "Nequicia, inquit, mundi inpunita leticia, scilicet modo luxurie operam dare, spectaculis vagari, ebrietate ingurgitari, et cetera huiusmodi." Et notandum quod

35 absurdum est dicere quod huius mundi leticia que fit in coreis et cantilenis et huiusmodi in istis diebus solempnibus, que plus ad gulam, luxuriam, et ceteras miseras se excitant quam ad Dei laudem [f. 125v] et sanctorum, quod Deo placere non possunt, et tamen placere bene estimant quando magis huiusmodi superfluitatibus vacant. Quorum tamen opera sunt infructuosa,

40 sicut patet de labore ursi firmiter ligati, qui quamvis tota die terram pedibus conculcat donec fatigatus desistat, ad nichilum valet. Sic nec labores talium in choreis et aliis huiusmodi vanitatibus valent coram Deo, set ipsum in illis graviter offendunt. Tercio amittitur inter opera carnalia voluptuose delectacionis; Canticorum 3: "In lecto meo quesivi quem

45 diligit anima mea; quesivi et non inveni." Nec mirum si Christus, qui "inter lilia pascitur," si in carnis inmundicia non invenitur. Surge ergo, o peccator, de lecto voluptuositatis et vade ad presepium penitencie et asperitatis, et ibi eum cum pastoribus in lecto suo invenies pannis involutum. Abhorret enim Marie purissima virginitas prostibulum voluptatis, set

50 non abhorret eius profundissima humilitas stabulum paupertatis. Putasne ergo tu, peccator, quod dimittet matrem solam in stabulo et veniet tecum iacere in lecto fetido? Absit. Unde Bernardus: "Quomodo, inquit, o bone Iesu, inter cognatos meos, idest opera carnalia secundum *Glossam*, te inveniam qui inter tuos minime inventus es?" quasi dicat: nullo modo. Job 28:

55 "Non invenitur in terra suaviter vivencium." Quarto amittitur in mundana ambicione; Osee 1: "In gregibus et armentis vadunt ad querendum Dominum, et non invenitur, quia ablati sunt ab eis."

Si ergo queris, o peccator dolens de Christo dilecto, illud Canticorum: "Numquid quem diligit anima mea vidisti? Quesivi illum et non inveni."

60 Quesivi illum primo in oriente primarie nativitatis, set ibi nichil inveni nisi lamentacionem et lacrimas nascentis. Quesivi in occidente m(or)tis temporalis, [f. 126] et ibi nichil inveni nisi dolorem miseri morientis. Quesivi in aquilone pene infernalis, set nec ibi aliquid inveni nisi quendam horrorem inferni bullientis. Quesivi in meridie nepharie prosperitatis, set ibi nichil inveni nisi abusiones et sarcinas colligentis. "Quesivi ergo

65 illum et non inveni." Heu, heu, michi misero, quia in meridie inveni quem diligit caro mea, set nullibi invenio quem concupiscit anima mea. Heu michi! Quo abiit dilectus? Quid faciam? Quo me divertam? Anxior desiderio,

God's glory." And in Jeremiah 10 he says with grief: "The harvest is past, the summer is ended," that is to say, the proper season for good works, "and we are not saved" but have lost our eternal happiness, which is Christ.

Notice that one loses Christ in three ways. First, by multiplying one's sins. This holds true of those people that constantly add new sins to their old ones; they can well be likened to thieves who, if they have gotten off the gallows once or twice, fall ever more deeply in love with their criminal life. Whence Gregory says: "A sin which is not removed by penance soon draws one to another by its weight." Second, one loses Christ in worldly prosperity. Augustine says: "The mischief of this world is [to cultivate] unbridled pleasure, that is, to apply oneself eagerly to a life of luxury, to go to shows, to carouse in drunkenness, and the like." Notice that it is absurd to say that such worldly joy as is generated by dancing and singing and the like on holy days—activities which rouse people rather to gluttony, lechery, and similar wretched deeds than to the praise of God and his saints—can possibly please God; and yet they think they please him the more they devote themselves to such unwarranted activities. But their deeds are without fruit, like the "work" of a bear that is firmly tied up: even if he stamps the ground with his feet all day long until he is tired out, it amounts to nothing. In the same way, the efforts of such people in dances and other vain activities of this kind amount to nothing before God, but they offend him grievously thereby. Third, one loses Christ among deeds of fleshly delights; Canticles 3: "In my bed I sought him whom my soul loves; I sought and did not find him." It is no wonder if Christ, who "feeds among the lilies," is not found in fleshly impurity. Rise, then, O sinner, from the bed of lust and go to the manger of penance and hardship, and with the shepherds you will find him there in his bed, wrapped in swaddling clothes. Mary's most pure virginity shudders at the lustful brothel, but her meek humility does not shudder at the poor stable. Do you then think, O sinner, that Christ will leave his mother alone in the stable and come to lie with you in your stinking bed? Far from it! Therefore Bernard says: "How, O good Jesus, shall I find you among my relatives (that is, my fleshly deeds, according to the *Gloss*), you who could not be found at all among your own people?" as if to say: in no way. Job 28: "He is not found in the land of those who live in delights." Fourth, one loses Christ in worldly ambition; Hosea 1: "With their flocks and herds they go to seek the Lord, and he is not found because he has withdrawn from them."

If you, O sinner, therefore look with grief for Christ, your lover, saying with Canticles: "Have you seen him whom my soul loves? I have sought him and not found him"—I sought him first in the east of man's birth, but there I found nothing but the wailing and tears of the newborn. I sought him in the west of earthly death, and there I found nothing but the pain of a wretched person in death. I sought him in the north of hell pain, but even there I

70 fatigor laboricio, et tamen non desistam quousque dilectum invenero. "Indi-  
ca ergo michi," o bone Iesu, illud Canticorum 1, "ubi pascas, ubi cubes in  
meridie, ne vagari incipiam."

Et nota hic quod bene huiusmodi anime contrite et dolenti referri  
potest uno modo quod statim sequitur in Canticis: "Si ignoras," o anima  
dolens, "egredere et abi post vestigia gregum," idest post <facta> sancto-  
75 rum, et statim invenies ubi Christus dilectus tuus cubat in meridie, <u>t  
saltem ibi in l<ect>o ipsum invenire poteris, quia in cruce pro te. Si enim  
sollerter considerare velimus quomodo in meridie diei est totus estus et  
fervor diei, et ideo tunc temporis gaudet si locum amenum posset invenire  
ad cubandum et quiescendum. Qui quidem locus tunc amenus dicitur si sit  
80 virens frondibus et floribus, et precipue si ex uno latere habeat aquam  
decurrentem vel saltem fontem scaturientem, et ex alia parte arbores ex-  
crescentes et ramos late protendentes cum foliis virentibus. Et certe locus  
talis valde est delicatus in estu, sicut patet de iunipero et Helia, Regum  
19, et de Iona et edera, Ione 3. Et precipue eodem tempore anni <delicio-  
85 sum> videtur sub arbore et umbra albe spine cubare, eo quod ipsa [f. 126v]  
ex floribus redolet et ex foliis umbram amenam habet. Revera si de meridie  
Christi quando quiescens cubavit loqui velimus, est sciendum quod ita fuit  
dies ista ferventissima Parasceves, in qua maximum estum invenit. Exemplum:  
Videtur enim homini maximus estus quando super se non potest sustinere  
90 vestes suas set illas a se proicit. Set certe Christus in illa die tantum  
estum sustinuit quod pannis proiectis nudus pro nobis pendere voluit et sic  
quasi in cruce quiescere et cubare; Danielis 13: "Estus quippe erat." Locus  
autem amenus et virens quem pre ceteris elegit fuit lignum crucis. Set  
locus ille ex uno latere habuit aquam preterfluentem, quando prout Iohannis  
95 19 "unus militum latus eius lancea aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et  
aqua." Unde illo tempore canit Ecclesia: "Vidi aquam egredientem de templo  
a latere dextro," etc. Et tunc reclinavit Christus capud suum sub umbra  
albe spine quando milites plectentes coronam de spinis imposuerunt capiti  
eius, ubi supra. Quod autem ille spine erant redolentes, nusquam audivi,  
100 set magis credo quod verificabatur tunc temporis illud Ysaie 3: "Erit pro  
suavi odore fetor."

Si ergo, o anima dolens, devote contemplando quer(i)s dilectum quo  
abiit, ubi pascat, ubi cubat in meridie, ecce tibi respondetur uno modo,  
"Si ignoras, egredere et abi," etc., ut dictum est, et certe ibi illum  
105 invenies. Alio modo responderi potest anime contrite querenti pro dilecto  
Christo ubi querendus est et poterit inveniri: Egredere et quere cum Ioseph  
et Maria, qui non cum canticis et tripudiis ipsum quesierunt, set cum  
tristitia et dolore. Nec mirum, quando tantum iocale putabant perdidisse.  
Et ideo ipso invento dixit Maria mater eius illud Luce 2: "Ego et pater  
110 tuus dolentes querebamus te." Requirebant autem illum primo inter cognatos

found nothing but the horror of boiling hell. I sought him in the south of  
wicked prosperity, but there I found nothing but the insults and burdens of the  
man who gathers riches. Thus "I sought him and did not find him." Alas, woe  
to me, miserable wretch, in the south I found one whom my flesh loves, but  
nowhere did I find the one whom my soul desires. Alas, where has my beloved  
gone? What shall I do? Where shall I turn? I am driven with desire and worn  
out by fatigue, yet will I not rest until I have found my beloved. "Show me,"  
therefore, O good Jesus, as in Canticles 1, "where you feed, where you lie at  
midday, lest I begin to wander."

And notice that to such a contrite and grieving soul I apply, in one way,  
the words that immediately follow in Canticles: "If you do not know," O  
grieving soul, "go forth and follow after the steps of the flocks," that is,  
after the deeds of the saints, and you will right away find where Christ, your  
lover, is resting at midday: there you will be able to find him on his bed, for  
he is on the cross for your sake. If we reflect earnestly, midday is the time  
of the greatest heat of the day, and at that hour one is glad to find a  
pleasant place where he can lie down and rest. That place is called pleasant  
if it is lush with foliage and flowers, and especially if it has running water  
or perhaps a gushing fountain on one side and tall trees with wide branches  
and green leaves on the other. Such a place, in truth, is most delightful in  
summertime, as can be seen in Elijah and his juniper (Kings 19) or in Jonah  
and the gourd (Jonah 3). And it seems to be delicious above all else to lie at  
this time of year in the shade of the hawthorn, for its flowers give a sweet  
smell and its leaves a pleasant shade. Now, if we want to speak of Christ's  
midday, when he lay and rested, we must know that it was that burning Good  
Friday, when he encountered the highest degree of heat. We realize this from  
the example of a person who throws off his clothes when it is so hot that he  
cannot bear to have his clothes on. Truly, such heat did Christ suffer on that  
day that he threw off his clothes and wanted to hang naked for our sake and  
thus, as it were, rest and lie upon the cross; Daniel 13: "For it was hot  
weather." The pleasant and lush place which he chose before all others was the  
wood of the cross. That place had running water on one side, for as John  
testifies in chapter 19, "one of the soldiers opened his side with a spear, and  
immediately there came out blood and water." Therefore the Church sings at  
this time: "I saw water issue forth from the temple on the right side," and so  
on. And Christ laid down his head in the shade of the hawthorn when the  
soldiers put the crown of thorns they had braided on his head, as we saw  
earlier. That these thorns gave a sweet smell I have never heard; rather, I  
believe, did then the words of Isaiah 3 come true: "Instead of a sweet smell  
there shall be a stench."

If you then, O grieving soul, in your devout contemplation look for your  
lover, where he has gone, where he feeds, where he rests at midday, lo, you

et notos, et non [f. 127] invenerunt. Et ideo: "Audi, filia," idest anima contrita, "et vide et obliviscere populum tuum et domum patris tui," et veni in Ierusalem, ubi eum invenies in scola humilitatis sedentem et docentem. In qua quidem scola multi se illum querere simulant, [s]et revera  
 115 crucem querunt et non crucifixum, quia crucem denarii et non crucem Christi. Nec mirum quia, ut videmus, tot hiis diebus facit mirabilia crux denarii, etiam plura quam crux Christi facit ad oculum. Verbi gratia: Audivimus autem quod crux Christi ex sua virtute fecit mutos loqui, claudos ambulare, cecos videre, mortuos suscitare, et huiusmodi. Veniat ergo unus morte dignus et signat bene cum hac cruce iudicem et alios sibi assistentes, et  
 120 statim ad vitam resuscitatur, quia bonus et fidelis est. Veniet etiam alius habens causam satis veram et apertam in tota patria, et iudicem non signaverit nec advocatos ista cruce; devenient ita ceci quod nichil sue iusticie videre possunt; et tamen redeat ipsemet cum alia causa falsissima in qua nec Deus nec angelus, nec homo nec diabolus aliquem colorem iusticie discernere possit, et bene signet eos isto signo: optime videbit, vel si fuerit surdus, optime audiet, vel mutus, optime loquetur, vel etiam claudus, statim gradietur, et sic de singulis. Set certe, a talibus non invenitur  
 125 Christus neque in loco in quo fetet "concupiscencia carnis" set in arto presepio penitencie, neque in foro ubi fervet "concupiscencia oculorum," set in secreto vere consciencie, neque in comitatu ubi regnat "superbia vite," set in templo, in scola humilitatis et sciencie. Et ideo iuxta illud Psalmi: "Querite Dominum et vivet anima vestra," scilicet cum Maria et Ioseph, non cum avaris et voluptuosis, et superbis, set devote cum Magdalena lacrimando, sicut legitur Luce 7: "Maria stabat [f. 127v] ad monumentum foris plorans."

Item queres illum sicut homo ovem suam perditam, quia ovis dicitur propter suam mansuetudinem, Ysaie 53: "Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est"; et sicut mulier dragmam, Luce 15. Queramus ipsum ardentem ut famelicum, quia ipse est panis vivus, Iohannis 6; sicut egrotus sanitatem, quia sanitas in pane est, Malachie 3; et sicut cecus lumen, quia ipse est lux mundi, Iohannis.

Et nota quod ulterius tempus Christum querendi utiliter assignatur tripliciter, scilicet dum dies est, dum prope est, dum vacat intendere.  
 145 Primo dico est Christus querendus dum dies est, quia in nocte raro invenitur; Canticorum 3: "Per noctem quesivi quem diligit anima mea, et non inveni." Et bene dicitur "per noctem," quia neque in nocte infidelitatis et ignorancie, nec in nocte culpe, nec in nocte mortis; vita enim hominis est quasi unus dies cuius occasus est mors. Secundo querendus est dum prope est; Ysaie 9: "Querite Dominum dum inveniri potest, invocate eum dum prope est." Iam enim ad ostium stat, ad modum pauperis pulsat, qui primo expulsus  
 150 parum se absentat, set iterum appropinquat; Canticorum 5: "Vox dilecti mei

will get one answer in the words, "If you do not know, go forth and follow," etc., as I have just explained, and you will certainly find him there. Another answer that can be given to the contrite soul who asks for her beloved Christ, where he must be sought and can be found, is this: Go out and seek with Joseph and Mary, who did not seek him with songs and dancing but with sadness and mourning. No wonder, since they thought they had lost such a jewel. And when his mother, Mary, had found him, she said these words of Luke 2: "Your father and I have sought you in sorrow." First they looked for him among their relatives and acquaintances and did not find him. Therefore: "Hearken, daughter," that is, O contrite soul, "and see, and forget your people and your father's home," and come to Jerusalem, where you will find him sitting and teaching in the school of humility. Many pretend to be looking for him in this school, but they seek the cross, not the Crucified—the cross on the penny, not that of Christ. No wonder that in our days we see the cross on the penny work so many miracles—in fact, more than the cross of Christ does, to all appearances. We have heard, for instance, that Christ's cross by its power often caused the mute to speak, the lame to walk, the blind to see, the dead to rise, and so forth. Now then, let one who is worthy to die come and make the sign of this cross over the judge and his advocates, and he will at once rise to life, for he is good and faithful. Let then another one come whose cause is just and well known in the whole country, but who has not made this sign of the cross over the judge and his advocates: these will turn so blind that they can see nothing just in him. And yet, let him come back with another cause that is most unjust, in which neither God nor his angel, neither man nor the devil, can see any glimmer of right, and let him make this sign of the cross over them: he who was blind will see perfectly, or if he was deaf, he will hear perfectly, or if mute, be able to speak perfectly, or if lame, walk at once, and so on. But in truth, such people do not find Christ: he is not found in the place that smells with the "lust of the flesh" but rather in the narrow crib of penance, nor in the marketplace where there is the "lust of the eyes" but rather in the secret chamber of one's true conscience, nor in the fellowship where the "pride of life" reigns but rather in the temple and in the school of humility and knowledge. And thus, according to the words of the Psalm: "Seek God, and your soul shall live," namely with Mary and Joseph, not with the greedy, the lustful, and the proud, but with Magdalene in pious mourning, as we read in Luke 7: "Mary stood outside the sepulcher weeping."

Seek him, further, as a man seeks his lost sheep, for Christ is called a sheep for his meekness, Isaiah 53: "He was led as a sheep to the slaughter"; and as the woman in Luke 15 looks for her goat. Let us seek him passionately as starving people do, for he is the bread of life, John 6; and as a sick man seeks health, for in bread is health, Malachi 3; and as a blind man seeks light, for he is the light of the world, according to John.



pulsantis, 'Aperite michi.' ” Aperi ergo sibi dum prope est, ne forte declinat aut fugiat, et tunc dicas, “Quesivi et non inveni, vocavi et non respondit michi”; set hoc erit in iudicio—nec mirum, quia ad hostium pulsavit et sibi non respondisti. Tercio querendus est dum sibi vacat nobis intendere. Modo enim secundum Psalmistam est “tempus miserendi eius,” et ideo iam “omnis qui petit accipit, et qui querit invenit, et pulsanti aperietur.” Set certe cum acceperit tempus ut iudicet, tunc non potest vacare nobis, quia tunc solum erit tempus iusticie, etc.

5–6 Iohannis] ieremie C. 7 enim] om O. 10 Noemi] neemi C. 12 sum] enim C.M.W. idest] om C.M.W. 19 autem] om O. 34 huiusmodi] similia O. 34–38 Et . . . possunt] *no manuscript presents a reading that is satisfactorily grammatical. Perhaps a clause has dropped out early in the textual history, or the sentence was faulty in the author's draft, or non after placere is incorrect.* 47 voluptuositatis] voluptatis O. 61 mortis] mentis C. 74 facta] vestigia C. 75 ut] et C. 76 lecto] loco C. 78 posset] possit O. 84–85 deliciosum] dilecto sicut C. 88 ista] iste R.W; *apparently corr from iste M.* ferventissima] ferventissimus O. qua] quo O. 94 prout] *add testatur O.* 99 ille] iste O. erant] fuerunt O. 102 queris] querens C.M.W. dilectum] de christo dilecto O. 111 idest] scilicet O. 118 quod] *add frequenter O.* 119 et] *add cetera O.* 127 eciam] om O. 134 et] om O. 137 queres] queras O. 148 mortis] *add nature O.* 153–154 declinat] declinet O. 160 etc.] *add et non misericordie O.*

## V.ix QUE MALA EVENIUNT CONTERI DIFFERENTIBUS

[C]irca autem mala que eveniunt conteri differentibus est iam tercio sciendum quod primo dico Deo iniuriatur. Exemplum: [f. 128] Si enim aliquis propriis sumptibus sibi domum magnam edificasset et alienata[m] precio carissimo redemisset, si tunc sibi ad illius ostium pulsanti servus differet aperire aut omnino sibi introitum negaret, certum est quod domino suo

And notice lastly that the right time for seeking Christ is helpfully described in a threefold way, namely: while it is day, while he is near, and while he is waiting for us. First, I say, Christ must be sought while it is day, for in the night he can rarely be found; Canticles 3: “I sought him by night whom my soul loves and did not find him.” “By night” is well said, for he cannot be found either in the night of unbelief and ignorance, or in the night of sin, or in the night of our natural death, for man's life is like one day whose evening is death. Second, he must be sought while he is near; Isaiah 9: “Call upon him while he is near, seek the Lord while he may be found.” For now he is standing at the gate and is knocking like a poor man who after being driven off first goes away for a little while but then comes again; Canticles 5: “The voice of my beloved knocking, ‘Open to me.’ ” Open to him, then, while he is near, so that he may not turn away and disappear and you will say, “I sought him and did not find him; I called and he did not answer me”: that will be at the judgment, and it is no wonder, for he knocked at your gate and you did not answer him. Third, he must be sought while he is waiting for us. For according to the Psalmist, now is “the time for him to have mercy”; therefore, “everyone who asks receives, and he who seeks finds, and he who knocks will find the door open.” But when the time has come for Christ to judge, then he can no longer wait for us, for then is only the time of justice and not of mercy.

3–5 Ps. 12.1–2. 6 John 8.34. 6–7 2 Pet. 2.19. 8 Ps. 37.18. 9–10 Eccles. 9.18. 10–13 Ruth 1.20–21. 14–16 Ps. 30.11. 18 Eccles. 21.11. 19 Rom. 6.23. 20–21 Ps. 17.6. 22 Job 10.20. 23 Cf. Isa. 26.10. 24–25 Jer. 8.20. 30–31 Gregory, *In Ezech.* I.xi.24 (CC 142:179). 32–34 Augustine, *Sermo 171* IV.4 (PL 38:935). 44–45 Cant. 3.1–2. 46 Cant. 2.16; 6.2. 55 Job 28.13. 56–57 Hos. 5.6. 59 Cant. 3.3, 2. 69–71 Cant. 1.6. 73–74 Cant. 1.7. 83–84 1 Kings 18.4. 84 Jon. 4.5–6. 92 Dan. 13.15. 95–96 John 19.34. 96–97 Antiphon replacing the usual *Asperges* on Easter Sunday; Legg, p. 135. 100–101 Isa. 3.24. 104 Cant. 1.7. 109–110 Luke 2.48. 111–112 Ps. 44.11. 133 Ps. 68.33. 135 John 20.11. Apparently, the text originally contained a reference to Mary Magdalene's weeping at the empty tomb as well as her washing Christ's feet with her tears, Luke 7.37–38. 138–139 Isa. 53.7. 139 Luke 15.8–10. 140 John 6.48. 141 Mal. 4.2? 141–142 John 1.9. 146–147 Cant. 3.1–2. 150–151 Isa. 55.6. 152–153 Cant. 5.2. 154–155 Cant. 5.6. 157 Ps. 101.14. 158 Matt. 7.8.

## V.ix THE EVILS WHICH COME FROM DELAYING CONTRITION

Now we turn, thirdly, to the evil consequences of delaying one's contrition. First I say such delay gives offense to God. For example: if someone has built for himself a large house at his own expense and, after he had lost it, has bought it back for a very high price, if then as he knocks at its gate



iniuriosus esset. Sic in proposito. Unusquisque vestrum iuxta illud Corinthiorum 6 templum Dei vivi est quod sua sapiencia condidit Deus, et conditum per diabolum alienatum suo precioso sanguine redemit; Petri 1: "Scientes quod non corruptibili auro vel argento set suo precioso sanguine,"  
 10 scilicet nos redemit. Set modo ad ostium cordis nostri pulsatur; Apocalipsis 3: "Ecce ego sto ad ostium et pulso. Si quis ergo audierit, introibo ad illum et cenabo cum illo." Qui ergo sibi aperire distulerint aut contempnerint aut potius suo adversario aperint et contra illum tenent, certe ingrati sunt; Iohannis 1: "In propria venit et sui eum non receperunt." Et tamen  
 15 modo si quis gratanter aperiret, de levi omnia contra eum delicta remitteret. Exemplum: Sicut enim puer quantumcumque irascitur pro pomo aut consimili, cito placatur, sic Christus quantumcumque offensus, offensam remittit pro uno pomo. Quia sicut pro pomo offensus fuit, sic pro pomo cordis contriti remittit, et maxime si cito datur sine procrastinatione; Proverbiorum  
 20 3: "Ne dicas amico tuo, 'Vade et revertere, cras tibi dabo,' cum statim possis dare."

Unde contra tales procrastinantes converti ad Dominum videtur quod diabolus ordinavit de eis dum adhuc viverent sicut quidam ducti curiositate vel tenacitate ordinant de cultellis suis, quibus faciunt inscribi hec  
 25 verba: "Cras dabor, non hodie," ut sic per hanc scripturam cultelli collatio semper procrastinetur in posterum et per consequens numquam detur. Isto modo facit diabolus de talibus differentibus converti. Scribit enim in cordibus, "Cras," etc., hoc est, facit eos semper [f. 128v] procrastinare et numquam inchoare. Et ideo docet illos illam malam grammaticam et quod  
 30 semper dicunt "dabor," quia "dor" non dicitur nec est. Contra quos bene loquitur Marcialis per totum epigramma ad Postumum sic dicens metrica:

Cras te victurum, cras dicis, Postume, semper.  
 Dic michi cras illud, Postume, quando venit?  
 Quam longe cras illud, ubi est, aut unde petendum,  
 35 Cras illud quanti dic michi possit emi.  
 Crede michi non est sapientis dicere 'vivam.'  
 Ille sapit quisquis, Postume, vixit (heri).

Et alius sic:

Noli per cras cras longas tibi ponere metas,  
 40 Nam cito per cras (labitur) omnis etas.

Unde Bernardus: "Iesu, inquit, Christo debes vitam tuam, quia ipse vitam suam posuit pro vita tua et cruciatus amaras sustinuit penas, ne tu perpetuas sustineres. Numquam procrastinat ipse tibi ministerium cursus syderum, cel(orum) beneficium, terre fructum, et huiusmodi innumerabilia."

the servant were to be slow in opening or were to deny him entrance altogether, he would certainly give his master great offense. The same applies to our case. According to the Apostle in Corinthians 6, each one of you is a temple of the living God, which God has built in his wisdom; and after it had been built and then alienated by the devil, God bought it back with his precious blood; Peter 1: "Knowing that not with corruptible gold or silver but with his precious blood," that is, he redeemed us. And now he is knocking at the gate of our heart; Revelation 3: "I stand at the gate and knock. If anyone hears, I shall come in to him and sup with him." Therefore, those who delay in opening or despise him or perhaps even open their heart to his enemy instead and keep it shut against him are certainly ungrateful; John 1: "He came unto his own, and his own did not receive him." And yet, if anyone would now open freely to him, he would easily forgive all sins committed against him. For example, just as a child, however often he gets angry on account of an apple or something like it, is quickly pacified, so does Christ, however often he is angered by being offended, forgive the offense for a small price. For as he was offended on account of an apple, thus he forgives for the apple of a contrite heart, and especially if it is given without delay; Proverbs 3: "Do not say to your friend, 'Go and come again; tomorrow I will give it to you,' if you can give it at once."

It would therefore seem that with such people who procrastinate in returning to God while they are still alive, the devil deals as certain people deal with their knives, out of either refinement or miserliness—they have the words "Tomorrow, not today, shall I be given" engraved on them, so that on account of this inscription they will always postpone giving their knives and consequently not give them at all. In the same way does the devil deal with those who delay their penitence. He writes into their hearts, "Tomorrow," etc., that is, he causes them always to postpone and never to begin. And in that he teaches them bad grammar, so that they always say "I shall be given," because "I am given" is not said or in use. Against such people Martial speaks an entire epigram "To Postumus," saying in meter:

Tomorrow you say you will live, "tomorrow" always, Postumus.  
 Tell me, Postumus, when does that "tomorrow" come?  
 How far away is it then, where is it, where do I find it,  
 What price can it be bought for, that tomorrow, do tell me.  
 Trust me, it is not wise always to say, "I shall live."  
 He is wise who has lived, Postumus, his yesterday.

And another verse declares:

Don't set your goal with "tomorrow" into the far distant future.  
 For with tomorrow all time quickly passes away.

45 Secundo, sic differens converti dampnum facit proximo, quia sicut zizannia bono a(c) puro semini commixtum, similiter spine et herbe nocive purissimo tritico in agro illud deformant et corrumpunt, [sic differentes per suum malum exemplum proximos corrumpunt] et ad consimilia trahunt; Ysaie 1: "Semen nequam et filii scelerati." Unde Crisostomus: "Quemadmodum si colligas herbas de agro, triticum invalescit, sic si vicia pr(esci)ndantur, [iusticia] invalesc(i)t."

Tercio, dampnum faciunt tam sibi ipsis quam aliis; Luce 5: "Gaudium est angelis Dei super uno peccatore penitentiam agente." Unde Bernardus super Cantica: "Gaudent, inquit, angeli in conversione et penitencia peccatorum sal[u]tem hominum sicientes. Lacrime penitentium vinum eorum." Ex quo relinquitur quod qui penitentiam et conversionem differunt, quantum in eis est gaudium ange- [f. 129] lorum minuunt et propriam salutem destruunt.

In cuius signum patet Luce de filio prodigo, ubi pius pater hortabatur servos ad gaudendum pro conversione filii. Et adverte: Si autem esset civitas amenissima omnibus bonis plena et malis vacua, que esset cito omnibus participanda, et esset tibi ianua aperta set cito claudenda, ne[c] scires quam cito, set ipsa clausa numquam ingredi posses, immo qui prius intrare (n)oluisti in horrendum carcerem mittereris in perpetuum, ubi omne malum et nullum bonum—nonne pro stulto reputareris, immo demens, si ingressum differres? quasi diceret, omni modo. Revera sic in proposito. Civitas autem hec [est] celum; Psalmista: "Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei." Carcer infernus est, set ianua penitencia; Actuum 14: "Per multas tribulationes oportet intrare regnum Dei." Sic enim Abraham, sic Ysaac, sic Iacob et Moyses ac omnes Deo placentes, et ipsemet Filius Dei per multas tribulationes transierunt. Clausio ianue penitencie mors, que omnino incerta, iuxta illud: "Nichil est incercius hora mortis." Si ergo distuleris et exclusus fueris, de carcere inferni securus eris. Non est ergo differendum, set iuxta consilium Domini, Joelis 2, faciendum est, ut dicit: "Convertimini ad me in toto corde vestro."

75 Refert enim Seneca *De naturalibus questionibus* libro 3 quod in corporibus venenosis propter maliciam veneni et multam frigiditatem nullus vermis nasci potest; set si percussa fuerit fulmine, post dies paucos vermes producerent. Spiritualiter per illud corpus venenosum intelligo hominem in peccato mortali, qui tunc habet in se quasi venenum insanabile.

80 Totus enim mundus pro uno peccato mortali non satisfaceret. Et ideo talis lamentabiliter bene dicere potest illud Jeremie 15: "Factus est dolor meus perpetuus, plaga desperabilis renuit curari." Et ideo talis propter frigiditatem [f. 129v] [peccati] verme(m) contricionis non potest producere, set si percuciat in fulmine gracie Dei cito converti potest; Jeremie 31:

85 "Converte ° me et convertar," quasi diceret peccator: nichil quod in me est potest me convertere, set si tu, Domine, feceris quod in te est, statim

Whence Bernard says: "You owe your life to Jesus Christ, for he gave his life for your own and suffered bitter pains and torments so that you should not suffer in eternity. He never postpones the help you get from the course of the stars, the beneficial influence of the heavens, the fruits of the earth, or innumerable other things of this kind."

Second, the person who delays his penitence causes harm to his neighbor, for just as tares crowd out and blight the good and pure seed with which they are mixed, and as nettles and harmful weeds do the same to the pure grain in the field, so people who delay their penitence corrupt their neighbors by their bad example and draw them to similar evils; Isaiah 1: "Wicked seed and ungracious children." Therefore Chrysostom says: "If you pull up the weeds in the field, the grain grows strong; in the same way, if your vices are pulled out, justice grows strong in you."

Third, they do harm to themselves as well as to others; Luke 5: "There is joy before the angels of God over one sinner who does penance." Whence Bernard says in his comment on Canticles: "The angels rejoice over the conversion and repentance of sinners because they thirst for men's salvation. The tears of penitents are wine to them." From this it follows that people who delay their repentance and contrition diminish the joy of the angels, inasmuch as that lies in them, and ruin their own salvation.

A token of this is the story of the Prodigal Son in Luke's gospel, when his loving father admonished his servants to rejoice in the conversion of his son. Think: if there were a most delightful city, full of all good things without any evil, which would soon be shared by all, and the gate were open for you but soon to be closed, but you did not know when, and after it had been closed you would never be able to enter and in fact, since you would not enter in time, you were to be thrown forever into a terrible dungeon where there would be every misery and nothing good—would you not be reckoned a fool or truly insane if you delayed your entrance? Surely, quite so. Spiritually speaking: this city is heaven; whence the Psalmist says: "Glorious things are said of you, O city of God." The dungeon is hell. But the gate is penitence; Acts 14: "Through many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God." In this way did Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and all who pleased God, and even the Son of God himself, enter through many tribulations. The closing of the gate of penitence is death; it is entirely uncertain, after the saying: "Nothing is more uncertain than the hour of death." If you therefore delay and are shut out, you can be certain of the dungeon of hell. Therefore, let us not delay but act after the Lord's advice given in Joel 2 where he says: "Turn to me with all your heart."

In book 3 of his *Questions on Nature*, Seneca reports that in poisonous bodies no worm can come to life, because of the harmful poison and great coldness; but when they are struck by lightning, they will generate worms after

convertar; tu autem dicis, "sine me nichil potestis facere." In cuius figura Actuum 9 patet de Paulo, qui cum per viam incederet, subito circumfulsit eum lux de celo, et statim qui fuerat sevissimus peccator conversus factus est fidelissimus predicator.

Set notandum est quod ad hoc quod Deus suam gratiam peccatori infundat vult Deus quod homo ad hoc seipsum adiuvet et laboret. Quia secundum Augustinum: "Qui, inquit, fecit te [sine te], non iustificat te sine te."

Quia licet Deus de potencia sua sine te hoc possit facere, tamen non vult.

95 Magis est autem Deo convertere peccatorem quam creare mundum. Et ratio est, quia in mundi creacione nullam resistenciam invenit sicut in homine. Necessario ergo requiritur quod peccator seipsum per preces humiles et alia bona opera iuvat ad sui conversionem. Hoc enim vult Deus. Nam sicut corpus vivum facilius de terra elevatur quam corpus mortuum, eo quod ad hoc ipsummet corpus agit, sic certe homo mortuus per peccatum nolens se iuvare ad surgendum numquam ad Deum convertetur.

Set timendum est quod est de multis sicut de quadam ave que vocatur *popeiaye*, de qua dicitur quod est avis durissimi capitis. Et ideo quando instruitur loqui, primo percutitur leviter cum virga in capite; quod non 105 sciens propter capitis duriciam, non curat. Quod videns magister suus percutit illam gravius. Quod adhuc non sciens vel forte parum curans, accipit magister virgam ferream et illam valde fortiter percutit, et sic eius doctrinam recipit. Revera sic est de magistro nostro Christo, de quo Matthei: "Magister, scimus quia verax es," etc. Si igitur [f. 130] secundum 110 suam doctrinam nec verbo nec opere voluerint homines se emendare nec ad eum converti, quid facit? Certe, primo percutit eos leviter, quando scilicet mittit eis infirmitates leves. Set quia peccatores sunt duri capitis et durioris cervicis, unde modicum vel nichil curant de Deo, percutit eos forcius quando mittit illis tribulaciones et adversitates, sicut in amissione temporalium et huiusmodi. Et si adhuc se non correxerint, certe tandem 115 percutiet eos virga ferrea per gravissimas persecuciones et infirmitates. Unde precepta sua et informaciones capiunt et sic propter suas indigencias convertuntur; Psalmista: "Imple facies eorum ignominia, et querent nomen tuum, Domine," etc.

3 alienatam] alienata C.O. 6 illud] add apostoli O. 7-8 conditum . . . alienatum] condita . . . alienata O. 11 Ecce] om O. 18 uno pomo] parvo precio O. 23 ducti] add vel O. 37 heri] erit C. 38 Et alius sic] alii versus *marg* M; om R.W. 40 labitur] delebitur after omnis C. 43 procrastinat] procrastinavit O. ministerium] misterium O. 44 celorum] celestiorum C. 46 ac] aut C. 50 presciantur] priscundantur C. 51 invalescit] invalescunt C. 55 salutem] saltem C.M.W. 63 nolui] voluisti C.W. 71 mortis] om O. 73 ut] ubi O. 83 vermem] vermen C. 85 Convertite] add ad C.R. 89 peccator] persecutor O. 94 possit] posset O. 99 corpus] om O. 119 etc.] om M.W; et alibi multiplicatae sunt infirmitates eorum postea acceleraverunt R.

a few days. In spiritual terms, by the poisonous body I understand a person who lies in mortal sin, who in this state has as it were an incurable poison in him. For the whole world could not make satisfaction for a single mortal sin. Therefore, such a person may well lament with Jeremiah 15: "My sorrow is become perpetual, my desperate wound refuses to heal." And thus he cannot bring forth the worm of contrition because of the coldness of sin. But when he is struck with the lightning bolt of God's grace, he will soon be able to convert; Jeremiah 31: "Convert me, and I shall be converted," as if the sinner were saying: there is nothing in me that can convert me; but if you, Lord, do what only you can do, I will at once be converted; for you say, "Without me you can do nothing." A type of this can be found in Paul, of Acts 9: as he was traveling on the road, suddenly a light from heaven shone all around him, and he who had been a fiercely raving persecutor was suddenly turned into the most faithful preacher.

But we must realize that in order to give the sinner his grace, God wants man to help himself and to labor for it. For according to Augustine, "he who made you without you does not justify you without you." For even though God by his power could do this without you, he yet does not wish to. It is a greater work for him to convert a sinner than to create the world. The reason for this is that in creating the world he found no resistance as he finds it in man. Therefore it is absolutely necessary that the sinner should help himself with humble prayers and other good works to gain his conversion. That is what God wants. As a live body can be lifted more easily from the ground than a dead one because the body itself helps in this, so a man who is dead through sin and does not want to help himself to get up will never be converted to God.

But it is to be feared that many people act like a bird called parrot—in English *popejaye*—who is said to have a very hard head. When he is being taught to speak, he first gets a light tap on the head with a rod; but since he does not feel it because his head is so hard, he pays no heed. When his master notices this, he hits him harder. And as the parrot still does not feel it or perhaps does not care, the master takes an iron staff and strikes him heavily, and then the bird learns his lesson. The same applies to our master, Christ, of whom is said in Matthew: "Master, we know that you are truthful," etc. For when people do not want to amend their words or deeds or turn to him according to his teaching, what does he do? Surely, first he gives them a light tap, namely when he sends them some minor illness. But since sinners have a hard head and an even harder neck, for which they pay little or no heed to God, he hits them harder in sending them tribulations and adversities, such as the loss of their worldly goods and the like. And if they still do not correct their lives, he certainly will at last strike them with an iron staff through heavy sufferings of persecution and illness. Then they accept his commandments and teaching and are converted because of their needs; as the Psalmist says: "Fill their faces with shame, and they shall seek your name, O Lord."

### V.X QUE BONA EVENIUNT VERE CONTERENTIBUS

[I]am est videndum que bona eveniunt vere conterentibus. Ubi sciendum est quod primo misericordiam Dei et gratiam extorquent, sicut superius patet exemplum de mercatoribus in nundinis ductis ad tabernam. Unde sicut modica pluvia magnum ventum (s)edat, sic magnam iudicis iram vera contritionis compunctio. Unde Crisostomus: "O, inquit, lacrima humilis, in oratione est potentia tua, ante tribunal iudicis intrare non vereris, non est qui [te] intrare vetat. Si semel intras, numquam sola vel vacua redibis, actuum tuorum accusatoribus silencium ponis, iudicium ab ore iudicis rapis, plus crucias diabolum quam pena infernalis. Quid plura? Vincis invincibilem et ligas omnipotentem. Ploremus ergo coram Domino qui fecit nos, quia ipse est prestabilis super maliciam." Hec ille. Sicut enim pugno tunditur pomum a pueris ut succus extrahatur, sic debet peccator pomum sui pectoris per veram contricionem tundere, (u)t fructus vere penitencie subsequatur. In cuius figura Luce 18 dicitur quod publicanus a longe stans [f. 130v] pectus suum tundeat. Exemplum enim habemus de fil(a)trice paupercula accipiente lanam ad philandum, que frequenter necessitate coacta, quia non habet unde victitare vendit de lana; cum illam reportare deberet, ne pondus deficiat lanam humectat. Revera sic nos debemus facere. Cum enim aliquando cogente diaboli suggestione et carnali delectacione non lanam, non linum alienamus a Deo set animam nostram ad eius similitudinem creatam, quam sua morte preciosa redemit, unde si illam sibi restituere velimus, ne aliquod pondus virtutis in illa deficiat, oportet illam bene per penitenciam et lacrimas contricionis humectare. Unde Beda super Iudith in *Glossa*: "Lacrimae, inquit, pondera vocis habent, que imperant, non supplicant." Et Bernardus: "Luctu, inquit, penitencie recuperamus perdita." In aqua autem turbida melius piscatur quam in clara. Sic in corde compuncto melius peccata capiuntur et consumuntur; Psalmista: "Turbatum est cor meum intra me."

Secundo, animam purgat. Videmus enim in magnis civitatibus quod quicquid fetidum est in domibus eicitur in platea, unde veniente pluvia in aquam vel foveam deportatur. Sic quicquid fuerit fetidum in domo cordis,

6-7 1 Cor. 6.19. 8-9 1 Pet. 1.18. 11-12 Rev. 3.20. 14 John 1.11. 20 Prov. 3.28. 25 Thus also in Holcot, Sermon 47. 32-37 Martial, *Epigrammata* V.58. 39-40 Prov 17109 and 17109a. 49 Cf. Isa. 1.4. 49-51 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 8 (PG 56:678). 52-53 Luke 15.10. 54-55 Bernard, *Super Cant.* XXX.ii.3 (1:212). 58-59 Luke 15.22ff. 66 Ps. 86.3. 67-68 Acts 14.21. 71 A commonplace saying; see, for instance, Ps.-Anselm, *Meditationes* VII (PL 158:741), or *In* 16440. 73-74 Joel 2.12. 75-78 Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones* II.xxxi.2. 81-82 Jer. 15.18. 85 Jer. 31.18. 87 John 15.5. 88-90 Acts 9. 93 Augustine, *Sermo* 169 xi.13 (PL 38:923). 109 Matt. 22.16. 118-119 Ps. 82.17.

### V.X THE GOOD EFFECTS OF TRUE CONTRITION

Now we turn to the good effects on those who are truly contrite. First, we must know that they wring mercy and grace from God, as we saw earlier in the example of the merchants at the fair who are taken to the tavern. Just as a little rain calms a heavy storm, so true compunction calms the heavy wrath of our judge. Therefore Chrysostom says: "O humble tear, in your prayer is power, you do not fear the judge's court, nobody forbids you to enter. Once you enter, you will never come out alone or empty-handed; you silence the accusers of your deeds, you take away the judge's sentence from his mouth, you torture the devil worse than hell pain. What more? You overcome the Invincible and bind the Almighty. Let us therefore weep before the Lord who made us, for he is greater than any wickedness." As children squeeze an apple in their fist that they may get its juice, thus should a sinner squeeze the apple of his heart through genuine contrition, so that the fruit of true penance may come from it. As a figure of this, we read in Luke 18 that the publican stood from afar and beat his breast. We find an illustration in a poor spinning woman who takes in wool for spinning. Often, as she is forced by her need since she has nothing for her livelihood, she sells some of the wool, and when she must take it back, she moistens it lest it be wanting in weight. Now, we should do the same. For sometimes, forced by the devil's suggestion and by carnal delight, we steal not wool or linen from God but our soul that was created in his likeness, which he has redeemed with his precious death. So, if we wish to give it back to him, lest any weight of virtue is missing in it, we must moisten it well through penitence and our tears of contrition. For this reason Bede says, in the *Glossa* on Judith: "Our tears have a weighty voice: they do not implore, they command." And Bernard declares: "Through penitential sorrow we regain what we have lost." One catches more fish in troubled than in clear water. Thus, sins are better caught and canceled in a heart that is contrite; as the Psalm says: "My heart within me is troubled."

Second, contrition purifies the soul. We observe that in large cities all the garbage is thrown out of the houses and into the square, and when the rain

eici debet ad plateam oris, et sic veniens unda lacrimarum totum proiciat in foveam divine oblivionis; Ezechielis 18: "Impius si egerit penitentiam, omnium iniquitatum eius non recordabor, dicit Dominus." Mulieres autem paupercule mendicantes pueros quos gestant ad hostia divitum faciunt flere, ut elemosinam cicius accipiant. Sic debemus nos compunctionem cordis et lacrimas producere, ut Dei misericordiam cicius impetrare possemus. Et certe ita pius est et misericors, quod dando quod petimus lacrimis recom-  
 35 pensat, sicut pia mater diligens tenere puerum, cum [f. 131] ipsum flentem aspexerit, sibi compatitur et diu flere non permittit set manu propria ab oculis suis lacrimas abstergit. Certe sic Christus, iuxta illud Apocalipsis  
 40 20: "Abstergit Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis sanctorum," etc. Unde Bernardus: "Felices, inquit, lacrimae quas pie manus Domini abstergunt."

Tercio, Deum effugatum per peccatum sane reducit, sicut patet superius post cultellum contricionis de nutrice et puero dormiente.

45 Quarto, diabolus fallit et decipit. Exemplum enim: venaticus dum bestiam insequitur, ipsa caute transit flumen, per quod canis eius vestigium amittit. Sic anima transeundo per flumen lacrimarum diabolus decipit, ne eius vestigium ulterius inveniat.

50 Quinto, iter abbreviat versus celum. Ut enim frequenter ubi longum est iter per terram, breve est per aquam; (sic per aquam) lacrimarum et contricionis semita compendiosa ad celum invenitur. Exemplum de Magdalene contricione, Luce 7. Sic ergo patet effectus contricionis et quot bona facit.

Unde quidam metrice de lacrimis sic ait:

55 In lacrimis tria sunt que multis congrua prosunt:  
 Sunt lacrimae salae, sunt clares, sunt et amare.  
 Clarificant clares, sal condit, purgat amarum.

60 Quasi dicat: Lacrimae clares animam clarificant et mundant; lacrimae salae condunt, hoc est, abscondunt peccata; set lacrimae amare animam purgant omnino a peccatis. Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* quod quidam senex pergens per heremum cogitans de quodam peccato mortali vidit quendam demonem sub arbore scribentem. Cumque interrogasset quid scriberet, respondit: "Peccata hominum, ne lateant; et modo illud quod dudum cogitasti memoriter scribo." Cum ergo de illo intime doleret et flendo amare Deo confiteretur, rediens quesivit dicens: "Quid modo sentis?" Respondens inquit: "Michi mala fecisti, quia [f. 131v] parva aqua calida omnem laborem meum delevit."

65 Historiam habemus ad hoc de rege Manasse, qui fuit filius Ezechie prophete, secundum Ieronimum *De hebraicis questionibus*. Qui ita prophanus erat quod cultum Dei destruxit et ydola coluit et construxit, eciam Ysaiaum ° avum suum sibi contradicentem sarra lignea sarrari fecit. Qui eciam  
 70 secundum quod habetur in *Historiis scolasticis*, in fine 4 Regum, plateas Ierusalem sanguine innocencium purpuravit. Qui tandem permissione divina

comes, it carries it to the river or a ditch. In the same way, whatever garbage there is in the house of one's heart should be thrown out to the square of one's mouth, so that the water of one's tears can carry it all away into the ditch of God's oblivion; Ezekiel 18: "If the wicked does penance, I shall not remember any of his sins, says the Lord." Poor beggar women carry their children to the doors of the rich and make them cry, in order to receive alms more readily. In the same way should we call forth heartfelt compunction and tears, so that we can obtain God's mercy more readily. He certainly is so loving and merciful that he grants us what we ask for with tears, just as a mother who tenderly loves her child, when she sees him weep, has compassion and does not let him cry for long but wipes the tears from his eyes with her own hand. Thus does Christ, too, after the words of Revelation 20: "God shall wipe away all tears from the eyes of the saints." Whence Bernard says: "Happy the tears which the loving hands of the Lord wipe away."

Third, contrition brings God back to us when he has been driven away by our sin, as we saw earlier in speaking of the nurse and her child, after discussing the knife of contrition.

Fourth, it cheats and deceives the devil. For example: When a hunting dog pursues a wild animal, the latter shrewdly crosses a river, whereby the dog loses its tracks. In the same way, by passing through the river of tears our soul deceives the devil, so that he may no longer find its tracks.

Fifth, contrition shortens our way to heaven. Often a journey is long by land but short by water. Thus, we can find a short road to heaven through the water of tears and contrition. We have an example in the contrition of Magdalene, Luke 7. These, then, are the effects of contrition and its good consequences.

Someone made the following verses about tears:

Three things there are in tears, of usefulness to many:  
 For tears are salty, they are bright, and also bitter.  
 Brightness makes clear, bitterness pure, their salt adds taste,

as if to say: bright tears make the soul bright and clean; salty tears add taste, that is, they hide one's sins; and bitter tears cleanse the soul altogether from one's sins. There is a story in *The Lives of the Fathers* that a hermit who was wandering through the desert and thinking about some mortal sin saw a demon beneath a tree in the act of writing. When he asked him what he might be writing, he answered: "The sins of people, that they may not remain hidden. And just now I am writing down what you were thinking a moment ago." After the hermit grieved about this in his heart and confessed to God with bitter tears, he returned and asked the demon again: "What do you perceive now?" And he replied: "You have done me great harm, for a little warm water has canceled all my labor."

propter peccata sua a rege Babilonie captus est et illuc ductus atque in vase eneo perforatus missus et amoto igne nomina ydolorum que colebat vocans nichil profuit. Recordatus ergo quod crebro a patre suo Ezechia  
 75 audierat quod sibi Dominus in tribulacione dixit: Cum invocaveris me in tribulacione et conversus fueris, exaudiam te, mox idola sprexit et nomen Domini Dei Israel invocavit. Quo facto quasi pro momentanea contricione exaudivit eum Dominus et liberavit eum, et quasi in momento ad modum Abacuc ad Danielelem ad regnum suum restituit et reduxit.

80 Hoc eciam patet de sancto latrone qui in iuventute Christum fugientem in Egiptum cum matre et patre optinuit et salvavit. Unde tandem captus tempore mortis Christi et iuxta ipsum patibulo affixum de malefactis quasi in momento conterens dixit: "Memento mei, Domine," etc. Cui remittens Christus ait: "Amen, dico tibi, hodie mecum eris in paradiso." Ecce quam  
 85 levis contricio a morte liberat.

Unde narrat Plinius de quodam animali nomine harpa quod faci(e) homini assimilatur. Quem tamen si in deserto casu invenerit, in illum irruiet et interficit. Cum ergo aquam pro potu invenerit et faciem suam in illa conspexerit, considerans quod suum similem [f. 132] interfecerit, mox confusus  
 90 et dolens desertum petit et ibi residuum vite in merore conducit. Revera bestia ista homo peccator est, qui cum mortaliter peccaverit, per quod ymaginem Dei, ad cuius similitudinem creatus est, in anima deformaverit et in quantum in se est deleverit, statim ad fontem consciencie debet recurrere, ubi cum dictam similitudinem sic destructam conspexerit, ad desertum penitencie debet festinare et ibi delictum commissum deflere; Psalmista:  
 95 "Exitus aquarum deduxerunt oculi mei."

Narratur ergo de quodam sene per desertum transeunte colligendo herbas. Quem cum quidam iuvenis sibi obvians interrogasset de qua terra esset, respondit: "De tali terra, inquit, ego sum in qua omnes fontes fetidi sunt  
 100 et corrupti." Et iuvenis: "Cuiusmodi homo es?" Et ille: "Pauper, inquit, querens radices et herbas ad medicinam." Cum ergo quesisset quid cum herbis vellet facere, respondit: "Quidam rex nobilis et potens michi tradidit filiam suam custodiendam sub pena mortis. Que ingressa terram meam de quodam fonte bibens unde propter feditatem aque et terre facta est leprosa. Et  
 105 ideo dum tempus habeo quero medicinalia, ut sanem eam et mortem evadam." Moraliter rex iste Christus est, qui est rex regum, cuius filia est anima fidelis, quia secundum Augustinum: "Si quis posset Deum videre in sua divinitate et animam humanam in sua puritate qua creata est, vere diceret quod filia eius esset pre nimia similitudine." Hec ille. Senex autem iste est  
 110 corpus humanum, quod totaliter post peccatum primi parentis ° terra fetida et corrupta remansit, cui tamen pro custodia committitur anima. Quam cum ipsa ingressa fuerit et suis factis quoquo modo assenserit, de suis aquis corruptis bibit, unde sicut leprosa efficitur, quia secundum beatum Grego-

A biblical story to the same effect concerns King Manasseh, who according to Jerome's *Hebrew Questions* was the son of the prophet Hezekiah. He was so worldly that he uprooted God's worship and instead venerated and built idols, and further had Isaiah, his grandfather, sawed with a wood saw when he spoke against him. In addition, according to what the *Scholastic History* reports from the final section of 4 Kings, he stained the squares of Jerusalem with the blood of the innocent. But finally, because of his sins he was, with God's permission, captured by the king of Babylon and taken to that city; he was cast into a brass vessel, and when the fire was removed, he called upon the names of the idols he worshipped, but to no avail. Then he remembered that he had often heard from his father, Hezekiah, that the Lord had said to him in his tribulation: "When you call upon me in your tribulation and turn to me, I shall hear you." He at once scorned his idols and called upon the name of the Lord God of Israel. At this, in the instant of his contrition, the Lord heard him and set him free, in the same way as he had freed Habakkuk and Daniel, restored him at once to his kingdom, and brought him back.

The same is manifest in the Good Thief, who in his youth had protected and saved Christ with his mother and father on their flight into Egypt. When he was finally caught at the time of Christ's death and was hung on the gallows next to him, he repented of his misdeeds, as it were in the twinkling of an eye, and said: "Lord, remember me," and so forth. Christ forgave him and said: "Amen, I say to you, this day you shall be with me in paradise." Behold, how a little contrition sets free from death!

Pliny reports of an animal called harpy, whose face is like that of a man. When it finds a man by chance in the desert, it attacks and kills him. But then it comes to a watering place to drink and sees its own face in it and thinks it has killed one of its own kind; wherefore it becomes troubled and with grief seeks the desert and spends the rest of its life there in mourning. In truth, this wild animal is sinful man; when he has committed a mortal sin, by which he has deformed and, as far as possible, destroyed the image of God in his soul in whose likeness he was created, he should at once hasten to the wellspring of his conscience; when he sees there that likeness he has destroyed, he should hurry into the desert of penance and there bewail his misdeed. As the Psalmist says: "My eyes have sent forth springs of water."

Another story is told of an old hermit who wandered through the desert in search of herbs. When a young man met him and asked him what country he was from, he replied: "I am from a country where all the wellsprings are dirty and polluted." Then the young man said: "What kind of man are you?" And he: "A poor man looking for roots and herbs for medicine." But when the other asked what he was going to do with those herbs, he answered: "A powerful and noble king has given me his daughter to keep safe under pain of death. When she came to my country, she drank from a spring and, because of the polluted water and



115 rium tot pu- [f. 132v] pulas, tot vesiculas habet in facie quot viciis sub-  
iacet. Quia ergo in vita ista est tempus ydoneum [salutis], herbas et radi-  
ces, hoc est dignos fructus penitencie, querere debemus, nec oportet illas  
querere in deserto, quia crescunt in orto nostro, scilicet in corpore pro-  
prio. Et si queratur que sunt iste herbe et radices, revera respondit quod  
120 ille de quibus in principio istius capituli actum est pro contricione sani-  
tatis adquirenda, scilicet quantum vixisti, quomodo tempus tuum expendisti,  
quot bona dimisisti, quot mala commisisti, et cetera, prout ibidem numeran-  
tur. Et hec de contricione ad tempus sufficiunt.

3 exemplum] in exemplo O. 4 sedat] cedit C.R. 6 ante] tuum regnum O. intrare] om  
O. 7 actuum] viciorum M; amicorum R.W. 13 ut] et C. 15 filatrice] filiatrice C.W.  
18 sic] add et O. 37 lacrimis] lacrimas M.W and others. 41 abstergit] absterget O.  
etc.] om O. 45 enim] canis R; bonum W. 50 sic per aquam] s. C; om M; text add marg  
W. 64 Respondens inquit] qui respondit multa inquit O. 66 hoc] add 2 paralipomenon  
O. 68 eciam Ysaia] add et C; ysaia eciam M.W; ysaia et R. 70 plateas] platee  
C.O. 78 eum(2)] om O. 86 facie homini] faciei homini C.W; faciei hominis R.  
88 aquam . . . invenerit] ad aquam pro potu venerit O. 95 delictum] dictum O. 97 col-  
ligendo] collegit M; qui collegit R; qui colligit W. 100 Cuiusmodi] cuius O. 102 fa-  
cere] om O. 109 ille] augustinus O. 110 parentis] add in C. 111 Quam] quod O.  
122 ad tempus] om O.

### V.xi DE CONFessione: QUID EST

[N]unc ad partes confessionis attendendum est, qu(e) bene potest dici  
purgacio spiritualis infirmitatis. Unde sicut solent medici suis patienti-  
bus primo dare preparativa, postea purgativa, deinde dietam proficuum et  
sanativam ordinare, sic spiritualiter egrotus primo preparat se per cordis  
5 contricionem, postea purgatur per oris confessionem, set tercio eius dieta  
ordinatur per operis satisfactionem. Set quia dictum est iam de contricio-  
ne, modo de confessione dicendum est. Circa quam sic est procedendum,  
scilicet ostendere primo quid sit confessio et quibus confitendum ordina-

soil, became leprous. Therefore, while I have time I seek for medicine that I  
may heal her and escape death." The moral meaning of this tale is that this  
king is Christ, the king of kings, whose daughter is the faithful soul, for  
according to Augustine, "if one could see God in his divine nature and the  
human soul in the purity in which it was created, one would surely say that she  
is God's daughter for its great likeness." But the old hermit is man's body,  
which after the sin of our first parents has become a totally dirty and pol-  
luted country; yet to its safekeeping is the soul entrusted. When the latter  
entered it and somehow consented to its deeds, she drank from its polluted  
water and thereby became so to speak leprous; for according to Gregory, she  
has as many boils and blisters in her face as she is subject to vices. But since  
this life is a fitting time to gain salvation, we must seek for herbs and  
roots, that is, worthy fruits of penance; and it is not necessary to look for  
them in the desert, because they grow in our own garden, that is, in our body.  
And if you ask what these herbs and roots are, I reply that they are those  
considerations of which I spoke at the beginning of this chapter, on how to  
gain contrition for the sake of one's health, namely: how much you have lived,  
how you have spent your life, how many good deeds you have failed to do, how  
many evil deeds you have done, and so forth, as I listed them there. And this  
much suffices on the topic of contrition.

5-11 The passage is quoted, with attribution to "Ieronimus in quadam epistula," and  
translated into English prose in Cambridge University Library, MS li.3.8, fol. 93v; see  
P.C. Erb, *MS 33* (1971), 81. 14-15 Luke 18.13. 27 Ps. 142.4. 32-33 Cf. Ezek.  
18.21-22. 41 Rev. 21.4. 42 Ps.-Bernard, *Declamationes* XXXIV.40 (PL 184:459).  
51-52 Luke 7.37-48. 54-56 *In* 8958; *Prov* 11797a; Ridevall, *Fulgentius metaphorialis*,  
p. 93. 66-69 Cf. 2 Chron. 33.1-20; 2 Kings 21.1-18. 67 Jerome, *Quaestiones*  
*hebraicae*, on 2 Chron. 33.10 (PL 23:1466). 69-79 Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholas-  
tica*, on 2 Kings 32-33 (PL 198:1414-1415). 80-81 For this legend, see Aelred of  
Rievaulx, *Informatio ad sororem* 48 (PL 32:1466). 83-84 Luke 23.42. 86-90 Tubach  
634. 96 Ps. 118.136. 97-105 Tubach 3026. From Etienne de Bourbon; see *Tabula ex-  
plorum*, No. 98 and note.

### V.xi THE NATURE OF CONFESSIO

Now we must turn to the individual parts of confession, which may be said  
to be the purgation of a spiritual sickness. As physicians usually give their  
patients first a prophylactic, then a purgative, and afterwards prescribe a  
helpful and healing diet, so a person who is spiritually ill first prepares  
himself by contrition of heart, then purges himself by confession of mouth,  
and thirdly regulates his diet by satisfaction in deed. Since we have already  
spoken of contrition, we now deal with confession and proceed by showing,  
first, what confession is and to whom one must confess; second, what it should

tur; secundo qualis debet esse et cuius virtutis inveniatur; tercio que  
 10 mala eveniunt illam differentibus; quarto que bona eveniunt ad illam festi-  
 nantibus.

Est ergo confessio secundum Raymundum “coram sacerdote legitima pec-  
 catorum declaracio.” Et dicit “declaracio” contra eos qui peccata occultant,  
 celant, aut excusant. “Peccatorum” dicit contra eos qui confitentur peccata  
 15 per abnegacionem, ut si reus fuerit delicti, dicit tamen excusando et  
 false, “non sum talis,” aut qui sua bona facta occasione vane glorie reci-  
 tat. De quibus Bernardus: “Multis modis fiunt excusacio- [f. 133] nes in  
 peccatis. Dicit enim aliquis se excusans, ‘Non feci quid, aut saltem bene  
 feci, aut si male feci non tamen multum male, aut si multum male non tamen  
 20 mala intencione.’ ” “Coram sacerdote” dicit quia sacerdos tantum habet  
 potestatem solvendi et ligandi. Vel alio modo dicitur confessio quasi  
 “simul fassio,” eo quod omnia peccata simul et semel fari debemus, et hoc  
 uni sacerdoti et non pluribus, quia aliter non est con-fessio set dimidia-  
 cio.

25 Et nota quod huiusmodi confessio solis sacerdotibus est facienda quia,  
 ut dictum est, habent potestatem solvendi et ligandi. Secundum tamen Augus-  
 tinum tanta est virtus confessionis quod si deest copia sacerdotis, meretur  
 tamen ex voluntate veniam a Deo qui crimen confitetur socio. Hoc tamen  
 intelligo in necessitate et mortis articulo, quod non solum in infirmitate  
 30 intelligitur set etiam de quocumque alio periculo morti vicino, puta si  
 timeat hostem vel preonem, aut navigaturus periculose, et cetera huiusmo-  
 di. Tunc etiam potest simplex sacerdos absolvere a casibus reservatis,  
 condicionaliter tamen, ut si tale periculum evadat [quod iterum superiori  
 potestatem habenti confiteatur. Sic etiam debet confessus layco, si pericu-  
 35 lum evadat].

Forte dicit aliquis: “Potestne aliquis alteri confiteri quam suo pro-  
 prio sacerdoti?” Dicunt autem ipsi et adducunt pro se decretalem *Omnis*  
*utriusque sexus*, et similiter illud *De penitencia*, distinctione 6, *Placuit*,  
 quia ipse qui est prelatus tuus oportet reddere racionem pro anima tua, [et  
 40 non potest nisi facta tua] sciat; ergo, etc. Ad quod respondit Hostiensis  
*Summa* que dicitur *copiosa*, rubrica “De confessionibus,” *Patriarcha*, in  
 fine, ubi ponit tres proprios confessores et immediatos cuiuslibet [homi-  
 nis], scilicet papam, diocesanum, et parochianum, cuiusmodi sunt rectores,  
 vicarii, et huiusmodi; “vel,” dicit ipse, “quibus isti indulgent per licen-  
 45 ciam etiam sine litteris.” Quod etiam patet in *Summa confessorum*, libro 3,  
 rubrica “De confessione,” questione 38 in fine. Unde notandum quod per  
 (septem) sacerdotum genera possunt aliquando homines confitendo absolvi.  
 Primo semper ab ipso papa, qui est capud omnium ecclesiarum. Secundo per  
 50 determinacionem superioris, ut episcopi [f. 133v] per determinacionem pape,  
 rectores, vicarii, etc., et maxime speciales penitenciarum per determina-

be like and what qualities it must have; third, what evil consequences come to  
 those who delay it; and fourth, what good results it brings to those who hasten  
 to it.

According to Raymundus, confession is the genuine showing of one's sins  
 before a priest. He calls it a “showing,” against those who hide, conceal, or  
 excuse their sins. He further says, “of one's sins,” against those who confess  
 their sins by denial, as, for instance, when someone is guilty of a crime and  
 excuses himself by saying falsely, “but I am not like this,” or else he recites  
 his good deeds and thereby derives an occasion for vainglory. Of such people  
 Bernard says: “Excuses for one's sins are given in many forms. For example,  
 someone excuses himself with: ‘I didn't do it’; or, ‘it's been for someone's  
 good’; or, ‘if I have done ill, it wasn't really bad, though’; or, ‘if it was quite  
 bad, I didn't mean to.’ ” And Raymundus says “before a priest,” because  
 only a priest has the power to loose and to bind. In a different way, confession  
 means “saying together,” because we must tell all our sins together at one  
 time, and thus to one priest, not to several, for otherwise it is not a con-  
 fession but a dis-membering.

Notice that such confession must be made only to priests, who, as I have  
 already said, have the power to loose and to bind. Though according to Augus-  
 tine, confession has such power that, if no priest is available, one can gain  
 God's forgiveness if one desires it and confesses one's crime to one's [lay]  
 companion. But this obtains only in an emergency or at point of death, the  
 latter including not only sickness but also any other situation of mortal  
 danger, such as an enemy attack or assault by thieves or danger at sea and the  
 like. In such cases, a simple priest may also absolve from reserved cases, but  
 only conditionally: if the penitent escapes from that danger, he must confess  
 again to a higher authority who has the proper powers. The same applies to one  
 who has made his confession to a layman, if he escapes from the dangerous  
 situation.

Perhaps someone asks: “Can one confess to a priest other than his parish  
 priest?” Such people refer to the decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* and to *De*  
*poenitentia*, distinction 6, *Placuit*. Since your parish priest must render an  
 account for your soul and cannot do so unless he knows your deeds, therefore,  
 etc. To this the *Summa* which is called “Copious” addresses itself in the  
 section on confessions under the title *Patriarcha*, at the end. There it men-  
 tions that everyone has three priests that are related to him properly and  
 immediately: the pope, the bishop, and the parish priest, such as the rector or  
 his vicar and the like; “or,” says the *Summa*, “to whomsoever these give a  
 special license, even if not in writing.” The same can be found in the *Summa*  
*of Confessors*, book 3, section “On Confession,” question 38 near the end. We  
 should therefore note that people may be absolved in confession by seven dif-  
 ferent kinds of priests. First and always by the pope himself, who is the head

cionem sui superioris, sicut pape et episcoporum. Tercio per licenciam  
 proprii sacerdotis potest alius discretus, honestus, et notus, cum tamen  
 licenciatus. Quarto, omnis sacerdos, ut dictum est, [in] mortis periculo.  
 55 Quinto, propter defectum proprii sacerdotis, sicut sunt peregrini a longe  
 constituti, vel si proprius sacerdos sit ydiota vel proditor confessionis  
 vel sollicitator ad peccata. Sexto, cum non inveniatur aliquem sacerdotem qui  
 [habeat] auctoritatem absolventi, tunc alius discretus et notus [in] ordine  
 et professione potest. Septimo, privilegiati, cuiusmodi sunt Fratres Predi-  
 catores et Minores, qui sunt [primo] licenciati et privilegiati per dominum  
 60 papam et eius concilium, (et secundo) recepti et licenciati ab episcopo in  
 diocesi sua. Unde a quocumque tali potest unusquisque confiteri ad libitum  
 s(ine) requisicione vel licencia petita parochialis sacerdotis in parochia  
 sua et ultra, quia quantum potest parochialis in parochia sua propria,  
 tantum potest talis frater receptus sic vel licenciatus ab episcopo ibidem  
 65 et similiter per totum episcopatum, et similiter in pluribus, si ad plures  
 fuerit receptus.

Qualis ergo debet esse sacerdos ad illud officium deputatus nota supra  
 parte 5, capitulo 2, de virtute misse.

1 que] quod C.W. 10 eveniunt] om O. 16 qui] que O. 20 dicit] om M.W; dicitur R.  
 25 quia] qui O. 33-35 quod . . . evadat] om C.R.W; quod casus reservatos confiteatur  
 personis ydoneis M; *the sentence in C.R.W is clearly incomplete; it is here completed  
 from B1.* 37 decretalem] add illum O. 39-40 et . . . tua] om C.W; om with sciat M.  
 42 confessores] sacerdotes O. 44-45 licenciam] add specialem O. 45 Quod] istud O.  
 47 septem] *thus all groups*; octo C, *see below at line 60.* 58 et professione] et probate  
 religionis M; om R; et W. 59 primo] *thus all groups.* 60 concilium] *this spelling nor-  
 mal for consilium in C; consilium O. et secundo] 8° C.M.W and s.u.y; longer om R. The  
 adopted reading seems demanded by the earlier primo; it occurs in group z (but et simili-  
 ter in Co).* 62 sine] suum C. 63 quia] add A ware þe frere marg C.

## V.xii QUALIS CONFESSIO DEBET ESSE, ET EIUS VIRTUS

[R]estat enim modo videre qualis debet fieri confessio ex parte tam  
 confessoris quam confitentis. Et nota quod ex parte confitentis erit inte-  
 gra et festina, [hool and hyng,] vera et amara [soþe and sorowyng]. Primo  
 ergo dico quod confessio erit integra, ut scilicet uni tantum confiteatur  
 5 de omnibus peccatis et non partem uni et partem alteri. Parum enim valeret  
 si infirmus febrem suam alicui medico revelaret et eius pestem celaret ab  
 eo, sicut si nauta aliqua foramina obturaret et aliqua dimitteret. Et  
 a[d]verte: Dicunt enim multi quod in infirmo sudor universalis est signum  
 sanitatis, et e contrario sudor particularis, si tantum in pede, manu, [f.  
 10 134] vel capite, signum est mortis. Revera sic est in proposito. (N)am  
 sicut sudor provenit ex interioribus humoribus superfluis et illicitis per

of all the churches. Second by delegation from a higher authority, such as the  
 bishop by delegation of the pope, the rectors, vicars, and so on, and above all  
 special penitentiaries by delegation from their superior, such as the pope and  
 the bishops. Third, another priest who is discreet, honest, and well known may  
 absolve with the permission of the parish priest if he has the proper license.  
 Fourth, any priest can absolve at the point of death, as we have already said.  
 Fifth, in case one's priest is unavailable, as when one is on a pilgrimage far  
 from home, or in case one's priest is stupid or publicizes one's confession or  
 stimulates penitents to sin. Sixth, when one cannot find a priest who has the  
 necessary authority to absolve, then anyone in orders who is discreet and known  
 can absolve. Seventh, priests with special privileges, such as Dominicans and  
 Franciscans, after they have first received the required license and privilege  
 from the lord pope and his council, and then have been accepted and licensed by  
 the bishop in his diocese. Therefore, one may freely be shriven by any of  
 these, without making a request or asking permission of one's parish priest,  
 within one's parish and beyond. For whatever spiritual power a parish priest  
 holds in his parish, the same is held by a friar who has been accepted and  
 licensed by the bishop, in that parish and likewise throughout the diocese, and  
 even in several dioceses, if he was accepted into several.

What qualities a priest must have who is given this office was dealt with  
 earlier, in part 5, chapter 2, on the power of the Mass.

12-13 Raymundus, *Summa* III.xxxiv.13 (p. 447). 17-20 Bernard, *De gradibus humili-  
 tatis et superbiae* XVII.45 (3:51). 27-28 Ps.-Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia*  
 X.25 (PL 40:1122), repeated in Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV.xvii.4 (2:351). 37-38 *Decre-  
 tals* 5.38.12 (2:887). 38 Gratian III.4.3 (1:1244). 41-45 Hostiensis, *Summa aurea*  
 (also known as *copiosa*) V.18 (1772). 45-46 John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum*  
 III.xxx.38. 46-66 On this passage, see Introduction, pp. 11-12. 68 *FM* V.ii.

## V.xii THE QUALITY OF A GOOD CONFESSION AND ITS POWER

Now we must see what confession should be like, both on the part of the  
 priest and on the part of the penitent. On the part of the penitent, it must  
 be integral and prompt, truthful and bitter:

Hool and hyng,  
 Soþe and sorowyng.

First I say it must be integral: all sins must be confessed to one priest, not  
 one part here, another there. It would not help very much if a sick man told  
 his physician of his fever but kept still about his pestilence; or if a sailor

calorem naturalem expulsis, sic confessio de superfluis esse debet, que per calorem divini amoris universaliter debent expelli. Refert enim Ysidorus de quodam serpente nomine ydra habente capita septem, cuius natura est quod si  
 15 unum capud per se abscindatur, quod tria alia continuo succrescunt, nec quovis modo interfici potest quousque omnia simul eius capita auferantur. Revera sic [est] de peccatore qui forte habet in se septem mortalia peccata, que eciam capitalia dicuntur. Unde bene potest dici ydra serpens ille  
 20 venenosus habens septem capita, qui si confiteatur tantum unum peccatum mortale ut sic illud capud abscindat, vel [forte] omnia preter unum, revera propter illud unum dimissum paulatim succrescunt plura. Et si vult bene purgari, oportet quod omnia simul tollat, ut possit dicere Domino illud Psalmi: "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci." Et certe tunc Deus remittit. In cuius figura cum rex David adulterium cum Bersabee commisisset et cum super  
 25 hoc a propheta Nathan redargueretur, de throno concistorii descendit et super terram sedit ac peccata sua coram omnibus confiteri non erubuit. Unde propheta confestim audivit hec verba a Deo de illo: "Transtulit Dominus peccatum tuum a te; non morieris."

Secundo debet esse confessio festina, quia qui aliter facit similis  
 30 est ei qui ignem abscondit in sinum qui ipsum comburet, aut latronem in domo qui ipsum spoliat. Cum ergo homo detegit, Deus tegit, et e contrario. Unde dicitur Naum 3: "Revelabo pudenda," scilicet festinanter. Secundum autem Innocencium tertium in quodam decretali, ubi ipse loquitur de Iudeis et Saracenis: "Tria, inquit, sunt que malam remunerationem reddunt hos[pi]-  
 35 tibus suis a quibus recipiuntur, et sunt ista, scilicet: mus in pera, ignis in sinu, et serpens in gremio." Spiritualiter autem loquendo [f. 134v] mus est superbia, que omnia bona primi angeli corrodit et ipsum demonem fecit. Que quidem superbia sicut pessima mater peperit istas tres filias, scilicet vanam gloriam, accidiam, et invidiam, quas misit ad primos parentes, et  
 40 ipse similiter bona illorum corodebant. Postmodum vero hec mater cum filiabus quasi totum mundum pene destruxerunt, iuxta illud Iaelis 1: "Residuum eruce comedit brucus, residuum bruci comedit locusta, et residuum locuste comedit rubigo." Eruca enim crescit in oleribus et ea consumit, et bene signat superbiam. Locusta autem dicitur quasi longa hasta, que eciam  
 45 quasi omnes percutit, [et] signat vanam gloriam. Brucus autem est fetus locuste, qui antequam alas habeat omnia consumit ubi fuerit, et signat invidiam. Set rubigo, que ferrum non ex[er]citatum corumpit, signat accidiam. Secundo, per ignem in sinu intelligitur peccatum avaricie, quia quanto plura incentiva apponuntur sibi, tanto plus inflamm(a)tur, et bene dicitur  
 50 ignis insaciabilis, quia non dicit "sufficit." Et tamen Proverbiorum 18 dicitur: "Cum defecerint lingua eius, tunc extinguetur." Tercio, per serpentem in gremio notatur luxuria, et ideo cavenda est eius vicinitas. Unde Ieronimus: "Quis, inquit, umquam iuxta serpentem securus dormit? Mordere

stopped some holes in his vessels and left others open. And notice: many say that in a sick person a general sweat is a sign of health, but any partial sweating, such as on his foot or hand or head only, is a sign of death. The same goes for the topic under discussion. Just as sweat comes from humors within our body that are superfluous and bad and are driven out by our natural body heat, so should confession deal with superfluous things that must be completely driven out by the heat of divine love. Isidore speaks of a serpent called hydra who has seven heads; it has the characteristic that if one head is cut off, three others grow in its place at once, and it cannot be killed in any way until all its heads are cut off simultaneously. The same is true of a sinner who perhaps has seven deadly sins in him, which are also called the capital or head sins. He may well be called a hydra, that venomous serpent with seven heads, because if he confesses only one mortal sin, so that that head is cut off, or perhaps all of them except one, yet on account of the one remaining head several others eventually grow in their place. If he really wants to be cleansed, he must cut off all of them together, so that he can say to the Lord the words of the Psalm: "I have acknowledged my sin to you." Then God certainly forgives. A type of this is found in King David: when he had committed adultery with Bathsheba and was reproached for it by the prophet Nathan, he stepped down from his throne in the consistory, sat on the earth, and was not ashamed to confess his sins before all the people. For which reason the prophet at once heard these words from God about him: "The Lord has taken away your sin; you shall not die."

In the second place, confession must be prompt, for if you do otherwise, you are like one who hides fire in his bosom which burns him, or who hides a thief in his house who robs him. For when man uncovers, God covers, and vice-versa. Hence it is said in Nahum 3: "I shall uncover your shame," that is, swiftly. According to Innocent III, in a decree where he speaks of Jews and Saracens, "three things repay ill their hosts that receive them: a mouse in the satchel, fire in one's bosom, and a snake in one's lap." Spiritually speaking, the mouse is pride, which gnawed to bits all the goods the first angel possessed and made him a devil. This pride, like an evil mother, gave birth to three daughters: vainglory, sloth, and envy, which she sent to our first parents, whose goods they likewise gnawed to pieces. After that, this mother and her daughters destroyed almost the whole world, after the words of Joel 1: "What the cankerworm has left, the bruchus will eat, what the bruchus has left, the locust will eat, and what the locust has left, the rust will eat." The cankerworm grows on vegetables and consumes them, and thus symbolizes pride. The locust, whose name means *longa hasta*, "the far-reaching lance" which strikes everyone, symbolizes vainglory. The bruchus is the young locust before it has wings; it eats up everything where it is and thus symbolizes envy. And the rust, which destroys iron that is not being used, symbolizes sloth. Sec-

quandoque potest, tamen etsi non mordeat, timorem saltem sollicitat, quia  
 55 maius (dicit ipse) est perire non posse quam iuxta periculum non perisse.”  
 De isto autem serpente Genesis 2: “Serpens erat callidior cunctis animanti-  
 bus terre,” scilicet luxuria. Nam per illam fere omne genus hominum subpe-  
 ditatur. Nec aliud restat contra ista tria quam naturam cervi sequi, qui  
 60 postquam pugnando hauserit venenum, velocius properat ad fontem, ubi se  
 balneat, lavat, et refocillat. Verera sic nos ad confessionem oportet  
 festinare et ibi nos ab omni veneno peccati mundare; Psalmista: “Sicut  
 cervus desiderat ad fontes [f. 135] aquarum, ita desiderat anima mea,” etc.  
 Et nota quod natura cervi est quando sagittatur, si evadere potest, [que-  
 rit] statim herbam betonie, cuius natura est secundum medicos ferrum extra-  
 65 here, et sanatur. Sic tu, peccator, cum vulneratus fueris sagitta peccato-  
 rum, queras herbam betonie, hec est illa in qua est remedium idest sacerdo-  
 tem contra peccatum. Ipse enim potest esse betonia tua; [Anglice: “He may  
 be py bote and bete py sinne.”] Et sic sanaberis. Illud etiam debet fieri  
 cito propter multa incomoda que possunt evenire in medio tempore. Videmus  
 70 enim quamplures subtrahi de mundo multis modis mirabilibus et diversis, quia  
 quosdam per ignem, quosdam per aquam, quosdam per homicidium, quos-  
 dam subito, quosdam in lecto mortali, etc. Qui si in peccatis caperentur morta-  
 libus, sine fine condampnarentur, quantumcumque dives, fortis, sciens, aut  
 pulcher, papa, episcopus, imperator, rex, dominus, aut servus. Et ideo iux-  
 75 ta concilium Sapientis, Ecclesiastici 5, “ne tardes converti ad Dominum et  
 ne differas de die in diem; subito enim veniet ira eius, et in tempore vin-  
 dicte disperdet te.”

Unde narratur de quodam fatuo qui multum dominum suum dilexerat.  
 Considerans ergo illum iniuste vivere involutum peccatis multiplicibus,  
 80 cupiens illum ad correctionem festinare, finxit se infirmum et mittens pro  
 domino rogavit si sibi placuit quatinus condendo testamentum suum sibi  
 assistere dignaretur. Quo annuente hec tria legavit: Primo babellum suum  
 senescallo domini sui legavit tamquam maiori fatuo quem umquam vidisset,  
 dicens: “Domine mi, ille miser fatuus pauperes spoliat et multa mala com-  
 85 mittit ut te ditet et placeat. Set certe ex hoc non tantum animam propriam  
 dampnat, imo tuam, eo quod sic facere illum permittas. Dignus est ergo  
 babello tamquam maximus fatuus. Ego enim dictus sum fatuus et tamen nulli  
 noceo. Secundo, magnum discum meum, Anglice *bolle*, lego pincer- [f. 135v]  
 ne tu(o) tamquam fortissimo potatori. Ipse enim numquam cessat a mane usque  
 90 ad vesperam et pluries usque ad mediam noctem cum intransibus, ° exeuntibus,  
 ac etiam permanentibus ciphum levare et nimium potare °. Modo autem tercio  
 lego (inquit) animam meam diabolo ad infernum.” Quod abhorrens dominus et  
 seipsum signans quare sic legavit causam querens. At ille respondens ait:  
 “Quia certus sum quod tu illuc ibis propter iniurias quas hic facis et  
 95 fieri permittis sine correctione; et quia semper hic tecum fui a nativita-

ond, by the fire in one’s bosom we understand the sin of avarice; the more fuel  
 one puts to it, the more it gets kindled, and therefore it can rightly be  
 called an unsatiable fire because it never says, “Enough!” And yet it is  
 written in Proverbs 18: “When the wood fails, the fire will go out.” Third,  
 by the snake in one’s lap we indicate lechery, whose contact must therefore be  
 avoided. Whence Jerome says: “Who has ever slept safely beside a snake? It  
 can bite any time, and if it does not bite, it yet provokes fear, for it is  
 better not to be able to perish than not to have perished in the vicinity of  
 danger.” Of this serpent is said in Genesis 2: “The serpent was more subtle  
 than all the beasts of the earth,” which refers to lechery, for by it nearly  
 all mankind is dominated. Nothing else avails against these three except to  
 follow the natural behavior of the stag. After he has been infected with  
 poison in his fight, he quickly rushes to a wellspring, where he bathes and  
 washes himself and regains his strength. In the same way, we must hasten to  
 confession and cleanse ourselves there from all the poison of sin. As the  
 Psalmist says: “As the hart pants after the fountains, so my soul pants [after  
 you, God].” And notice that it is the nature of a stag, when he has been hit  
 by an arrow and can escape, to look at once for the herb betony, which accord-  
 ing to the physicians has the power to extract iron, and he is healed. You,  
 sinner, must likewise look for this herb betony when you have been wounded by  
 the arrow of sins—which is the herb that gives help against your sin, namely a  
 priest. For he can be your betony; in English: “He can be your medicine and  
 mend your sin.” And in this way you will be healed. But this must be done  
 quickly because of the many hindrances that can arise in the meantime. For we  
 observe that many people are taken from this world in astonishing and diverse  
 ways, some by fire, some by water, some by murder, some by sudden death,  
 some in their deathbed, and so forth. If they are taken in mortal sin, they will be  
 damned forever, no matter how rich, strong, knowledgeable, or beautiful they  
 were, or whether they were pope, bishop, emperor, king, lord, or servant.  
 Therefore, after the counsel of the wise man in Ecclesiasticus 5, “Delay not to  
 be converted to the Lord, and defer it not from day to day; for his wrath comes  
 all of a sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will destroy you.”

There is a story about a fool who loved his lord much. Reflecting on how  
 wrongly his lord was living and how many sins he was involved in, and desiring  
 to prompt him to correct his life, the fool feigned being sick and, sending for  
 his lord, asked him please to be present at his making his last will. In the  
 lord’s presence then he bequeathed three things. First, he gave his bauble to  
 the lord’s seneschal, as to the greatest fool he had ever seen, saying: “My  
 lord, this wretched fool robs the poor and commits many evils in order to  
 enrich and to please you. But surely in this he not only damns his own soul  
 but yours as well, since you allow him to do so. Hence he is worthy of the  
 bauble as the greatest fool. For I am called a fool, and yet do no harm to



te, nec ibi te derelinquam." Cui dominus: "Non sic, Willelme, non sic; quia pro certo meipsum corrigam." Et fatuus: "Ergo, inquit, sanus sum et lego animam meam Deo et omnibus sanctis." Et sic reduxit dominu(m) ad confessionem et vite correctionem.

100 Tercio debet confessio esse vera [et aperta]; Psalmista: "Ex voluntate mea confitebor tibi"; et ideo, ut patet ad <nostrum> exemplum Iosue 7 [de Achor, qui] dixit postquam de anathemate acceperat: "Vere, inquit, peccavi coram Domino et sic feci et sic." Historiam etiam habemus ad hoc 2 Regum ultimo de David, qui postquam [per] Ioab numerasset populum Israel contra  
105 voluntatem Dei. Unde [Dominus] iratus [misi] ex sua electione pestilentiam tribus diebus, in qua a Dan usque Bersabee (septua)ginta milia virorum mortui sunt. Quod videns David dixit ad angelum populum cedentem: "Ego sum, inquit, qui peccavi; ego inique egi. Isti oves sunt, quid fecerunt? Vertatur, obsecro, manus tua contra me." Quibus dictis iuxta concilium prophete  
110 Gaad optulit holocausta Domino, et propiciatus est Dominus.

Set est advertendum, quod dolendum est, quod multi hiis diebus non sic faciunt, set fatue peccata sua excusant et in alios retorquent, et hoc multis modis: aliquando per consue- [f. 136] tudinem, aliquando per societatem, aliquando Deo imputantes. Exemplum primi patet in istis periuranti-  
115 bus qu(i), si super hoc arguantur, respondent: "Libenter me corrigerem, set sic sum assuetus ad huiusmodi iuramenta quod nullo modo me possum retrahere." Et certe ista excusatio fatua est et falsa, primo quia auget culpam, non minuit, secundo quia tu ipse ad illam pessimam consuetudinem te duxisti et nullus alius—certum est, et ideo tu ipse reus es de culpa; tercio, pono  
120 quod tu stares coram iudice et de furto, homicidio, aut ali(o) huiusmodi [fueris] accusatus, et diceres: "Certe, Domine, ita sum assuetus ad illa quod me cohibere non possum"; rogo <quam> bene foret tibi responsio allocata? Certe, per illam teipsum dampnares.

Exemplum secundi, scilicet contra excusantes se per societatem: Quis  
125 enim volens ire ad Terram Sanctam vel <sanctum> Iacobum aut Romam et se associat ire volentibus ad Scociam, nonne fatuus diceretur? Tu enim propolis ire ad Terram Sanctam, idest ad celum. Quid ergo ad te tal(es) [vis] associare quos viam inferni per peccata conspexeris intrasse? Secundo, quomodo fatuus es qui minus caves periculum anime quam corporis! Exemplum:  
130 Si enim videres aliquem intrare flumen et ibi submergi, certus sum quod nulla societas te compelleret illum sequi. Revera multo minus ad peccata quemcumque sequi deberes, si animam tuam diligeres sicut esset iuste diligenda. Unde falsa est hec excusatio, sicut fuit de Adam quando voluit  
135 peccatum suum inponere uxori sue, ut patet Genesis 3: "Mulier, inquit, quam dedisti michi sociam dedit michi, et commedi." Propter hanc excusacionem dampnatus est ad mortem temporalem cum tota posteritate. Et revera si ipse sicut David humiliter dixisset veniam petendo, "Ego sum qui peccavi," etc.,

anyone. Second, I bequeathe my large bowl to your steward as the strongest drinker. For he never ceases, from morning till evening and often until midnight, to raise the cup with all comers and goers and likewise with stayers and to drink overmuch. But in the third place, my soul I bequeathe the devil in hell." The lord shuddered, crossed himself, and wanted to know why he made such a will. And the fool said: "Because I am certain that you will go there for the injustices which you do here and allow to be done without correction. Here I have always been with you since my birth, and there I will not leave you." Then the lord said: "Not so, William, not so. I shall certainly correct my faults."—"Then I am well," said the fool, "and give my soul to God and to all the saints." And thus he led his lord back to confession and to the correction of his life.

In the third place, confession must be truthful and frank; as the Psalmist says: "With my will I shall confess to you." This is shown in an example for us by Achan, in Joshua 7, who said after he had received the curse: "Indeed I have sinned against the Lord and have done thus and thus." We find another biblical story to the same effect in the last chapter of 2 Kings, about David. After he had the people of Israel counted by Joab against God's will, the Lord became angry and sent, at David's choice, a pestilence of three days, in which seventy thousand men died from Dan to Beersheba. When David saw this, he said to the angel who was slaying his people: "It is I who have sinned; I have done wickedly. These are sheep, what have they done? Let your hand, I beseech you, be turned against me." After this, David offered the Lord burnt-offerings, after the counsel of the prophet Gad, and the Lord was reconciled.

But we must realize that unfortunately many people nowadays do not act in this way but rather excuse their sins foolishly and blame them on others, and this in different manners: sometimes they blame their own habit, sometimes society, and sometimes God. An example of the first kind may be found in people who perjure themselves; when they are reproached for this, they say: "I would gladly correct myself, but I am so used to swearing that I can in no way leave it." Surely, such an excuse is foolish and wrong, first because it increases rather than decreases one's sin; second because you yourself have brought yourself to the evil habit and no one else—therefore it is certain that you yourself are responsible for this sin—; and third: let us assume you are standing before a judge and have been accused of theft or murder or something else of the kind, and you were saying, "Certainly, my Lord, I am so used to these that I cannot abstain from them,"—what good would such an argument do you, I ask? Surely, with it you would condemn yourself.

As an example of the second kind, namely blaming one's sin on society: if someone wanted to travel to the Holy Land or Saint James or Rome and joined a group on its way to Scotland, would this person not be called a fool? Now, you propose to travel to the holy land, that is, heaven. Why then do you want to



neque ipse neque posteritas eius mortem gustasset. Tercio, [f. 136v] esto  
 140 quod sic coram iudice aliquo per societatem te (ex)cusaveris, quid tibi  
 eveniret? Revera, suspendium.

Tercio sunt aliqui, et precipue de peccato carnis, qui pessime se  
 excusant [peccatum] in Deum retorquentes. Nam quidam dicunt quod non pos-  
 sunt continere, et sic Deum de iniusticia accusant. Probatio: Si enim Deus  
 aliquid homini precepit quod non potest facere, iam esset iniustus et  
 145 crudelis. Similiter, si hominem dampnaret pro eo quod vitare non potest,  
 factum tyranni esset. Quidam sunt, et maxime muliercule, qu(e) respondent  
 quando queritur ab eis quare sic fecerunt, scilicet quando venter [earum]  
 incipit tumescere et inflari, quod oportuit eas ita facere, nam predestina-  
 tum erat hoc eis ita ante tunicam vel camisiam. Set certe bene posset  
 150 [talibus] responderi sicut quondam quidam frater tali fornicarie respondit:  
 "Vere, filia," dixit ipse, "qui formavit istud sacculum, idest ventrem  
 tuum, pessimus cissor fuit, [for *schamely hyt poket*]." Set a talibus liben-  
 ter scirem utrum voluntarie hoc fecerunt. Si sic, ergo potuerunt hoc non  
 fecisse. Probatio: Quia quod fit libere, sponte potest dimitti; ergo, etc.

155 Est ergo sciendum quod tales sic peccata sua palliantes assimilantur istis  
 falsis questionariis qui ostendendo reliquias suas ostendunt illas in  
 aliquo vase deaurato et lapidibus preciosis perornato, ac eciam in pannis  
 aureis et cercicis involutas, ut saltem sic precise appareant hominibus.  
 Que tamen, ut frequenter, si detegerentur aperte, non invenies nisi ossa  
 160 alicuius iumenti de fovea extracta, fetida et arida ac omni abhominacione  
 digna. Revera sic tales in confessione quando peccata sua deberent aperte  
 ostendere et veraciter, opponunt tot excusaciones, tot velamina, acsi  
 vellent facere de peccatis suis reliquias adorandas, cum tamen pessime  
 fetent coram [f. 137] Deo et angelis. Contra quos ait Augustinus: "Senten-  
 165 cia, inquit, criminum cum defenditur augetur. Facta scelera peccantium  
 tanto maiora incrementa suscipiunt quanto per defencionem multa tolerant."  
 Et ideo dicit idem: "Tu factor es tui peccati et defensor. Quomodo ergo  
 erit Deus liberator? Et ideo, ut ipse sit liberator, esto tu[i] accusator,"  
 et dic cum Psalmista: "Ex voluntate mea confitebor ei." Qui enim facit  
 170 invitus, non ipse facit, set de eo fit. Ideo Ecclesiastici 4 dicitur:  
 "Fili, conserva tempus et ne confundaris dicere verum pro anima tua."

Unde narratur de quodam in carcere existente et sciente se non posse  
 liberari nisi prius tria verba veritatis secundum modum regionis diceret.  
 Ducto ergo coram iudice ait primo: "Sum hic," et respondit iudex: "Verum  
 175 est." Et ille secundo dixit: "Doleo quod veni huc." "Credo," inquit iudex,  
 "quod verum dicis." Et ille tercio ait: "Si semel evadere potero, numquam  
 gratis redibo." Et hiis dictis liberatus est, quia ter verum dixerat. Reve-  
 ra sic quilibet peccator in carcere diaboli ligatus per peccata liberari  
 non potest nisi tria verba veritatis diceret in confessione. Dicat ergo

join people whom you have seen enter the way to hell with their sins? Second,  
 how foolish you are when you guard less against danger to your soul than  
 to your body! For example: If you saw someone jump into a river and drown, I  
 am sure no sense of fellowship would compel you to follow him. Much less then  
 should you follow someone else into sin, if you love your soul as it should be  
 loved by right. This excuse therefore is wrong, as was Adam's when he wanted  
 to blame his wife for his sin by saying, in Genesis 3, "The woman, whom you  
 gave me to be my companion, gave it to me, and I ate." For that excuse he was  
 condemned to bodily death with all his offspring. If he had humbly said, "It  
 is I who have sinned," and so forth, as David did, and asked for forgiveness,  
 neither he nor his offspring would have tasted death. And finally, if you were  
 to excuse yourself before some judge by thus blaming society, what would you  
 get? The gallows, for certain.

Third, there are some people who wickedly excuse themselves by blaming  
 God for their sin, especially their sin of the flesh. For some say they just  
 cannot be continent, and thereby accuse God of injustice. Because if God has  
 commanded man to do something which he cannot do, God would be unjust and  
 cruel. And likewise, if he were to condemn man for what he cannot avoid, he  
 would act like a tyrant. There are some people, especially young women, who,  
 when they are asked why they did it when their belly begins to grow and swell,  
 answer that they had to because it was foreordained for them "before tunic or  
 shirt." But surely one could well reply to them as once a friar said to such a  
 harlot: "Truly, my daughter, he who made that bag, your belly, this way was a  
 terrible tailor, for it pokes out shamefully!" Further, I would simply ask  
 them if they did this willingly. If so, then they could have not done it.  
 Because, what one does freely can willingly be left undone; therefore, and so  
 on. We should thus know that people who veil their sins in this fashion are  
 like these false pardoners, who show their relics in some golden vessel that is  
 decorated with precious gems, or else wrapped in cloths of gold and silk, so  
 that they may look truly precious before the people. But as it often happens,  
 when they open them up, you will find nothing but the bones from a farm animal  
 that have been pulled out of a ditch, stinking and dried up and worthy of every  
 abomination. In the same way, when such people ought to show their sins  
 frankly and truthfully in confession, they put so many excuses around them  
 like wrappers, as if they wanted to make of their sins relics to be worshipped,  
 whereas in truth they stink horribly before God and his angels. Against such  
 people Augustine says: "When the punishment for a crime is appealed, it  
 grows worse. The evil deeds of sinners increase, the more they are tolerated  
 by being excused." And therefore Augustine says: "You are the agent of your sin  
 and its defender. How then will God free you from it? That he may free you,  
 then, be an accuser of yourself and say with the Psalmist: 'With my will I  
 shall confess to him.' For he who acts against his will does not act but is

180 primo "Sum hic," hoc est, sum hic humiliter et fideliter fatendo peccata  
que commisi. Ego sum ille qui peccavi et non alius. Secundo dicat, "Doleo  
quod huc veni," quasi diceret: doleo per veram cordis contricionem quod  
talia commisi per que Deum offendi, unde huc venire oportet. Dicat tercio:  
185 "Si semel evadere potero," etc., scilicet mundatus de commissis per virtu-  
tem confessionis et contricionis, "numquam gratis huc redibo," quia pro  
preteritis satisfaciam et cavebo a futuris. Et certe si sic feceris, a  
carcere peccati liber evades.

Quarto dico oportet quod confessio sit cum amara contricione, non cum  
vana cachinnacione. De qua amaritudine quia sufficienter dictum est supra,  
190 capitulo proximo de contricione, ideo hic leviter transeo.

[f. 137v] Est tamen advertendum quod plures sunt condiciones et cir-  
cumstancie tangentes peccata, que bene tam a confessore quam a confitente  
oportet considerari. Et hec sunt, videlicet ut patet per versus:

195 Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando,  
Quilibet observet anime medicamina dando.

Verbi gracia: Quando aliquis enim venit ad confessionem, debet confessor  
considerare et ponderare primo quis est ille qui tale peccatum commisit, si  
clericus aut laicus, dives vel pauper, senex aut iuvenis aut puer, quia  
quanto status dignior, tanto lapsus gravior. Secundo debet considerare quid  
200 sit peccatum in se et secundum quantitatem vel qualitatem procedere. Ter-  
cio, ubi commisit tale peccatum, (ut si) gracia exempli fuerit (periurium),  
si in loco sacro vel non, et secundum hoc procedere. Quarto, quibus auxili-  
is tale peccatum committitur, quia sicut dictum est supra, quanto gradus  
205 alior, tanto delictum gravius. Quinto, cur hoc facit, aut ex propria  
malicia aut necessitate et indigencia, sicut aliquando pauperes necessitate  
compulsi furantur victualia et huiusmodi, quod non facerent si aliunde  
haberent. Sexto, quomodo, vel hominem occidendo vel domos frangendo vel  
ecclesias violando. Septimo, quando, hoc est, si in tempore sacro, puta  
210 diebus festivis vel tempore missarum et huiusmodi. Et secundum hoc procede-  
re debent absolvendo et penitencias inponendo. Et nota quod plures sunt  
circumstancie peccatorum adhuc considerande et ponderande utrobique, ut  
patet in hiis versibus:

215 Quis, quid, ubi, quibus auxiliis, cur, quomodo, quando.  
Aggravat ordo, locus, persona, sciencia, tempus,  
Sexus, condicio, numerus, mora, copia, causa,  
Et modus, et culpa, status alt(us), lucta pusilla.

Expone ut placet.

Si ergo ut dictum est fuerit confessio tua, revera tante virtutis est

acted on." Therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus 4: "Son, observe the time  
and be not ashamed to say the truth for your soul."

There is a story about someone who was in jail and knew that he could not  
get free unless he would, after the fashion of that country, say three words of  
truth. When he was led before the judge, he said the first, "I am here," and  
the judge replied, "That is true." Then he said the second: "I regret that I  
have come here."—"I believe," said the judge, "that you speak the truth."  
And in the third place he said: "If I can get away, I'll never come back of my  
own." And after these words he was set free, because he had spoken the truth  
three times. In the same way, whatever sinner is bound by his sins in the  
devil's prison cannot get free unless he says three true words in confession.  
Let him then say first, "I am here," that is: I am here to confess humbly and  
faithfully the sins I have committed. I am the one who has sinned, and no one  
else. Second, let him say, "I regret that I have come here," as if to say: I  
regret through true contrition of heart that I have committed such things by  
which I have offended God, wherefore I have to come here. And third, "If I can  
get away," and so on, that is: once I have been cleansed of my sins through the  
power of confession and contrition, "I will never come back here of my own,"  
for I will do penance for my past sins and beware of them in the future. If you  
do thus, you will certainly go free of the prison of sin.

In the fourth place I say that confession must be accompanied by bitter  
contrition, not by vain laughter. This bitterness I pass over now, for I spoke  
of it sufficiently earlier, in the preceding chapter on contrition.

But we must realize that there are many conditions and circumstances  
relating to sins which must be taken into consideration by both confessor and  
penitent. They are, as shown in these verses:

Who, what, where, with what help, and why and how and when—  
Check these when you try to give medicine to a soul.

For instance, when someone comes to confession, his confessor must consider  
and weigh, first, who it is that committed that sin: whether a cleric or a layman, a  
rich person or a poor one, an old man, youth, or child, for the higher his  
status, the more grave his fall. Second, he must consider the nature of the  
sin and weigh its quantity and quality. Third, where the penitent has com-  
mitted that sin: if, for instance, it was swearing, whether he did it in a holy  
place or not, and weigh it accordingly. Fourth, with what help he has commit-  
ted that sin, for as I have already said, the higher his rank, the more grievous  
his fault. Fifth, why, that is, whether out of his own wickedness, or  
under compulsion, or in need, as poor people are sometimes compelled by their  
need to steal food and such things, which they would not do if they otherwise  
had what they needed. Sixth, how: whether by killing a man or breaking into  
houses or violating churches. Seventh, when: if at a holy time, such as feast

220 quod, si plura commississet quam aliquis [f. 138] vivens et omnia contra te  
 diabolus in libro confusionis reportasset, omnia deleterentur et nomen tuum  
 cum iustis ascriberetur. Unde narratur in *Vita beati Bernardi* quod quidam  
 clericus multo tempore lubrico vixit set tandem contritus ad sanctum virum  
 pro confessione accessit, et ita suam maliciam detestabatur quod in tantum  
 225 fletum prorupit quod nullo modo loqui potuit. Cuius contritionem attendens  
 sanctus precepit ut in cedula, ex quo loqui non potuit, peccata sua scribe-  
 ret et sibi traderet. Quod et fecit. Cum ergo sanctus Bernardus illa legere  
 vellet, omnia deleta invenit. Si ergo in libro sancti peccata confessa et  
 contrita sic erant deleta, quanto magis scriptura diaboli. Et ideo hoc  
 [est] quod dicitur Ezechielis 13: "Convertimini et agite penitentiam ab  
 230 omnibus inquinamentis vestris, et non erit in vobis iniquitas."

3 hool . . . sorowyng] *the two English phrases together and introduced with anglice*  
 B1.W.—*Text from R. Verse 46, in B1.B3.E.Go1.Jo.L2.L3.LC.Sp.V.W1. 6 eius] illius*  
 O. 9 si] sicut O. 10 Nam] iam C. 12 debet] oportet O. 15 continuo] continue O.  
 24 cum(3)] om O. 27 Dominus] deus O. 29 confessio] om O. 33 quodam] quadam  
 O. 36 et] om O. 46 signat] designat O. 49 inflammatur] inflammantur C. 67–  
 68 Anglice . . . sinne] *text from W. See Verses, pp. 203–4. The English is rendered as*  
*nam potest extrahere a vlnneribus anime sagittas peccatorum M. 68 Illud] istud O.*  
 69 possunt] possent M.R; W? 70 enim] autem O. multis] om O. 81 sibi placuit]  
 placeret O. 83 sui] om O. 89 tuo] tue C.M.W. 90 intransitibus] add et O. 91 potare]  
 add non cessat C. 92 diabolo] om O. 93 respondens ait] respondit O. 95 fieri] facere  
 O. 97 meipsum] om M.W; me R. 98 dominum] dominus C. 101 nostrum] verum  
 C. 101–102 de . . . qui] om C.M.W. 105 Dominus] om C.M.W. misit] om  
 C.M.W. 106 septuaginta] octoginta C. 115 qui] quod C. 118 illam] istam O.  
 120 alio] aliud C.M.W. 121 illa] ista O. 122 quam] non C. 122–123 allocata] ad hoc  
 quod M; allegata R. 125 sanctum] ad C. 126 ad] versus O. 127 ad(2)] om O. tales]  
 talibus C. vis] om C.W. 135 hanc] quam O. 139 excusaveris] accusaveris C; ex-  
 cusares R. 146 que] qui C. 147 scilicet] om O. 149 eis] illis O. ita] om O.  
 151 sacculum] add hoc modo O. idest] scilicet O. 152 for . . . poket] om C; etc M;  
*text from R. See Verses, pp. 205–206. Set] secundo O. 160 et] om O. 162 opponunt]*  
*apponunt O. 164 quos] add bene O. 167 idem] augustinus O. 179 verba veritatis]*  
*vera M.R; verba W. 180 est] add ego O. 193 ut . . . versus] om O. 196 venit] venerit*  
*O. 198 vel] aut O. 201 ut si] et sic C.W; et si M. periurium] parvi rei C.W; in re*  
*M. 203 committitur] fecit M; commisit R.W. supra] om O. 206 victualia] add focalia*  
*O. 208 in] om O. 216 altus] alta C. 225 precepit] add ei O. 229 est] om C.R.*  
 230 in] om O.

days or during Mass and the like. And then the confessor must proceed to ab-  
 solve and give penances according to these circumstances. But notice that in  
 both acts there are still several circumstances of sins that must be considered  
 and weighed, such as are listed in the following verses:

Who, what, where, with what help, and why and how and when.  
 Orders add weight, as does place, and person, knowledge, and time,  
 Sex and complexion, number and time, occasion and cause,  
 Further its manner and shame, high status, too little grief.

Explain this as you see fit.

If then, as I have said, your confession is bitter, it has such power that,  
 even if you had sinned more than any person alive and the devil were to  
 write down all your sins against you in his book of condemnation, they would  
 all be deleted and your name would be written with the just. For this reason,  
 the *Life of Blessed Bernard* tells of a cleric who had been unchaste for a long  
 time but at last repented and came to the saint to make his confession. He de-  
 tested his wickedness so much that he broke into such violent weeping that he  
 could not talk in any way. As the saint noticed his contrition, he asked him,  
 since he could not talk, to write his sins on a slip of parchment and give that  
 to him. This he did. But when Saint Bernard wanted to read it, he found  
 everything deleted. If, then, sins that were confessed and repented were thus  
 deleted in the book of a holy man, how much more will this be the case with  
 the writing of the devil. Therefore, this is what is said in Ezekiel 18: "Be  
 converted and do penance for all your iniquities, and your iniquity shall not  
 be."

13–16 Isidore, *Etym.* XI.iii.34. 23 Ps. 31.5. 27–28 2 Sam. 12.13. 32 Nah. 3.5.  
 34–36 *Decretals* 5.6.13 (2:776). 41–43 Joel 1.4. 51 Prov. 26.20. 53–54 Cf.  
 Jerome, *Contra Vigilantium* 16 (PL 23:368). 55 Jerome, *Ep.* 117 3 (CSEL 55:426).  
 56–57 Gen. 3.1. 61–62 Ps. 41.2. 75–77 Ecclus. 5.8. 78–99 For analogues to this  
 story, see Wenzel, "The Wisdom of the Fool," in *The Wisdom of Poetry. Essays in Early*  
*English Literature in Honor of Morton W. Bloomfield*, ed. Larry D. Benson and Siegfried  
 Wenzel (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1982), pp. 225–240, 307–314. 100–101 Ps. 27.7. 102–  
 103 Josh. 7.20. 103–110 2 Sam. 24. 134–135 Gen. 3.12. 137 2 Sam. 24.17.  
 164–166 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 139 9 (CC 40:2017). 167–170 Augustine, *En. in Ps.*  
 68 I.19 (CC 39:916). 169 Ps. 27.7. 171 Ecclus. 4.23. 172–177 Tubach 2233. The  
 story also occurs in Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, pp. 157–158, and British Library, MS  
 Harley 7322, fol. 36v. 189–190 *FM* V.vii. 194–195 *In* 16108 and also 16099–102;  
*Prov* 25429a, 25431–32, 25338, and others. 214–216 *In* 680; *Prov* 719. 221–  
 226 Tubach 1202a. 229–230 Cf. Ezek. 18.30.

V.xiii QUE MALA EVENIUNT CONFITERI  
DIFFERENTIBUS

[C]irca autem mala que eveniunt confiteri differentibus est sciendum quod si copia sacerdotis ydonei haberi poterit et negligenter omittit, hec inconveniencia sequuntur: Primo, talis iniuriatur Deo et ipsum contempnit; secundo, oneri importabili se sub(i)cit; tercio, eternam penam sibi acquirit. Precepit enim Dominus homini peccatori illud Luce 5: "Vade, ostende te sacerdoti." Contrarium ergo faciens preceptum eius contempnit et per consequens ipsi s(umm)e iniuriatur. Exemplum: Si quis enim contra regem et eius leges et precepta contra(ir)et unde iuste iudicium mortis subiret, si tunc rex ex sua bonitate iudicium differret et illum ad satisfactionem expectaret, necnon et de satisfaciendi facilitate ipsum cercionaret, nonne regi iniuriosus et sibi ipsi dampnosus esset si ad satisfactionem venire differret? quasi dicat, omnino. Ita sic in proposito. Unde Gregorius in *Moralibus*: "Quisquis enim delinquit et vivit, idcirco [eum] divina dispensatio tollerat ut ab iniquitate [f. 138v] compescat"; Romanorum (2): "Ignoras quoniam Dei benignitas te adducit?" Item, quia tempus satisfaciendi non ipsius offendentis, set Domini satisfactionem (re)quirentis. Contrarium ergo faciens Domino iniuriatur. Iudith 8 dicitur: "Posuistis vos tempus visitacionis Domini et in arbitrio vestro diem constituistis ei. Et non est ille sermo qui misericordiam provocet set potius qui iram excitat et furorem accendit." De quo conqueritur Salvator Apocalipsis: "Dedi sibi tempus ut peniteret, et non vult." Patet ergo quod peccator qui (tempus) sibi concessum a Deo ad merendum abutitur quod ipsum Deum manifeste contempnit et iniuriatur.

Set rogo quid dicemus de talibus qui fecte confitentur in Quadragesima et statim post Pascha "sicut canis ad vomitum" sic et ipsi redeunt ad peccatum? Revera, quantum in illis est iterum Filium Dei crucifigunt. Probatio: Ipse enim Filius Dei pro peccatis nostris mortuus est ut nos offerret Deo Patri mortificatos in carne, vivificatos autem spiritu. Set tales recidivantes quod ipse per mortem venerat mortificare gratis econtra nituntur reviviscere; ergo etc.; Hebreorum 6: "Rursum crucifigentes Filium Dei." Solent enim homines in odium arma habere quibus parentes eorum interfecti sunt. Sic deberent homines peccatum pro quo primus parens et Christus occisus est. Set timeo quod est iam de multis sicut de vipera. Volens copulari cum lampreda, set non potest dum habet secum venenum, quod intelligens in quodam loco secreto venenum suum evomit et sic copulatur ei, set transacta copula venenum resumit. Revera sic multi volentes copulari Christo in Paschate evomant venenum in confessione, set postea redeunt ad illud quod emiserunt; Proverbiorum 30: "Sicut canis qui revertitur ad vomitum, sic inpudens qui iterat stulticiam suam."

V.xiii WHAT EVILS COME TO THOSE WHO DELAY  
CONFESSION

With regard to the bad consequences of delaying confession we must know that, if a competent priest is available and one neglects to confess, the following evil consequences will occur: first, such a person offends and scorns God; second, he places himself under an unbearable burden; and third, he derives eternal punishment for himself. For the Lord has given sinful man this command of Luke 5: "Go and show yourself to the priest." If one therefore does the opposite, one scorns God's commandment and consequently gives him the greatest offense. For example: if one were to act against one's king and his laws and commands and thereby justly received the death sentence, and the king then out of his goodness deferred the sentence and expected one to make satisfaction and in addition granted one the opportunity to do so, would it not be an offense against the king and harmful to oneself if one delayed to make satisfaction? Surely so. The same is true in respect to confession. Whence Gregory says in his *Moral Commentary*: "If anyone sins and lives, God's tolerance allows him to live for the purpose of tearing him away from his iniquity"; Romans 2: "Do you not know that God's benignity leads you to penance?" Further, the time for making satisfaction is not set by the one who offends but by God who demands satisfaction. If one does the opposite, one offends God. In Iudith 8 it is said: "You have set a time for the visitation of the Lord, and you have appointed him a day according to your judgment. This is not a word that may draw down mercy, but rather that may stir up wrath and enkindle indignation." Our Savior complains at this in Revelation: "I gave her a time that she might do penance, but she will not." Thus it is clear that a sinner who does not use the time God has given him to gain merits openly scorns and offends God.

But, I ask, what shall we say of those who pretend to confess in Lent and right after Easter return to their sin "as a dog returns to his vomit"? Verily, as much as it lies in them, they crucify the Son of God a second time. To prove this: the Son of God has died for our sins that he might offer us to God the Father dead in the flesh but alive in the spirit. But those who slide back try, on the contrary, to make alive again what he had come willingly to stifle through his death; therefore, etc.; Hebrews 6: "Crucifying again the Son of God." It is usual that people abhor the weapons with which their parents were killed. In the same way should all men hate sin, through which our first parent and Christ were killed. But I fear that nowadays many act like the snake that wants to copulate with the lamprey but cannot do it as long as it has its poison. When it understands this, it spits out its poison in some secret place, and then they copulate. But afterwards it takes its poison up again. In the same way, many who wish to be joined with Christ at Easter spit

- 40 Et nota: Licet utraque sit mala, [f. 139] scilicet peccare et post confessionem recidivare, [ultimum tamen peius est] iuxta illud Petri 2: "Melius est non cognoscere viam iusticie quam post agnitionem Petrorum converti." Et ideo Ecclesiastici 2 dicitur: "Ve peccatori qui ingreditur terram duabus viis." Due enim vie posite sunt coram homine, una scilicet
- 45 que ducit ad vitam—illa scilicet quam homo ingreditur cum adheret Deo per bona opera, de qua scribitur: "Hec est via, ambulate in ea"—; alia est que ducit ad mortem, de qua Proverbiorum 24: "Est via que videtur homini recta; novissima autem eius ducunt ad mortem." Et istam viam ingreditur homo cum a Deo recesserit et diabolo per peccatum inheret.
- 50 Unde notandum quod dolendum est iam de aliquibus sicut fuit de quodam cane exeunte in quodam campo, de quo narratur quod cum audisset duo cornua in diversis locis ad convivia invitancia, modo secutus est unum, modo aliud, et sic tota die discurrens tandem nocte adveniente utroque convivio privatus est. Revera sic est de multis qui in bonis diu stare non possunt.
- 55 Existunt autem hii in agro dum manent in hoc mundo, ubi duo cornua audiunt ad diversa convivia invitancia, quorum unum invitat ad celum iuxta illud Matthei 2: "Agite penitenciam, appropinquabit enim regnum celorum." Et certe illud cornu multi audiunt et sequuntur dum peccata confitentur et penitenciam agunt. Set postea audiunt aliud cornu quod invitat ad carnale desiderium, cuius sonus est illud Sapientie 3: "Venite, fruamur bonis que sunt et utamur omni creatura (in iuventute), vino precioso et unguento impleamur, et non pretereat nos flos temporis nostri." Istud autem cornu multi audiunt et sequuntur dum opera penitencie dimittunt et ad peccata redeunt, et sic per duplicem viam vadunt per totam diem, idest vitam [f.
- 65 139v] presentem, et quietem in bono statu non invenient, sicut habetur Ecclesiastici 3: "Cor ingrediens duas vias non habebit requiem." Et ideo adveniente nocte mortis utroque convivio carebunt, quia cum anima exierit de corpore, ad infernum descendunt celesti gaudio privati et a carnali desiderio subtracti. Et ideo via sapientie est quod homo, quando de statu culpe profectus fuerit, ad illum non redire set in statu gracie firmiter se tenere; unde illud Ecclesiastici 5: "Esto firmus in via Domini et in veritate sensus tui."
- 70 Unde contrarium facientes, ut dictum est, quantum in ipsis est iterum Deum crucifigunt. Et ideo bene assimilantur paralitico qui cito ridet et cito post in fletum prorumpitur. Sic multi visa Christi passione aliquando compaciuntur et compuncti peccata detestantur, set cito post cum aliqua carnis delectacio eis surrexerit, mox sui Creatoris obliti iterum in dissolutionem prolabantur. Unde Gregorius in quadam omelia: "Multi, inquit, sunt cum verbum contra luxuriam audiunt, pollutiones carnis de cetero perpetrare non appetunt, verum eciam perpetratas erubescunt. Set mox ut carnis species
- 80 eorum oculis appareat, sic mens ad desiderium rapitur, acsi adhuc contra

out their poison in confession, but afterwards they return to what they have cast off; Proverbs 30: "As a dog that returns to his vomit, so is the fool that repeats his folly."

And notice that although both are evil: to sin, and after confession to slide back, yet is the latter worse, according to the words of Peter 2: "For it is better not to know the way of justice than after knowing it to turn back." And thus it is said in Ecclesiasticus 2: "Woe to the sinner who goes on the earth two ways." For two ways are put before man, one that leads to life—that is the one man takes when he clings to God by his good deeds, of which is written: "This is the way, walk in it"—; the other that leads to death, of which is said in Proverbs 24: "There is a way that seems good to a man; but its ends lead to death." This way one takes when one withdraws from God and clings to the devil by sin.

We should therefore notice that some people unfortunately act like a dog who went out into the field. He is said to have heard two horns from different sides inviting him to dinner. Now he ran after one, now after the other, and after he had run about all day long, when it got to be night at last he had neither dinner. The same way it goes with many who cannot follow a good life for long. As long as they live in this world, they are in a field where they hear two horns inviting them to different banquets. One invites them to heaven, according to Matthew 2: "Do penance, for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." Certainly, many hear this horn and follow it when they confess their sins and do penance. But then they hear another horn that invites them to fleshly delight, whose sound are the words of Wisdom 3: "Come, let us enjoy the good things that are present, let us use all creatures in our youth; let us fill ourselves with costly wine and ointments, and let not the flower of our age pass us by." Many hear this horn and follow it when they abandon their works of penance and return to their sins. And thus, throughout the whole day, that is, this life, they follow a double path and will find no rest in a good life, as is said in Ecclesiasticus 3: "A heart that goes two ways shall have no rest." So, when the night of death comes, they will fail to reach either banquet, for when the soul leaves the body, they go down to hell, deprived of the joy of heaven and pulled away from the delights of the flesh. Therefore it is the way of wisdom that, once one has come out of the state of sin, one does not return to it but rather remains firmly in the state of grace; hence the words of Ecclesiasticus 5: "Be steadfast in the way of the Lord and in the truth of your judgment."

And so, as I have said, people who do the opposite crucify God a second time, as much as it lies in them. They are much like a paralytic who easily laughs and then breaks into weeping. In the same way, when they see Christ's Passion, many people sometimes have compassion and, feeling remorse, detest their sins; but shortly afterwards, when some fleshly delight steals into them,

hec eadem desideria nichil sit deliberatum.” Et sequitur: “Sepe enim contra culpas compungimur, et tamen post fletum ad culpas redimus. In cuius figura Balaam Israelitici populi tabernacula contemplandus flevit et eisdem in morte similem fieri deposcit dicens: ‘Anima mea moriatur morte iustorum, et fiant novissima mea horum similia,’ Numeri. Set mox ut hora compunctionis transivit, in avaricie culpam exarcit. Nam propter promissa munera in mortem populi concilium dedit, cuius morti se similem [fieri] prius peroptavit et [f. 140] quod planxerat oblitus [est] cum extinguere voluit quod per avariciam ardebat.” Hec ille. Tales ergo de morte Christi non compaciuntur, set sua peccata iterando Deum secundum posse iterum crucifigunt, et ideo brutis animalibus peiores inveniuntur. Bos enim in prato si alterius sanguinem aspexerit, statim quasi compaciendo magnum rugitum emittit, ut sic alia animalia ad hoc faciendum provocet. Set peccator non sic, set peccata peccatis addens et iterans mortem Christi et sanguinem renovare non erubescit; Petri 1: “Agite penitenciam qualis agitur in Ecclesia,” etc.

Secundum autem malum quod homini confiteri differenti evenit est quod oneri importabili se subicit. Exemplum in *Vitas Patrum* de illo quem vidit beatus Arsenius tale onus lignorum colligentem quod levare non potuit, unde quanto pluries [illud] levare temptavit et minus potuit, semper tamen plura ligna apposuit, quousque ex nimio pondere oppressus cecidit. Cum ergo super hoc beatus Arsenius miraretur, dixit sibi angelus: “Tales sunt peccatores qui ad(dend)o peccata peccatis onus importabile colligunt et tamen plura apponere non desistunt quousque ad mortem ab illis opprimuntur.”

Et nota quod onera portantes tria solent considerare ad suum laborem necessaria: oneris gravitatem, terrarum distanciam, et mercedis quantitatem. Quoad primum nota quod onus peccati ita est fastidiosum quod eius gravitas si bene consideretur numquam ad portandum sumeretur. Nam tante ponderositatis est quod celum una hora illud portare non poterit nec sustinere— et tamen celum propter suam fortitudinem dicitur firmamentum—; Luke 10: “Videbam Sathanam sicut fulgur de celo cadentem,” et in Psalmo: “Sicut onus grave gravate sunt super me,” scilicet peccata. Quantum ad se(cund)um, scilicet quamdiu [usquequo] onus portabat, [f. 140v] si bene consideraret, (numquam illud) ad portandum assumeret, quia nisi Deus de sua misericordia de collo peccatoris deponat illud, portantem in infernum demergat, ubi in pena sine fine remaneret; “laborabit in eternum et vivet adhuc in finem,” etc. Simea enim cum duos fetus habeat, quando fugatur a venatoribus, quem magis diligit inter brachia portat, set alium circa collum appendit. Cum autem venator illam approximat, magis dilectum compellitur proicere, set aliu(s) in dorso velit nolit secum remanet. Unde pre gravedine eius et pondere cum illo fetu capitur a venatore et detinetur et cathenatur. Revera sic in proposito. Peccator habet duos fetus, scilicet bona temporalia, que magis diligit et ideo illa quasi in brachiis amplexatur et deportat. Set

they forget their Maker and fall again into dissoluteness. Therefore, Gregory says in a homily: “Many, when they hear a warning against lechery, do not wish to commit any more unclean sins of the flesh but even are ashamed of those they have committed. But as soon as the beauty of the flesh appears before their eyes, their mind is drawn to desire, as if they had never made any decision against these desires.” And he continues: “We are often deeply sorry for our sins, and yet after our tears we return to sin. As a type of this, Balaam wept when he looked at the tents of the people of Israel and begged that in his death he might become like them, saying in Numbers: ‘Let my soul die the death of the just, and my last end be like them.’ But as soon as the hour of his compunction was over, he burned in the sin of avarice. For because of the gifts that had been promised him, he gave his advice to bring death on the same people to whose death he had earlier wanted to become similar, and he forgot that he had wept when he did not want to extinguish what was burning through his greed.” Such people have no compassion for Christ’s death but, by repeating their sins, crucify God again, insofar as it lies within them, and thus they are found to be worse than brute animals. For if a bull in the field sees the blood of another bull, he at once gives a loud roar as if out of compassion, so that he incites other animals to do the same. But a sinner does not act like that; rather, by repeating his sins and adding new ones, he does not blush to cause Christ’s death and bloodshedding again; Peter 1: “Do penance, as it is done in the Church,” etc.

The second evil consequence of delaying one’s confession is that one thereby places oneself under an unbearable burden. We find an example in *The Lives of the Fathers*, in the man whom Blessed Arsenius saw gather such a load of wood that he could not lift it. Every time he tried to lift it and could not do so, he put some more sticks on it, until at last he was crushed by the weight. As Blessed Arsenius marveled at that, an angel said to him: “Such are those sinners who add sins upon sins and gather an unbearable burden, and still they do not stop putting on more until they are crushed to death by them.”

Notice that people who carry burdens usually consider three things that are necessary for their work: the weight of their burden, the distance they have to go, and the amount of their compensation. As to the first, notice that the burden of sin is so forbidding that, if only one considered well its weight, one would never stoop to carry it. For it is so heavy that heaven could not carry or bear it for a single hour—and yet heaven is called “firmament” because of its strength—; Luke 10: “I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven”; and in the Psalm: “As a heavy burden they are become heavy upon me,” that is, my sins. As to the second consideration, how far he is to carry the burden, if one were to consider this well, one would not want to take it up at all, for unless God in his mercy takes that burden from the sinner’s neck, it will thrust its carrier into hell, where he will remain in torment without



fetus quem portat in dorso, quem minus diligit, est peccatum. Cum ergo  
 125 venator, idest mors, que omnes insequitur, venerit, compellitur terrena  
 proicere et mundo relinquere, set fetus peccati super dorsum pendens pro-  
 icere non potest. Et ideo cum illo capitur et ligatur adeo ut cum illis ad  
 modum simee cachinnando et saltando in inferno modo suo ludit. Quantum ad  
 130 tercium, considerare debet que merces pro labore promittitur. Et respondet  
 Apostolus Romanorum 6: “Stipendia peccati mors.” Si enim ligaretur aliquod  
 pondus ad collum hominis et esset bene alte in aere et ad terram caderet,  
 numquam profundius quam ad terram deveniret. Set si peccatum mortale in  
 collo dependeat et cum illo moriente cadat, non tantum ad terram deveniret,  
 imo usque ad infernum penetraret. Et ideo huiusmodi onus per confessionem  
 135 abiciamus et per penitentiam animam cum peccatis oneratam alleviamus. Dicit  
 enim Crisostomus omelia 3 in *Imperfecto*: “Confessionem, inquit, puta esse  
 digestionem [f. 141] inpuritatis et spurcie que intus latent inclusa.”

Tercium malum quod evenit confiteri differentibus est adquisicio eter-  
 ne pene. Unde narrat Beda *De gestis Anglorum* libro 5, capitulo 13, de  
 140 quodam milite qui fuit cum Kynredo rege Merciorum, quem rex multum dilexit  
 quia probus in armis extiterat valde. Ad quem infirmatum cum rex venisset  
 hortans eum confiteri et penitere, respondit: “Non pro tunc,” ne forte alii  
 dicerent quod fecerat pre timore mortis, set quod sanus voluerat. Igitur  
 morbo ingravescente, cum rex iterum intrasset ad illum informandum ut  
 145 prius, ipse miserabili voce clama[vi]: “Quid huc venisti? Paulo ante te  
 intraverunt duo iuvenes pulcherrimi, quorum unus se posuit ad capud meum et  
 alius ad pedes, et unus illorum libellum michi parvissimum porrexit, in quo  
 omnia bona que umquam feci scripta erant satis pauca. Et codicem accepe-  
 runt, nichil michi dicentes recesserunt. Subito ergo postea exercitus demo-  
 150 num venit et domum implevit, quorum unus omnium terribilior protulit librum  
 horrende visionis et pondere importabilis, quem iussit michi deferri ad  
 legendum. In quo inveni omnia peccata mea, non solum que feceram opere vel  
 verbo, set etiam tenuissima cogitatione ° cogitavi, manifeste teterrimis  
 litteris. Dixitque ad iuvenes predictos: ‘Quid hic facitis? Scitis autem  
 155 certissime quod hic noster est.’ Et responderunt illi: ‘Verum est, accipite  
 eum.’ Quo dicto disparuerunt statim surgentes. Tunc duo demones cum duobus  
 vomeribus, *cultris*, ignitis percusserunt me, unus ad capud et alius ad  
 pedes, qui etiam modo cum maximo tormento eripiunt viscera mea. [f. 141v]  
 Cum ergo ad se invicem perveniant et vomeres sibi mutuo obviaverint, moriar  
 160 et ad infernum deducar.” Et sic miser inconfessus in omni desperatione de-  
 functus est.

Consimiliter narratur de quadam virgine devota in reputatione omnium  
 et sancta, que tamen infirmitate preventa moriebatur. Post cuius sepulturam  
 accidit cito post quod iacente sacerdote confessore eius in ecclesia vocem  
 165 audivit in hiis verbis lugentem sic:

end; “he shall labor forever and live to the end,” etc. When a monkey who has  
 two young ones flees from the huntsmen, she carries the one she loves more in  
 her arms and puts the other around her neck. But when the huntsman comes  
 close, she is forced to throw off the one she loves more, while the other  
 willy-nilly remains on her back. And because of its burden and hindrance, she  
 is caught by the huntsman together with her offspring and held fast and put on  
 a chain. As regards our subject: a sinner also has two young ones. The first  
 are his worldly possessions, which he loves more and therefore holds and car-  
 ries in his arms, so to speak. But the young one that he carries on his back,  
 which he loves less, is his sin. Then, when the huntsman comes, which is  
 death, who pursues us all, he is forced to throw away his earthly goods and  
 leave them to the world; but his offspring of sin that hangs on his back he can-  
 not throw off. And so he is caught with it and bound by the devil, who will  
 play with them in his fashion like a monkey, laughing and jumping about in  
 hell. As to the third consideration, he should reflect on what pay he is pro-  
 mised for his work. In answer the Apostle will say, Romans 6: “The wages  
 of sin is death.” For if a weight were tied to a person’s neck and he were  
 high up in the air and fell to the earth, he would not fall any lower than the  
 earth. But if a mortal sin hangs on his neck and he dies and falls with it, he  
 would not just fall to the earth but sink all the way to hell. Therefore, let  
 us cast off this burden through confession and lighten our soul that is weight-  
 ed down with sins by doing penance. For Chrysostom says in Homily 3 of his  
*Imperfect Work*: “Think of confession as digesting the impurity and filth that  
 lie hidden enclosed in you.”

The third evil consequence of delaying confession is gaining eternal  
 punishment. In book 5, chapter 13, of his *Deeds of the English*, Bede tells  
 about a knight who lived with Cynred, the king of the Mercians, whom the king  
 loved very much because he had been very brave in arms. When the knight was  
 sick, the king came to him and exhorted him to make his confession and repent;  
 but he replied, “Not yet,” because he did not want other people to say he had  
 done it for fear of death; but he would do so when he got well. Then, as his  
 illness grew worse, the king came to him again to ask him as he had done  
 earlier. And the knight cried out with a miserable voice: “Why have you come  
 here? A short time before you, two very beautiful youths entered. One placed  
 himself at my head, the other at my feet, and one of them showed me a tiny book  
 in which all the good deeds were written that I have ever done—very few. Then  
 they took the volume and stepped back without saying anything to me. Right  
 afterwards came a crowd of demons and filled the house. One of them, who was  
 more terrifying than the rest, produced a book that was horrible to look at and  
 of unbearable weight, which he gave me to read. In it I found all my sins, not  
 only those I had done in deed and word but also those I have committed by the  
 slightest thought, written very clearly in very black letters. Then the demon

Allas, alas, þat I was borne,  
Bothe life and soule I am for-lorne!

Ad que verba cum dictus sacerdos et eius confessor supra modum expavesceret prima nocte, ° secunda et tertia nocte seipsum animans ad dictum clamorem  
170 se exposuit, et ecce duos teterrimos et horribiles demones puellam gementem ducere conspexit. Adiurans illam que esset, respondit: “Puella nuper defuncta et tibi confessa.” Et ille: “Cur dampnata es, cum ab omnibus devota et sancta reputaberis?” Que respondit: “Solebam, inquit, contra matrem meam insurgere et murmurare, et non credidi illud esse grave peccatum, cum tamen  
175 sit directe contra Dei preceptum. De isto nolui confiteri, unde dampnata sum <e>t sic crucior sine fine.”

Et hic nota narrationem de illo qui etiam noluit confiteri, et quomodo sibi Christus apparuit et extraxit sanguinem de vulnere et proiecit in faciem suam. Nota narrationes hic ut placet. Istud etiam pensent qui tantum  
180 confidunt in tribus verbis, scilicet “Miserere mei, Deus.” Unde ad consummationem vite emendationem prolongant, et quia talis prolongatio Deo displicet, ideo gracia illorum verborum ab eis subtrahitur. Nemo autem sapiens balsamum, vinum, aut pigmentum ponit in vase fetido et lutoso quousque bene mundaretur interius [f. 142] maxime. Sic nec Deus suam gratiam infundet in  
185 corde hominis per peccatum fedo et polluto, quousque per confessionem bene mundetur. Exemplum: Quando fenestra aperitur, sol intrat et totam domum illuminat; sic cor quando per confessionem aperitur, transmittitur in illo gracia Dei, unde omnes actus sui ad bene operandum illuminantur, et e contrario.

2 negligenter omittit] negligitur O. 3 ipsum] om O. 4 subicit] subiecit C. 5 Dominus] deus O. 7 summe] sentencie C. 8 contrairer] contrariet C. 12 Ita] om O. 14 2] 8 C. 15 non] add est O. 16 requirer] adquirentis C. 21 tempus] tantum C. 23 et] add ei O. 27 nostris] om O. 32 sunt] fuerunt O. 41 ultimum . . . est] blank C; verum tamen potius est M; verumtamen est peius (residivare marg) W. 47 recta] bona O. 50 notandum] add est O. 61 omni] om O. in iuventute] vivente C. 64 viam] add presentem R.W; add presentem cano M. 65 invenient] inveniunt M.R; invenint W. 69 via sapientie] maxima sapientia O. 84 et] ac O. 88 fieri] om C.M.W; marg R. 103 addendo] adeo O. 106 et] om O. 110 firmamentum] the apparent gap in the thought is filled in group z as follows: Genesis 3: Vocavitque Deus firmamentum celum; et tamen illud quamvis firmissimum et fortissimum erat, non potuit sustentare peccatum; unde Luce 10 Co. 112 secundum] sensum C. 114 numquam illud] nichil aliud C. 116 adhuc in finem] om O. 119 autem] ergo O. 120 alius] alium C. 142 eum] ipsum O. 153 cogitatione] add quam C. 156 demones] add surrexerunt O. 157 ignitis] add et O. 164 vocem] add horribiliter O. 166–167 Allas . . . for-lorne] Verse 47, in B1.B3.CC.D.Et.Go1.Go2.Jo.L1.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1.W2, and elsewhere. To the separate occurrences listed in Verses, p. 187, add Greaves 54, fol. 96, and Harley 505, fol. 21v (analogue). 169 nocte] add et C. 176 et] ut C. 178 vulnere] add laterali O. 183 ponit] poneret O. 186 mundetur] emundetur O.

said to those two youths: “What are you doing here? You know for sure that this one is ours.” And they answered: “Right; take him.” With these words they rose at once and disappeared. Then two demons struck me with fiery plowshares, *culturs* in English, one at the head, the other at the feet, and even now they are pulling out my bowels with the greatest torment. But when they come together and their plowshares meet, I will die and be taken to hell.” And thus the wretched man died without confession in complete despair.

There is a similar story about a virgin who was held to be devout and saintly by everyone and who finally fell ill and died. Soon after her burial it happened that the priest, her confessor, was lying in the church and heard a horrible voice wailing in these words:

Alas, alas, that I was born,  
For life and soul I now am lost!

As this priest, her confessor, was scared beyond measure by these words this first night, in the following and the third night he took courage and confronted the shouting; and behold, he saw two very black and terrifying devils leading a maiden who was sighing. When he adjured her to tell him who she was, she replied: “I am that maiden who has recently died and was shriven by you.” Then he said: “But why are you damned if you were held by all to be devout and saintly?” And she replied: “I used to get angry and murmur against my mother, but I did not think that was a grave sin, though it goes directly against God’s commandment. I would not confess that, and so I am now condemned and tormented without end.”

Notice here also the story about the man who likewise did not want to make his confession, and how Christ appeared to him, took blood from his wound, and threw it in his face. You may tell further stories here, as you wish. Let people weigh these things who put so much trust in the three words, “Have mercy, God,” and with that postpone their correction till the end of their life. Since such postponement displeases God, the grace of those words is taken from them. For no wise person would put balm, wine, or spice into a dirty, muddy vessel before the dirt is completely washed out. Thus, God pours his grace even less into a man’s heart that is dirty and stained by sin, until it be well cleansed in confession. As an example: when one opens a window, the sun enters and lights up the whole house. In the same way, when one’s heart is opened in confession, God’s grace is sent into it; and thus, all one’s actions are illuminated to bring forth good deeds, and the opposite happens if one does not do so.

5–6 Luke 5.14. 13–14 Gregory, *Moralia* XVII.vi.8 (PL 76:13). 14–15 Rom. 2.4. 17–20 Jth. 8.13, 12. 20–21 Rev. 2.21. 25 Prov. 26.11; 2 Pet. 2.22. 30 Heb. 6.6.

#### V.xiv QUE BONA EVENIUNT VERE ET CITO CONFITENTIBUS

- [C]irca autem bona que eveniunt cito et vere confitentibus dicit Crisostomus: "Confessio, inquit, cor emundat, sensus [illuminat, animam sanctificat, et ad suscepcionem Christi preparat." Item secundum alios Deum] homini manifestat; unde Augustinus: "Si nollem confiteri, non me absconderem tibi set te michi." Item paradysum aperit; Augustinus: "O, inquit, breve verbum 'peccavi,' quod portas paradysi aperit." Exemplum de David, Magdalena, et sancto latrone, et huiusmodi. Item iram emollit divinam; unde *Glossa* super illud Psalmi, "Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci": "O, inquit, Deus tegit quod homo detegit. Si homo agnoscit, Deus ignoscit." Merito ergo pessimi dicuntur qui tot bona torpente differunt et excludunt. Videmus enim quod filii divitum non curant de laceratis vestibus, [ut nova possint habere, set illa dilacerant. Sic nec de peccatis aliquis in confessione aliquid conservare] curare debet, set illa per confessionem rumpere et dilacerare debet, ut sic virtutes novas et meritorias cito potest revestiri; unde Romanorum 6 dicitur: "In novitate vite ambulemus."
- Et nota quod per confessionem gracia Spiritus Sancti anima humana renovatur sicut alia terrena multipliciter renovantur. Verbi gracia: Primo sicut gladius et calcaria per confricacionem, sic anima per contricionem et confessionem; unde Machabeorum 4: "Ecce, contriti sunt inimici." Secundo, sicut tempus transacta yeme in ortu florum et herbarum, sic anima spreta vita veteri: tunc per confessionem abscondita panduntur et denudantur, et flores novarum virtutum oriuntur; unde illud Ezechielis 36: "Dabo vobis cor [f. 142v] novum et auferam a vobis cor lapideum de carne vestra." Tercio, sicut serpens renovatur in angusto loco veterem exuviam sive pelle(m) deponens, sic anima per confessionem veterem exuviam peccatorum exuendo; Colossensium 2: "Expoliantes veterem hominem cum operibus suis induite

38–39 Prov. 26.11. 42–43 2 Pet. 2.21. 43–44 Ecclus. 2.14. 46 Isa. 30.21. 47–48 Prov. 14.12. 51–54 Tubach 1706. Also in *Convertimini*, fol. 96v. 57 Matt. 3.2. 60–62 Wisd. 2.6–7. 66 Ecclus. 3.28. 71–72 Ecclus. 5.12. 78–90 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 15, 2 (PL 76:1132). 85–86 Num. 12.10. 98–104 VP III.38 (PL 73:763). 111 Luke 10.18. 111–112 Ps. 37.5. 116 Ps. 48.9. 130 Rom. 6.23. 136–137 Ps.–Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 3 (PG 56:650–651). 139–161 Tubach 1501b–c; from Bede, *Hist. eccl.* V.13. Also in Harley 7322, fol. 105; Brinton, sermon 19; *Handlyng Synne* 4365–4510; etc. 162–176 Tubach 1442. 177–179 Tubach 2960. Also in Bromyard, "Dampnacio," D.I.22; Brinton, sermons 37 and 56; Mirk, *Festial*, pp. 91–92; Higden, *Ars componendi sermones*, ed. M. Jennings, p. 115; English *Gesta Romanorum*, p. 411; *Speculum laicorum* 136a; Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 649, fol. 26v; MS Greaves 54, fols. 85v–86v; Worcester Cathedral, MS F.126, fol. 31. 179–180 See *FM* II.iv.48–55.

#### V.xiv THE GOOD EFFECTS OF PROMPT AND TRUE CONFESSION

With respect to the good results of prompt and true confession Chrysostom says: "Confession cleanses one's heart, enlightens one's senses, sanctifies one's soul, and prepares one to receive Christ." And according to others, it reveals God to man; whence Augustine says: "If I were unwilling to confess, I would not hide myself from you, but rather hide you from myself." Further, confession opens paradise; Augustine says: "O short word 'I have sinned,' which opens the doors of paradise!" We find this exemplified in David, Magdalene, the Good Thief, and others. It also softens God's wrath. Whence the *Gloss* in commenting on the words of the Psalm, "I have acknowledged my sin to you," says: "Man uncovers and God covers. If man acknowledges his fault, God pardons." Therefore those who in their sloth defer and shut out so many good things are reckoned insane. We can observe that rich men's children do not care for old clothes but tear them, so that they can get new ones. In the same way, one must not care to save anything of one's sins when one makes one's confession but rather tear and pull them to pieces by confession, so that one may soon put on good and meritorious virtues. Therefore it is said in Romans 6: "Let us walk in newness of life."

And notice that in confession man's soul is renewed by the grace of the Holy Spirit in many different ways similar to other earthly things. First, just as a sword and spurs are made shining again by being rubbed, so also the soul by contrition and confession; whence Judas said in Maccabees 4: "Behold, our enemies are rubbed out." Second, just as when winter is gone a new season starts with flowers and grass springing up, so also the soul has its spring after it has cast off its old life through confession: what was hidden lies open, and the grass and flowers of new virtues spring forth from it; whence Ezekiel 36 says: "I will give you a new heart and will take away from you the

novum." Quarto virtutes renovantur per confessionem sicut aves nobiles plumas veteres abiciendo, sicut aquila claritatem solis intuendo, et sicut cervus hausto veneno aquam fontis degustando. Sic ergo satis apparet effectus confessionis et que bona eveniunt per illam; unde Augustinus: "Qui per vos peccastis, per vos erubescite," scilicet confitendo. Multum enim satisfactionis sue Deo optulit qui erubescendo nichil horum que commisit Dei nuncio negat, scilicet sacerdoti.

Unde narratur de quodam milite in partibus transmarinis habente uxorem bonam et devotam, cum qua in omni amore, pace, et affectu maritali multo tempore vixit. Tandem suggestione diabolica adamavit miles iste viduam quandam iuxta illum manentem. Unde ipsa sibi consensiente clam in proprio giardino sub quadam arbore pulcherrima adulterium commisit. Et ex tunc quasi de propria uxore nichil curavit. Cito autem post factum [istud] accidit ut quadam nocte miles ille cum propria uxore dormiret. Et ecce circa mediam noctem cepit uxor eius fortiter cum eiulatu magno clamare. Cum ergo ipse illam excitasset, causam tanti clamoris querens, respondit: "Territa, inquit, fui in sompnis," et rursus obdormivit domino suo adhuc vigilante. Et ecce cito post cepit alcius clamare, et ille ipsam iterum evigilans ait: "Quid tibi est? Volo omnino [f. 143] ut dicas michi sompnium tuum." Et illa: "Videbatur, inquit, michi quod tu eras in giardino sub tali arbore, et unus tyrannus veniens per medium corporis tui cum gladio acutissimo te perforavit. Quod cum vidissem, de vita tua, quam summe super omnia dilexeram, summe contristabar tam letale vulnus in domino meo conspiciens." Quo audito avertit ille illud esse vulnus peccati anime ipsius. Et ait ille: "Secure, inquit, iam dormies usque mane, quia in bono statu sum." Mane autem facto dixit uxori sue: "Non habuisti bonam requiem nocte ista, et ideo consulo ut missam audias et postea comedas et tunc dormitum vadas. Ego hospites expectabo." Quod et factum est. Statim misit dominus pro confessore suo, qui non multum distabat. Qui cum venisset, duxit illum sub arbore predicta, ubi cum lacrimis excessivis una cum aliis dictum peccatum est confessus. Et cum paratus esset gravissimam agere penitentiam, videns confessor eius signa in eo nimie contricionis, pro omnibus peccatis suis iniunxit sibi quinquies dicere Ave Maria, nec voluit sibi plura iniungere, cum tamen ipse cum lacrimis multo graviora petivisset. Postea autem, cum dictus miles et eius confessor eodem die in prandio sedissent, domina a sompno excitata cum magno impetu aulam ingressa est, dominum suum frequenter et gaudenter osculans et amplexans. Cui ille: "Quid, inquit, tibi est? Numquam in te tantam inprudenciam consideravi." Cui illa respondit: "Non possum me continere pre gaudio, quia oblita sum dolorem pristinum quem habui in visione nocte precedenti. Cum enim modo dormivi, vidi apertissime ubi sub predicta arbore venit quidam medicus et posuit quinque flores in vulnere tuo, unde [f. 143v] continuo sanatus es; et hec est causa leticie

stony heart out of your flesh." Third, as a snake renews itself by casting off its old skin in a tight place, so the soul does too when it slips out of its old skin of sins in confession; Colossians 2: "Stripping yourselves of the old man with his deeds, put on the new." Fourth, in confession our virtues are renewed like noble birds that shed their old feathers, or like the eagle when it looks at the brightness of the sun, or like the stag that drinks water from a wellspring when it has been infected with poison. In this way the effect and good consequences of confession can be clearly enough seen. Wherefore Augustine says: "You who have committed sin of your own accord, blush of your own accord," that is, by confessing your sins. For he who blushes and withholds nothing of what he has done wrong before God's messenger, that is, the priest, has already offered God a good deal of satisfaction.

There is a story about a knight from across the sea who had a good and devout wife, with whom he lived a long time in great love, peace, and marital affection. In the end, however, the knight, under the suggestion of the devil, fell in love with a widow who lived close by. As she agreed with him, he secretly committed adultery in his garden under a very beautiful tree. And from that time on he hardly cared for his wife anymore. Soon after this it happened that some night this knight was sleeping by his own wife. Then, about midnight, his wife suddenly gave a loud, wailing cry. When he woke her up and asked her for the cause of such a cry, she said: "I had a terrible dream" and fell asleep again, while her husband remained awake. And behold, a little while later, she cried out even louder, and he woke her again and asked: "What is the matter with you? I want you to tell me your whole dream." And she replied: "It seemed to me that you were in our garden under such and such a tree, and a tyrant came and pierced you with a sharp sword through the middle of your heart. When I saw that, perceiving such a deadly wound in my husband, I became frightfully sad for your life, which I had loved more than anything else." When the knight heard this, he realized that that was the wound of sin in his soul. And he said: "You shall sleep quietly till morning, for I am quite alright." But when it was morning, he said to his wife: "You have not had a good rest last night. Therefore I suggest you go to Mass and then have something to eat and go to bed again. I am expecting guests." When this was done, the husband at once sent for his confessor, who did not live far away. When he came, he took him under the tree mentioned before and there confessed his aforesaid sin together with others, with an abundance of tears. And as he was ready to do the most severe penance, his confessor, who saw the signs of his very great contrition, gave him as penance for all his sins to say the Hail Mary five times, nor did he want to give him any further penance, even though the knight asked him with tears for a much harder one. Later on, as this knight and his confessor were sitting together at table, his wife woke up from her sleep and came rushing into the hall and kissed and hugged her husband

70 mee." Dictus autem miles veniens ad obsidionem castris de Kenelworth tempore regis Henrici patris regis Edwardi illustrissimi pro parte regis istam narrationem fratribus Coventrie narravit, rogans quod suis sermonibus publicarent.

75 Narratur etiam de quadam muliere valde devota quadam die ad confessionem veniente, ubi omnia peccata sua ab infancia confitebatur, uno solo excepto, quod pre pudore subcuivit. Nocte igitur sequente, cum se sopori dedisset, apparuit ei Iesus Christus cum stigmatibus apertis, ostendens ei cor totaliter denudatum, sanguinolentum, et perforatum. Cui ille: "Cur ergo, inquit, verecundaris ostendere michi cor tuum, quando non verecundor tibi ostendere cor meum?" Et accipiens manum eius posuit in latus suum  
80 dicens: "Accipe et tange cor meum." At illa statim compuncta evigilans ostendit omnibus manus sanguinolentas et de peccato confitebatur. Unde in signum quod peccatum fuit remissum manus ad pristinum statum redierunt. In cuius figura de sancto Thoma Apostolo cui Christus dixit: "Affer manum tuam huc et mitte in latus meum," etc. Proverbiorum 23 dicitur: "Fili, prebe  
85 michi cor tuum," quasi diceret: ne diffidas, quia si dederis michi cor tuum, dabo tibi meum cum omni misericordia et caritate.

7 et] *om* O. 10 pessimi] *perversissimi* M; *amentissimi* R; *permansissimi* W. 11 laceratis vestibus] *vestimentis inveteratis* O. 11–13 ut . . . conservare] *om* C.W; sed eas student lacerare et nova postulare sic etiam antiqua vestimenta malicie nullus conservare *mag* M. 19 4] *add* dixit iudas O. 24 pellem] *pellens* C. 27 virtutes] *om* O. 37 illum] *eum* O. 39 nichil] *non* O. 40 ille] *iste* O. 47 corporis] *cordis* O. 53 postea] *add* aliquid M.R; *longer om* W. 55 suo] *add* fratre minore M.W(*add* scilicet); *also in* y.B1. 57 videns] *vidit* C. 65 oblita] *oblitus* O. 70 Edwardi] *add* primi z.E. 71 fratribus Coventrie] *canonicis Lychilfeld Go2. Coventrie] conventus z.E.Et.L1.W2; story om* group r.x.Madrid. *All full manuscripts recorded.* 84 huc] *om* O. etc.] *et noli esse incredulus sed fidelis* O. 86 meum] *add* scilicet O.

## V.XV DE SATISFACTIONE QUA IUSTICIA

[T]actis de duabus partibus primis, scilicet de contricione et confessione, iam de tercia parte principali, scilicet de satisfactione, est dicendum. Circa quam est sciendum quod satisfactio uno modo potest dici virtus reddens unicuique quod suum est, alio modo, secundum Augustinum *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, est causas peccatorum excludere et ultra peccata  
5 non iterare. Si ergo de primo modo satisfactionis loqui volumus, sic dico quod satisfactio stat cum illa virtute cardinali que dicitur iusticia. [f.

again and again with great joy. He said to her: "What is the matter with you? I have never seen you so silly." And she: "I cannot contain myself for joy, for I have forgotten all the sorrow I had earlier in my dream of last night. As I was sleeping now, I saw quite clearly how a physician came to that tree and put five blossoms into your wound. Then you were well at once, and this is why I am so happy." The knight of this story came to the siege of Kenilworth Castle in the time of King Henry, the father of the most illustrious King Edward, with the king's party, and he told this story to the friars of Coventry, asking them to make it known in their sermons.

There is another story about a very devout woman who came to confession one day, where she confessed all the sins she had committed since childhood, except one, which she held back for shame. In the following night, as she was in profound sleep, Jesus Christ appeared to her with his wounds wide open and showed her his heart, which was laid bare, bleeding and pierced. He spoke to her: "Why are you ashamed of showing me your heart when I am not ashamed of showing you mine?" And he took her hand and put it in his side, saying: "Take and touch my heart." She woke up with great remorse and showed to all her bloodstained hands and confessed that sin. For which, as a sign that her sin was forgiven, her hands became as they had been before. A type of this is Saint Thomas the Apostle, to whom Christ said: "Bring hither your hand and put it into my side," and so forth. In Proverbs 23 it is said: "My son, give me your heart," as if to say: do not distrust, for if you give me your heart, I will give you mine, that is, with all my mercy and love.

2–3 Ps.–Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 3 (PG 56:647). 5–6 Cf. *Ad fratres in eremo* 30 (PL 40:1289). 8 Ps. 31.5. 8–9 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps. 31*, sermo ii.15 (CC 38:236). 15 Rom. 6.4. 19 1 Macc. 4.36. 22–23 Ezek. 36.26. 26–27 Col. 3.9–10. 30–31 Ps.–Augustine, *De vera et falsa poenitentia* X.25 (PL 40:1122). 34–72 Tubach 1787 (unique). In MSS. Go1 and V this and the following story are said to come "de narrationibus fratris Rogeri de Burbache." 73–82 Tubach 2416, to which many additions can be made, including: Bromyard, "Confessio." C.VI.58; Brinton, sermons 65, 86, and 88; Ross, *Middle English Sermons*, pp. 216–217; Mirk, *Festial*, pp. 90 and 95–96; *Speculum laicorum* 136. 83–84 John 20.27. 84–85 Prov. 23.26.

## V.XV SATISFACTION AS JUSTICE

After we have touched on the first two parts of penance, namely contrition and confession, we now must speak of the third main part, namely satisfaction. Regarding this, we should know that in one sense "satisfaction" means the virtue which gives to each his own; in another sense, according to Augustine in *On Church Dogma*, it means to shut out the causes of our sins and not to repeat sins again. If we wanted to speak of satisfaction in the first sense, I say that it is identical with the cardinal virtue called justice. In the second

144] Si vero secundo modo, sic est tertia pars penitencie, de qua hic ut in suo loco agi deberet. Set ne ipsa satisfactio prout stat cum virtute iusticia intacta transiret, primo de ipsa iusticia est aliquid dicendum.

10 Est ergo advertendum quod “iusticia [est] virtutum preclarissima, et in ipsa est omnis virtus,” ut ait Philosophus 5 *Ethicorum*. Propter quod dixerunt philosophi ipsam habere vultum aureum, ut ibidem commentator. De eius partibus, que a beato Bernardo in *Sermone de Adventu* assignantur, est primo sciendum quomodo antiqui ill(am) ° observabant, et secundo quomodo moderni illam contempnunt et fedant. Est ergo iusticia secundum Bernardum virtus unicuique tribuens quod suum est, scilicet superiori obedienciam et reverenciam, equali concilium et auxilium, ut sic concilio erudiatur ignorantia et auxilio iuvetur impotencia. Inferiori eciam debeatur custodia et disciplina, ut scilicet in illo non regnet peccatum, set ut dignos faciat fructus penitencie. Quibus omnibus debet adiungi verum iudicium. Que sunt quasi septem columpne in domo sapiencie, Proverbiorum 9, prout exponit Bernardus.

25 Quod hec omnia antiquitus viguerunt tam in principibus rem publicam iudicantibus quam in philosophis sapiencie et sciencie vacantibus, satis patet (librum) *De nugis philosophorum curialium* intuentibus. Et primo de obediencia et reverencia respectu superiorum. Cum autem princeps sit publica potestas et in terris quedam divine maiestatis ymago, prout dicitur *Policratico* libro 4, ideo antiquitus sibi reverenter obedierunt et inobedientes puniebantur. Unde narrat Augustinus 5 *De civitate Dei*, capitulo 18, de quodam qui filium suum, pro patria tamen qui contra imperium suum pugnaverat, licet vicisset, occidit, ne plus esset mali in exemplo imperii contempti quam boni in gloria hostis occisi. Omnino enim vellent ut fierent quod imperabant; quod si non fieret, licet melius facerent illi quibus

30 mandabant, [f. 144v] tamen eos puniebant in exemplum aliorum. Unde narrat Agellius de quodam pontifice Crasso, qui cum obsidionem pararet, et esset sibi necessaria trabes de qua faceret arietem, scripsit cuidam subdito ut de duabus maiorem sibi mitteret. Et quia non misit prout mandaverat, set aliam bono iudicio apciorem, detrahi iussit vestimenta et virgis multis cedi. Si ergo tunc homines volebant sua imperia sic adimpleri et contempnentes puniebant tam acriter, quid mirum si Deus ecclesiarum leges et precepta prelatorum vult observari, et precipue leges suas et mandata, cum ipse sit “rex regum et dominus dominancium”? Unde de honore exhibendo tam Deo quam Ecclesie et aliis superioribus, nota supra, parte 1, capitulo 6.

45 Quod autem auxilium et concilium prebuerunt antiqui [equalibus] patet in hoc quod plus laborabant pro re publica quam pro salute propria. Unde narrat Augustinus *De civitate Dei* et similiter Valerius libro 5 de Codro rege Atheniencium, quod cum bellum instaret inter Athenienses et Poleponenses et acceperunt in responsis quod illi essent futuri victores quorum

sense, however, it is the third main part of penance, whose proper place of discussion is here. But that the former kind of satisfaction, which is identical with justice, may not be passed over altogether, we will first say some words about justice itself.

We should realize, then, that justice is the most noble of all virtues, and every virtue is contained in her, as the Philosopher says in book 5 of the *Ethics*. For that reason the philosophers declared it to have a golden face, as the commentator on the cited passage says. With respect to its parts, which are given by Bernard in his *Sermon on Advent*, we must first see how the ancients cultivated it and second how our contemporaries scorn and defile it. According to Bernard, justice is that virtue which gives to each what is his, namely: obedience and reverence to one’s superior, counsel and aid to one’s equal, so that by counsel his ignorance may be taught, and by aid his powerlessness be helped. And to one’s inferior one owes watchfulness and discipline, so that no sin may reign in him, but rather that he may bring good fruits of penance. To these should be added true judgment. And these are, as it were, the seven columns in the house of wisdom, according to Proverbs 9, as Bernard explains.

That all these virtues flourished in ancient times both among princes who governed the commonweal and among philosophers intent upon gaining wisdom and knowledge, can be clearly seen by reading *The Trifles of Courtly Philosophers*. First with regard to the obedience and reverence due to one’s superiors: since a prince holds public power and a certain likeness to the divine majesty here on earth, as is explained in book 4 of *Policraticus*, the ancients obeyed him with reverence and punished those who were disobedient. On this subject, Augustine in book 5 of *The City of God*, chapter 18, tells of one who killed his own son who was fighting for his country, even when he had been victorious, because he had fought against his command; he did not want the evil that came from the example of disobeying a command to outweigh the good of triumphing over the slain enemy. Thus the ancients wanted absolutely that their orders be carried out, to the point that if this was not the case, they would punish those that had disobeyed as an example to others, even if those that had received their orders had been more successful. Agellius in his book reports of a certain priest Crassus that, when he prepared a siege and needed a beam to build a battering-ram, he wrote to one of his subjects to send him the larger of two beams. But this man did not send the beam Crassus had ordered but instead another which in his judgment was better for the job. Crassus had his clothes taken off and had him beaten with many rods. If, then, the people of that time wanted their commands to be thus strictly fulfilled and punished thus sharply those who did not obey, what wonder that God wants us to observe the laws of the Church and the orders of our prelates, and above all his own laws and commandments, since he is “the king of kings and lord of lords”? Concern-



- 50 dux occideretur. Quod audiens Codrus in habitu pauperis transivit ad hostes necemque ab eis per iurgium provocavit. Maluit enim mori dum viverent sui quam vivere suis superatis. Tantum enim diligunt rem publicam quod non fuerunt apud eos aliqui ad dignitates anelantes neque acceptores personarum. Unde de primo narrat Helymandus historiographus de quodam imperatore
- 55 quod cum ex senatore factus esset imperator et obsecrante ab eo senatu ut filium suum Augustum Cesarem vocaret, respondit: "Sufficere, inquit, debet quod ego ipse invitus regnaverim. Principatus enim non sanguini de- [f. 145] betur, set meritis." Et ideo inutiliter regnat qui rex nascitur et non meretur; Ecclesiastici 17: "Noli querere fieri iudex nisi valeas," etc.
- 60 Contra etiam acceptores personarum et avariciam sectantes narrat Valerius libro 6 quod cum duo consules contenderent in senatu quis eorum in Hispaniam mitteretur, respondit Scipio Emilianus omnibus suam sententiam expectantibus: "Neutrum, inquit, istorum michi mitti placet, quia alter nichil habet et alteri nichil est satis," eque malam imperii magistram iudicans
- 65 inopiam et avariciam.
- Quod etiam tertium, scilicet disciplina et custodia, verissime apud eos vigeant dicitur *Policratico* libro 6, quod adeo Romanis profuit disciplina ut totum orbem sue subiceret dicioni. Alexander enim exiguum manum militarem [suscepit] a patre set doctrinam qua orbem terrarum egressus
- 70 innumerum hostium copias fugit, ut ait de eo Vegetius libro 4. Debet enim princeps cum disciplina regere milites, ut ait Valerius libro 2. Ibi ponit ex(empla) quare puniebant filios suos militarem disciplinam non observantes. Aurelius enim filium suum quia preceptum suum non observavit inter pedites (fungi) coegit. Octavianus etiam filium suum ad gradum militarem constitutum primo fecit exercitari ad cursum, ad saltum, ad usum natandi, iac[i]endi missilia et lapides manu et fundo; et filias etiam suas in lanificio instituit, ut si necessitas ingrueret, (per artem) sustentari possent. Et ideo Ecclesiastici 7 dicitur: "Si filii tibi sint, erudi illos"; et sequitur: "Si filie tibi sint, serva corpus earum."
- 80 Quod etiam iudicium verum viguit apud eos narrat Valerius libro 6, quod cum quidam iudex male iudicasset, rex Cambices pellem eius de corpore extractam (sedili suo iudicario) apposuit et filium eius in eo post eum iudicatum sedere iussit, ut ipse [f. 145v] ad memoriam revocaret quod propter falsum iudicium sic punitus erat pater suus. Unde quidam metrista
- 85 ait:

Sedens in cathedra iustus iudex stabilis sta.  
Sint tibi lucerna, lex, ius, pellisque paterna.  
A manibus re(sec)es munus, ab aure preces.

- 90 Secundo autem narrat Valerius de Curio consule Romano, quod cum Sampnite sibi maximum pondus auri optulissent, ut pro voluntate eorum iudicium

ing the respect we are to show to God and his Church and to other superiors, see above, part 1, chapter 6.

That the ancients gave counsel and aid to their equals is shown in that they worked harder for the commonweal than for their private well-being. Augustine relates in *The City of God*, as does Valerius in book 5, about Codrus, the king of Athens, that when war was about to break out between Athens and the Peloponnesus, the Athenians received the prophecy that that party would be victorious whose leader was going to be killed. When Codrus heard this, he went disguised as a poor man to his enemies and provoked his own death in a brawl. For he would rather die so that his people might live, than live while his people were defeated. The ancients loved the commonweal so much that there were none among them who panted after public honors or were respecters of persons. Regarding the first, the historian Helinandus tells of an emperor who had risen to his position from being a senator and was then urged by the senate to call his son "Caesar Augustus." He replied: "It should suffice that I myself rule against my will. One ought not to become emperor because of one's blood but because of one's merits." Therefore, a person who is born a king but does not deserve it rules in vain; Ecclesiasticus 17: "Seek not to be made a judge unless you have the strength," and so forth. And against people who are respecters of persons and pursue greed, Valerius in book 6 relates that when two consuls disputed in the senate which of them should be sent to Spain, Scipio Aemilianus answered as everyone was waiting for his decision: "I am not willing to send either one of these, for the one has nothing, and to the other nothing is enough," thereby judging need and greed to be equally bad teachers in leadership.

That the third pair of virtues, that is, discipline and watchfulness, also flourished most truly among the ancients is shown by book 6 of *Policraticus*. To the Romans discipline was so useful that the whole world became subject to their rule. Alexander inherited only a small troop of soldiers from his father, but one well taught, with which he attacked the entire world and put a countless host of enemies to flight, as Vegetius says of him in book 4. For a prince must rule his soldiers with discipline, as Valerius says in book 2. There he gives examples of how they punished their sons if they would not keep military discipline. For Aurelius forced his son to serve in the infantry because he had not carried out his command. Octavian, too, made his son who was set on a military career first train himself in running, jumping, swimming, and throwing projectiles and stones by hand and slingshot; his daughters at the same time he made learn how to spin, so that they might be able to earn their living by this craft if need compelled them. Therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus 7: "If you have sons, instruct them," and afterwards: "If you have daughters, have a care of their body."

That true judgment also flourished among the ancients, Valerius tells us in book 6. When some judge gave evil judgment, king Cambyses had him flayed,

dedisset, respondit se malle imperare super eos qui aurum habebant quam tantum super aurum eorum, quasi diceret: pro toto auro vestro verum iudicium non dimittam, nec eos qui contra leges et iusticiam fecerint punire desistam.

- 95 Patet ergo quomodo verum iudicium et iusticia viguerunt apud antiquos, iuxta illud Deuteronomii 6: "Iudices et magistros constitues in omnibus partibus tuis ut iudicent populum iusto iudicio," hoc est, iuste reddere cuique quod suum est. Unde Agellius describens Iusticiam dicit: "Iusticia dici potest puella pulcra, in celum erecta, utroque oculo ceca, utraque  
100 manu manca." Quasi diceret: Quilibet iudex iustus habet puellam pulcram, scilicet intentionem rectam muneribus non corruptam. Cum enim intencio iudicis per munera corrumpitur, illa tunc puella pulcritudinem et virginitatem amittit; contra quod Levitici 21: "Sordidam et repudiatam non accipiet," scilicet puellam. Debet etiam illa puella Iusticie stare in celum  
105 erecta, in signum quod iudex in terris semper cogitabit iudicem se habere in celis, ut secundum quod ipse iudicaverit, sive bene sive male, ab illo iudicabitur. Unde Gregorius: "Tu, inquit, qui prees aliis, memento quod tibi preest Deus." Tercio, puella erat ceca utroque oculo, in signum quod iudex respectum non habebit a dextris, scilicet ad potestatem divitum vel  
110 ad favorem amicorum, nec a sinistris, scilicet ad inopiam [f. 146] pauperis vel ad odium inimici, set [sicut] ceca utroque oculo intencionis veritatem iudicando habebit ad omnia sine acceptione aut respectu cuiusque rei aut persone, iuxta Psalmistam: "Iusticia et iudicium preparacio sedis tue." Quarto hec puella Iusticie in iudicio manca erat utraque manu, in signum  
115 quod neque erit iudex a dextris nimis remissus nec a sinistris nimis austerus, set ut de summo iudice dicitur in Psalmo: "Iustus Dominus [et] iusticias dilexit, equitatem vidit vultus eius," etc.

- [E]t ista iusticia hiis effugit, quia prout habetur Ysaie 54: "Conversum est retrorsum iudicium et iusticia longe stetit." Si enim loquamur de  
120 superioribus, (numquid) manifeste depauperant et spoliant simplices et propter dona maioribus parcunt, iuxta illud Sapiencie: "Munera excecant oculos divitum"? Et ideo iam leges regni et civitatis bene comparantur tele aranee, in qua capiuntur parve musce. Pro qua satis nota parte (4), capitulo 2. Si autem loquamur de inferioribus, nonne ipsi in quocumque statu fuerint contra voluntates superiorum recalcitrant et murmurant? Contra quod  
125 nota parte 1 de humilitate et obediencia. Si de equalibus, nonne unusquisque alium persequitur ut destruat et confundat, unde tot invidie, rixe, pugne, et homicidia suscitantur? Pro quo [nota] parte 2 de ira et parte 3 de invidia. Et ideo tales dicere bene possunt illud Sapiencie: "Erravimus a  
130 via veritatis, et lumen iusticie non illuxit nobis." Et descriptio predictae puelle Iusticie iam per tales corrumpitur et transformatur, quia secundum illud Deuteronomii 23: "Non est inventa in puella virginitas." Et ideo

put his skin on the judge's seat, and made his son, who was to be judge after his father, sit on it, so that he would remember that his father had been thus punished because of his false judgment. Whence a poet has said:

When you sit in this chair, be firm and just as a judge.  
Your lantern be the law, what's right, your father's skin.  
Keep from your hands the gift, and prayers from your ears.

Further, Valerius tells of the Roman consul Curius that, when the Samnites offered him a large amount of gold so that he might pass judgment in their favor, he replied that he would rather rule over the owners of gold than over their gold alone, meaning thereby: I will not abandon true judgment for all your gold, nor will I veer from punishing those who have acted against the laws and against justice.

Thus it is manifest how true judgment and justice flourished among the ancients, after the words of Deuteronomy 6: "You shall appoint judges and magistrates in all your tribes, that they may judge the people with just judgment," that is, to give in justice to each what is his own. Agellius describes Justice as follows: "She may be called a beautiful maiden, standing tall and reaching up to heaven, blind in both eyes, crippled in both hands." By this he means that every just judge has a beautiful maiden, that is, a right intention which is not corrupted by bribes. For when the judge's judgment is corrupted by bribes, that maiden loses her beauty and virginity. Against this, Leviticus 21 declares: "A defiled maiden or a woman that has been divorced he shall not accept." This maiden Justice must further stand tall and reach to heaven, as a sign that an earthly judge must always keep in mind that he has a judge in heaven, and that according to how he judges, whether well or badly, he himself will be judged. Therefore Gregory says: "You who rule others, remember that God rules you." Thirdly, the maiden was blind in both eyes, to show that a judge shall pay no attention on the right side to the power of the rich or the favor of friends, nor on the left side to the lack of means of the poor or the hatred of an enemy, but like a person who is blind in both eyes he shall, in giving judgment, have in every respect regard for the truth, without accepting anything or respecting any person, after the words of the Psalmist: "Justice and judgment are the preparation of your throne." And finally, this maiden Justice, in giving judgment, was crippled in both hands, meaning that a judge must be neither remiss on one hand nor too strict on the other, but as it is said of the highest judge in a Psalm: "For the Lord is just and has loved justice; his countenance has beheld righteousness."

But in our days such justice is overturned and put to flight, for as we find in Isaiah 54, "judgment is turned away backward, and justice has stood far off." For if we are to speak of the upper classes, do they not openly impover-

istorum ymago potest formari ad modum meretricis fornicarie cum oculis vagis et manibus apertis et dissolutis, in signum quod iam iudices quasi omnes oculos suos secundum Psalmistam “statuerunt declinare in terram,” idest, circa terrena cupidi. Et ideo [f. 146v] qu(e) ° manca deberet esse°, iam manus protensas habet, quia “dextera eorum repleta est muneribus.”

8 pars] *add* integralis O. 14 beato] *om* O. 15 illam] illud primo C; ibi W. 21 Que] *add* tunc O. 24 antiquitus] *add* ergo O. 26 librum] vel C; libro M.R; I W. 29 Policratico] in policraticon O. 35 mandabant] *add* nichilominus O. 36 Agellius] *add* libro O. 38 mandaverat] imperaverat O. 44 et] quam O. 49 acceperunt] acceperant O. 57 quod] ut O. 69 doctrinam] *thus* C.O and other groups; the source reads doctam. 70 innumerum] *thus* C.M.W; innumeram (. . . copiam) R. 72 exempla] extra C; exemplum R. 74 fungi] confundi C. 77 per artem] partem C. 82 sedili . . . iudiciario] sedile suum iudicarie C.M(iusticiarii).W. *Perhaps originally* selle sue iudicarie, as in *John of Wales*. 84 pater suus] *om* O. 84–85 Unde . . . ait] *om* O. 86 Sedens] sistens O. 88 reseces] receses C. 89 autem] eciam O. Sampnute] sampnute C. 91 malle] male O. 98 cuique] unicuique O. 98–99 Iusticia . . . potest] *om* O. 108 puella] *om* O. 113 persone] *add* scilicet O. 118 hiis] *add* diebus pervertitur et R. 120 numquid] inquit C.M.W. 123 4] 5 C. 136 que] quia C.O; *add* iam C. esse] *add* manus C.

ish and rob the simple and spare the wealthy for their gifts, according to the words of Wisdom, “Gifts blind the eyes of judges”? For this reason, the laws of the realm and of the city can nowadays be compared to spiderwebs in which the little flies get caught. On this see further part 4, chapter 2. But if we are to speak of the lower classes, do they not, whatever their status, kick and grumble against the rule of their superiors? Against this vice, see part 1 on humility and obedience. If we are to speak of the relations among equals, does not everyone persecute someone else in order to destroy him and bring him down? Hence arise all these cases of envy, strife, fights, and killings. On this see part 2 on wrath and part 3 on envy. Such people could well speak the words of Wisdom: “We have strayed from the way of truth, and the light of justice has not shone upon us.” And through such people the image of the maiden Justice which I have described is corrupted and changed in our days, for according to the words of Deuteronomy 23, “virginity is not found in the maiden.” For this reason, one could fashion an image of such people like a whore with wandering eyes and open and dissolute hands, to indicate that nowadays nearly all judges, according to the Psalmist, “have set their eyes bowing down to earth,” that is, they are greedy for earthly goods. And she who ought to be crippled now stretches out her hands, because “their right hand is filled with gifts.”

The following material in this chapter occurs verbally also in John of Wales, *Breviloquium*: lines 11–13 (prologue); 14–23, 26–30, 45–46, 64–84 (I.7); 30–35, 47–52, 54–58, 60–65 (I.4). 4–6 Gennadius, *Liber eccl. dogmatum* 24 (PL 42:1218). 11–12 Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* V.1 (1129b). 14–23 Bernard, *In adventu Domini*, sermo iii, 4–7 (4:178–1181). 22 Cf. Prov. 9.1. 26 Apparently referring to John of Salisbury, *Policraticus*. 28–29 *Policraticus* VIII.17 (2:345). 30–33 Augustine, *De civ. Dei* V.xviii.2 (CC 47:151). 36–40 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* I.xiii.11–13. 43 1 Tim. 6.15, etc. 44 *FM* I.ix–xi. 47–52 Tubach 1136. Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XVIII.19 (CC 48:610); Valerius, V.vi.ext.1. Also in Brinton, sermons 80 and 104; Grisdale, *Three Middle English Sermons*, pp. 67–68. 54–58 Tubach 421; reported in Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale* X.69 (392), where the story is said to be about “Aelius Adrianus” and attributed to “Helinandus lib. II.” 59 Ecclus. 7.6. 61–65 Tubach 841. Valerius, V.iv.2. 67–70 *Policraticus* VI.14 (2:37). 73–74 Valerius, II.vii.4. 74–78 *Policraticus* VI.4 (2:13–14 and 15). 78–79 Ecclus. 7.25. 81–84 Tubach 2859. Valerius, VI.iii.ext.3. The story and the following verses are very widespread, including: Bromyard, “Iudex,” I.IX.36; Holcot, *In Sapientiam*, lectio 84; Higden, *Polychronicon*, 3:174. 86–88 *In* 17466; *Prov* 27839; English translation in *IMEV* 1811. 89–94 Valerius, V.iv.2. 96–97 Deut. 16.18. 98–100 Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* XIV.iv. Similarly in *Convertimini* 7; Holcot, sermon 92; *GR* 247. 103–104 Lev. 21.14. 107–108 Cf. Gregory, *Moralia* XXI.xiv.21 (PL 76:202–203). 113 Ps. 88.15. 116–117 Ps. 10.8. 118–119 Isa. 59.14. 121–122 Ecclus. 20.31. 123–124 *FM* IV.ii and v. 126 *FM* I.viii–xi. 128–129 *FM* II and III, passim. 129–130 Wisd. 5.6. 132 Deut. 22.20. 135 Ps. 16.11. 137 Ps. 25.10.

## V.xvi DE SATISFACTIONE QUA PARS PENITENCIE

[C]irca autem satisfactionem que est tertia pars integralis ipsius penitencie, de qua hic est dicendum, hoc modo intendo procedere, videre scilicet primo quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo que sunt eius species quibus adimpletur. Dico ergo prout superius dicitur quod satisfactio  
 5 secundum Augustinum et similiter secundum Rabanum *De naturis rerum* libro 5, capitulo 8, est causas peccatorum et illorum suggestiones excludere et ultra peccatum non iterare, set pro commissis secundum posse satisfacere. Quamvis enim cum peccamus Deum offendimus ac postea per contricionem et confessionem sibi reconciliati sumus, non tamen sufficit sine satisfactione  
 10 et emenda. Est enim de Deo et peccatore sicut de duobus confligentibus ac proinde discordantibus, set pace reformata, qui magis deliquit magis emendet. Modo ita est quod nos peccando contra Deum deliquimus et non e contrario, et ideo maiorem exigit emendam et iuste, scilicet pro peccato et culpa satisfactionem. Et non exigit tamen ex sua caritate et curialitate (an)tam  
 15 emendam correspondentem quantum deliquisti, set qualem equanimiter portare potes, quia iuxta Psalmistam quod “pro nichilo dat terram desiderabilem.”

Et ideo est de Deo sicut de puero cum quo de levi negociatur: imo si habeat aliquam monetam, pro pomo extorquetur. Revera sic est in proposito. Ante enim incarnationem Christi nullus poterat facere cum Deo bonum forum,  
 20 quia quantumcumque darent, non poterant tamen quocumque modo celum comparare, quia nec Iohannes Baptista nec ceteri patriarche aut prophete. Set postquam Christus factus est puer humanam naturam sumendo, optimum forum facere possumus cum illo et quasi puerum decipere; Psalmista: “Pro nichilo salvos facies illos,” scilicet [f. 147] modo peccatores, quia ut dicitur  
 25 Iohelis 2: “Prestabilis est super maliciam.” Nunc ergo bonum est negociari cum illo puero et per levem satisfactionem celum ab eo emere. Et ideo noli expectare cum divite epulone tempus illud in quo maxima caristia erit aque, scilicet post mortem, set sicut paratus est modo ad ignoscendum, ita paratissimus et promptus ad confitendum. Nam secundum beatum Anselmum: “Qui  
 30 invite facit, non ipse facit, set (de) eo fit,” quasi diceret: si quis invite confitetur aut pro peccatis compellitur ad satisfactionem, ipse tunc bonum opus illud confessionis et contricionis non facit, quia diabolus illud impedit et retardat, et ideo de eo tunc fit <sup>o</sup> materia a d(iabol)o puniendi. Est tamen hic sciendum quod sicut puer quamvis invite flendo et eiulando  
 35 pascitur cibo sibi competenti et nutritur nec tamen obicitur quin ille cibus sibi cedit ad nutrimentum, sic quamvis homo aliquando quasi invite ad confessionem et satisfactionem compellitur, si tunc in faciendo aliqualis bona voluntas accreverit, certum est quod aliqualiter ad nutrimentum et meritum spirituale facit, licet non totum. Dicit ergo Psalmista: “Ex voluntate mea confitebor illi,” etc.  
 40

## V.xvi SATISFACTION AS A PART OF PENANCE

With respect to that kind of satisfaction which is the third main part of penance, which must now be discussed, I intend to proceed as follows: first, what it is and how it is defined; and second, what its parts are by which it is carried out. As was said above, then, according to Augustine and similarly Rabanus in book 5 of *The Nature of Things*, chapter 8: satisfaction means to shut out the causes of sins and their suggestions and not to repeat sin any more but to make satisfaction for what we have committed as much as it lies in our power. For even if we offend God when we sin but afterwards have been reconciled to him through contrition and confession, yet this is not enough without our making satisfaction and bettering our ways. For the relation between God and sinner is like that between two parties who fight and hence are at odds with each other: when peace has been made, the one whose fault is greater shall make more reparation. Now, it is the case that in sinning we have failed against God and not the reverse; therefore, he requires reparation from us by right, namely satisfaction for our sin and our guilt. But out of love and courtesy he does not demand as much reparation as might correspond to your fault, but only as much as you can bear, for according to the Psalmist, “he gives the desirable land for nothing.”

God is like a child with whom one can strike an easy bargain: if the child has some money, one can talk him out of it for an apple. Just so is it with God. Before Christ's incarnation no one made a good business deal with God, because whatever they would give him, they could in no way buy paradise with it, not even John the Baptist or other patriarchs and prophets. But after Christ has become a child by taking human nature, we can make a splendid business deal with him and, as it were, trick him like a child. The Psalmist declares: “For nothing you will save them,” that is, sinners in the present state, for as it is said in Joel 2: “He is ready to repent of the evil.” Therefore it is a good thing to bargain with this child now and buy from him heaven for a little satisfaction. Therefore, do not wait with the rich man that ate well for the time when there will be a great lack of water, that is, after death; but as God is now ready to pardon, so let us be ready and prompt to make our confession. For according to Blessed Anselm, “he who does something unwillingly does not do it himself, but it happens to him,” as if he were saying: if anyone confesses unwillingly or is forced to make satisfaction for his sins, he does not really do the good work of confession and contrition, for the devil hinders and delays him in it; and thus he becomes an object for the devil's punishment. But in this respect we should also realize that although a child may eat good and nourishing food unwillingly with tears and screams, it is still being nourished and the food does not lose its nourishing power; in the same way, even though a person is sometimes compelled to make his confes-

14 tantam] totam C. 20 celum] paradysum O. 26 illo] isto O. 30 de] ab C. 33 fit]  
add scilicet C; *longer om* M. diabolo] deo C; *longer om* M.W. 35 ille] iste O.

### V.xvii DE SPECIEBUS SATISFACTIONIS: ORACIO

- [C]irca autem species sive partes principales satisfactionis est sciendum quod sicut homo tripliciter peccat, scilicet corde, ore, et opere, sic statuit Ecclesia pro penitencia triplex satisfactionis remedium in hiis tribus consistens, scilicet in oracione, abstinentia, et elemosina, ut sic
- 5 i(st)e ternarius numerus et remedium peccatorum contra illum nephandum ternarium diaboli numerum opponatur, quia oracio contra superbiam, abstinentia contra carnis concupiscenciam, elemosina contra avariciam opponatur. Patet ergo quod iste sunt tres partes principales satisfactionis, ad quas omnes alie species satisfactionis quasi secundarie [f. 147v] reducuntur.
- 10 Nam vigilie, peregrinaciones, discipline, et cetera huiusmodi opera carnem affligencia ad abstinentiam et ieiunium reducuntur; opera vero misericordie, cuiusmodi sunt vestire nudum, pascere esurientem, ad elemosinam; set omnia alia spiritualia, cuiusmodi sunt sancte meditationes, pie affectiones, etc., ad oracionem.
- 15 Nunc ergo de prima parte satisfactionis, scilicet oracione, est sciendum primo qualis debet esse oratio; secundo, que compellunt orare; tercio, quociens sit orandum et qualiter; quarto, que bona confert oracio. Circa primum est sciendum quod primo orandum est devote, ut scilicet intenta cordis devocio ori sit omnino consona, quia alioquin manet reprobanda,
- 20 sicut qui alteri ore adulatur et aliud in corde machinatur. Unde Augustinus: "Oracio, inquit, cordis est, non labiorum, neque verba tantum deprecantis set devota intencio mentis." Nam alio modo orare vituperat Dominus per prophetam, Ysaie 29: "Populus hic labiis me honorat, cor autem eorum longe est a me." Unde inquit Bernardus: "Parum prodest orare et sola voce
- 25 clamare sine cordis intencione." Et ideo vulgariter dicitur: "Vox in choro et mens in foro." Vidua est [illa] oracio: manet enim derelicta sicut vidua viro mortuo. Et ideo nota supra, parte 1, capitulo 4: "Non vox set votum." Unde bene dicitur:

Vox est grata chori quando <cor> consonat ori.

sion and satisfaction against his will, but then by doing it he acquires a little goodwill for it, this certainly will help him a little toward his spiritual nourishment and merit, even though not entirely. Therefore the Psalmist says: "With my will I shall confess to him."

4-7 See *FM* V.xv.4-6. 16 Ps. 105.24. 23-24 Ps. 55.8. 25 Joel 2.13. 39-40 Ps. 27.7.

### V.xvii THE PARTS OF SATISFACTION: PRAYER

With respect to the members or chief parts of satisfaction, we should know that as a person sins in three ways, namely in heart, mouth, and deed, so has the Church established a threefold remedy of satisfaction as penance, consisting in the three practices of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, so that this triad in the remedy for sins may be set against that cursed triad of the devil, for prayer is opposed to pride, fasting to fleshly lust, and almsgiving to avarice. Thus it is manifest that these are the three chief parts of satisfaction, to which all other aspects of satisfaction can be reduced as secondary parts. For vigils, pilgrimages, scourging, and other acts that mortify our flesh in this way belong to abstinence and fasting; the deeds of mercy, such as clothing the naked and feeding the hungry, to almsgiving; and all other spiritual acts, such as holy meditations, pious desires, and so on, to prayer.

About the first part of satisfaction, that is, prayer, we must investigate how our prayer should be; what reasons compel us to pray; how often and in what way we should pray; and what good effects prayer brings. About the first we must know that we should, firstly, pray devoutly, so that the attentive devotion of our heart is in full agreement with the words in our mouth; otherwise prayer would be blameworthy, like a person who flatters someone with his mouth and plots against him in his heart. Therefore Augustine says: "Prayer is a matter of the heart, not of the lips; not so much the words of the person who prays as the devout attention of his mind." Any other way of praying, the Lord censures through his prophet, in Isaiah 29: "This people honors me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." Whence Bernard says: "There is little use in praying only with one's voice without the heart's attention." And thus it is commonly said: "The voice in the choir, the mind in the market." Such prayer is a widow: it is left behind like a widow after her husband's death. Notice also the verse cited above in part 1, chapter 4: "Not your voice but your vow." Whence it is well said:

That choir's voice is pleasing when heart agrees with mouth.

30 Similiter bene dicitur:

Fructum preclarum faciant fontes lacrimarum,  
 Nam merito fletus Deus occurrit tibi letus.  
 Pectore ferventi dic laudes omnipotenti.  
 Cum sis vir fortis, non stes ut formula mortis.  
 35 Guttore sic cantes manibus ut premia plantes.  
 Non vox sola placet, set manus ipsa vacet.  
 Carmina consueta cantans sit mens tua leta.  
 Si non insit amor, mirabilis sit tibi clamor.  
 [f. 148] Voci da votum, clamori cor dato totum.  
 40 Tunc exauditum tibi dat Deus <omne> petitum.

Et nota [quod sic est] de devota oracione et indevota sicut de ense.  
 Ipsa autem in quantum in se est eandem vim habet in manu fortis et in manu  
 debilis, et tamen habet alium effectum quando valide et fortiter tractatur  
 et vibratur et quando remisse. Revera sic oracio. Ipsa enim celos penetrat  
 45 quando cum devocione cordis emittitur, set non sic quando tepide fit et  
 sine devocione, quia tunc parum prodest, et tamen sanctitas, quantum in se  
 est, non augetur nec minuitur. Sciendum eciam quod non multum curatur de  
 ydiomate orando, et tamen verba sacra et prophetica et evangelica, que sunt  
 a Spiritu Sancto edita, vim maiorem habere creduntur quam alia, eciam si  
 50 non ab intelligentibus proferuntur, maxime si cum mentis affectione profe-  
 runtur. Unde Augustinus libro *De spiritu et anima* dicit quod “oracio est  
 conversio mentis in Deum per pium et humilem affectum.” De qua Canticorum  
 2: “Sonet vox tua in auribus meis,” scilicet mentis affectu, quia quanto  
 <a>ffectus mentis profundior, tanto vox alcior est. “Brevis enim oracio”  
 55 cum tali <a>ffectu, ut dicitur, “penetrat celum.” Et nota quod pia oracio  
 tante fortitudinis est quod non tantum celum penetrat verumptamen totum  
 celi exercitum erumpit ac ipsum [Dominum] invadit et ligat. Et ideo sicut  
 linea recta dicitur brevissima secundum Philosophum, que nec est obliqua  
 per distractionem nec retorta per inconstanciam et <desercionem>, sic ora-  
 60 cio talis celum penetrat nec ullam resistenciam invenire potest, set ipsum  
 Deum vincit et flectit ad indulgenciam, sicut patet Exodi 32 de Moyse, quo-  
 modo ipse orando humiliter Deum contra populum Israel devicit. Nota histo-  
 riam.

Secundo orandum est discrete, hoc est, quod nichil illicitum petamus  
 65 nisi quod licite concedi potest. Et ideo quidam bene dicit: [f. 148v]

Non est donandum quicquid sit iure negandum.

And similarly:

The founts of our tears produce a noble fruit:  
 In answer to your tears God gladly sends you help.  
 With fervent heart your praises to th'Almighty sing.  
 Since you are strong, you must not stand and look like Death.  
 Sing thus as if your were planting reward with the hands of your voice.  
 Nor does your voice alone please, but your hands too should help.  
 Sing songs that are well known, and let your mind be glad.  
 If love is not in it, you only make great noise.  
 Give fervor to your voice, your whole heart to your cry.  
 Then God will hear and grant you all that you have asked.

Notice that the difference between devout and undevout prayer can be seen  
 in the comparison with a sword. Its inherent strength is the same in the hand  
 of a strong person as in that of a weak man, and yet its effect is very dif-  
 ferent when it is drawn and brandished with valor and strength than when it is  
 handled feebly. The same is true of prayer. When it is sent forth with heart-  
 felt devotion, it pierces heaven, but not so when it comes from a lukewarm  
 heart without devotion; in this case it is of little use, though its inherent  
 holiness is neither increased nor diminished. We should also realize that the  
 language of one's prayer does not greatly matter, though the holy words of  
 prophets and the Gospels, which are inspired by the Holy Spirit, are believed  
 to have greater power than others, even when they are uttered by people who do  
 not understand them, and especially when they are uttered with the affection of  
 one's mind. Therefore Augustine says in the book *On the Spirit and the Soul*  
 that prayer is the mind's turning to God with pious and humble emotion. Of it  
 is said in Canticles 2: “Let your voice sound in my ears,” that is, with your  
 mind's affection, because the deeper the affection of our mind is, the higher  
 our voice reaches. For “a short prayer” that has such emotion “pierces  
 heaven,” as they say. And notice that pious prayer has such strength that it not  
 only pierces heaven but defeats the entire army of heaven and overcomes and  
 binds the Lord himself. According to the Philosopher, a straight line is said  
 to be the shortest way, because it goes neither sideways through distraction  
 nor crooked through inconstancy and evasion. Prayer of this kind pierces  
 heaven and finds no resistance, but it overcomes God himself and bends  
 him to be merciful, as can be seen in Exodus 32 from Moses, how in humble  
 prayer he overcame God as he was fighting against the people of Israel. Tell  
 this biblical story.

Second, we must be discreet in prayer, that is, not ask for anything that  
 cannot be granted to us rightfully. As someone has fittingly expressed it:



Quod bene figuratur Matthei 20 de petitione matris filiorum Zebedei, cui respondit Dominus quasi ipsam corripiendo pro sua indiscreta petitione: "Nescitis quid petatis." Et ideo nichil petendum est, et maxime de temporalibus, nisi sub condicione a Deo, scilicet eo modo quo ipse Deus scit nobis expedire et proficere. Et ideo Ambrosius super illud Psalmi "Beati immaculati": "Dum, inquit, oras Deum, magna postula et eterna, non terrena et caduca"; et sequitur: "Noli orare pro pecunia, quia erugo est, nec pro possessione, quia terra est. Oracio enim talis ad Deum non pervenit, quia nisi quod dignum suis ducit esse beneficiis, Deus non audit." Hec ille. Unde Bernardus super Mattheum: "Bene enim orat qui Deum orando querit; qui a terrenis ad superiora progreditur, virtutem curie superioris ascendit." Unde Dominus Iesus, ut oraret, solus in montem ascendit. Et sequitur: "Qui enim de divitiis et honoribus seculi vel de morte inimici oracionem facit, in ymo iacens viles ad Deum mittit preces." In cuius figura patet Regum 3 quod Salomon qui huiusmodi non petivit set tantum sapienciam ad populum bene regendum, et ideo placatus Dominus illam sibi cum longitudine dierum concessit et abundanciam diviciarum, sicut satis ibidem patet. Unde Bernardus: "Sperare procul dubio possumus quicquid recte petimus."

85 Et nota quomodo Christus contra omnia mala in omni necessitate docet nos orare cotidie, dicens in Mattheo: "Sic, inquit, orabit: Pater noster, qui es in celis, sanctificetur nomen tuum," supple: in nobis, ita quod per tuam gratiam et auxilium simus vasa sancta et munda, contra luxuriam. "Adveniat regnum tuum," scilicet nobis pro terreno regno quod dimisimus, 90 contra cupiditatem et avariciam. "Fiat voluntas tua," pro qua [f. 149] voluntatem nostram contempnimus, contra superbiam. "Panem nostrum cotidianum," etc., hoc est necessariam sustentacionem, hoc est n(on) nimis superfluam [nec nimis remissam], contra gulam. "Et dimitte nobis," etc., contra iracundiam. "Et ne nos inducas in temptacionem," scilicet carnalem, mundia- 95 lem, et maxime diabolicam, contra invidiam. "Set libera nos a malo," scilicet per opera misericordie et alia opera penitencie, contra accidiam.

Tercio oracio debet esse fervens et lacrimosa; alioquin non potest facere fructum, secundum Bernardum, non plus quam terra sicca et arida. Et hoc bene vadit contra ypocritas qui orando unum simulant ore et aliud 100 intendunt corde, eo quod subito quasi in aspectu hominum orando lacrimas emittunt et statim a tergo in risu dissolutos dissolvuntur, ad modum quo trutanni mendicantes, cum viderint homines appropinquare, clamant et se simulant flere, ut sic dumtaxat uberiores elemosinas accipiant; set cum preterierint, in risum et frequenter in derisionem prorumpunt, ut patet 105 supra, parte 1, capitulo 4. Et ideo huiusmodi ypocritas pulcre redarguit Crisostomus super Mattheum in *Inperfecto* super illud "Ve vobis ypocrite qui similes estis sepulcris dealbatis": "Dic, inquit, ypocrita, si bonum est

Nothing can come as a gift that must be denied by right.

This is clearly figured in the prayer by the mother of the sons of Zebedee, in Matthew 20; the Lord answered her with, "You do not know what you ask," as if he were criticizing her for her indiscreet prayer. Therefore, we must not ask for anything from God, especially any temporal good, except on condition, that is to say, insofar as God himself knows what is expedient and useful for us. Hence Ambrose comments on the words "Blessed are the undefiled" of the Psalm: "When you pray to God, pray for great and eternal things, not for what is earthly and transitory." And he continues: "Do not pray for money, for it is rust, nor for possessions, for they are dust. Such prayer does not reach God, for God does not hear but what he considers worthy of his benefits." For this reason, Bernard comments on Matthew: "He prays well who in his prayer seeks God; as he progresses from earthly things to higher ones, he climbs to the power of the heavenly court." Hence the Lord Jesus went up by himself on a mountain to pray. And Bernard continues: "He who prays for money and worldly honors or the death of his enemy lies low and sends shameful prayers to God." As a type of good prayer, Solomon in Kings 3 did not ask for such things but only for the wisdom to rule his people well; and the Lord was well pleased with his prayer and granted him wisdom together with a long life and abundance of wealth, as one can find it plainly in that chapter. Therefore Bernard says: "We can hope beyond doubt to receive what we ask rightly."

And notice how Christ teaches us to pray daily against all evils in all our needs, when he says in Matthew: "Thus, therefore, shall you pray: Our Father, who art in heaven, hallowed be thy name," add: in us, so that through your grace and help we may be holy and clean vessels, against lechery. "Thy kingdom come," that is: to us, in place of the earthly kingdom which we have left behind, against avarice and covetousness. "Thy will be done," for we scorn our self-will, against pride. "Give us today our daily bread," that is, all that is necessary to sustain us, neither too much nor too little, against gluttony. "And forgive us," and so on, against wrath. "And lead us not into temptation," namely of the flesh, the world, and especially the devil, against envy. "But deliver us from evil," that is, through the deeds of mercy and other works of penance, against sloth.

Third, our prayer must be fervent and tearful; otherwise it cannot bear fruit, according to Bernard, any more than dry and barren land. This quality is opposed to hypocrites who pretend one thing in their mouth when they pray and mean another in their heart. Thus, when they pray, they quickly shed tears in the face of other people, but behind their backs they at once break into boundless laughter, like good-for-nothing beggars who cry out and pretend they are weeping when they see other people approach, in hope of getting greater

esse bonum et malum esse malum. Si primum, ut quid ergo non vis esse quod vis apparere? Si secundum, scilicet si malum est esse malum, ut quid ergo vis esse quod non vis apparere? Quod enim turpe est apparere, turpius est esse, et quod formosum est apparere, formosius est esse. Ergo (dicit ipse) aut appare quod es aut esto quod appares, quia manifestum malum non reprehenditur a sapientibus dum insania estimatur." Hec ille.

Set rogo quid dicemus hiis diebus ex quo tot apparent [f. 149v] homines in exteriori et tamen in interiori sunt bestiis silvestribus peiores? Revera, pro toto mundo videtur de talibus esse sicut isti pictores formant aliquas ymagines que dicuntur *babewynes* in parietibus. Aliquas enim eorum formant cum facie hominis et cum corpore leonis, aliquas etiam cum facie (hominis) et residuo corporis asini, et alias cum capite hominis et cum parte posteriori ursi. Et sic de singulis. Sic certe est de talibus ypocritis, nam aliqui apparent exterius mundi et casti, set a tergo sunt equis vel asinis luxuriosiores. Similiter alii apparent in facie et a parte ante mites et pii ut homo, set a tergo sunt leonibus crudeliores verberando, spoliando, mactando. Similiter alii apparent sobrii, et tamen propter immoderatam gulam quam exercent latenter sunt ursis fetidiores. Et sic de singulis. Unde narratur de quodam papa nomine Benedicto, qui symoniace intravit et, quamvis se sanctum simulaverat, pessime tamen vixit. Quo mortuo cito post cuidam sibi familiari apparuit cum capite asini et corpore ursi. Cum autem alius perteritus quisnam esset quesierat, respondit: "Ego, inquit, sum ille papa Benedictus, eo modo tibi apparens quo vixi. Qui enim quamvis totum studium meum sanctitate pr(e)tendebam, fuit c(irc)a luxuriam, ideo capud asini porto, qui animal est luxuriosum. Et quia residuum cogitatus fuit circa ventrem et ciborum delicias, ideo corpus ursinum porto vel gesto." Et hiis dictis disparuit. Unde Crisostomus in *[In]completo*, homelia 4, sic ait contra tales ypocritas: "Nescio, inquit, si homo es. Manifeste possum ali(ud) dicere cum enim calcitras ut asinus, saltas ut taurus, fremas in mulieres ut equus, [f. 150] castrimargiam paciaris ut ursus, carnem inpingues velud mulus, rapias ut lupo, irasceris ut serpens, percucias ut scorpio, dolosus sis ut vulpes, venenum malicie observes ut aspis et viperam, et prelieris adversus fratres quemadmodum perniciosus demon." Hec ille. "Qualiter ergo (dicit ipse) potero te inter homines numerare? Non video in te talis nature carecteres. Quid enim feram te dicam? Set bestie ab una harum maliciarum retinentur, tu autem simul omnes deferens longe ab earum irrationabilitate incedis. Si vero demonem te dicam? Set demon neque ventris servit tyrannidi nec pecunias concupiscit. Cum ergo et feris et demonibus malicias plures habeas, qualiter te hominem dicemus? Erubescere ergo, ypocrita (dicit Crisostomus), appare quod es aut esto quod appares." Hec ille.

alms; but when the people are gone, they break into laughter and often into derision, as we saw earlier in part 1, chapter 4. Therefore Chrysostom reproaches such hypocrites in his *Imperfect Work on Matthew*, in commenting on the words, "Woe to you, hypocrites, because you are like whited sepulchers": "Tell me, you hypocrite, if it is good to be good and bad to be evil. If the former is the case, why do you not want to be what you want to appear? If the latter, that is, if it is bad to be evil, why do you want to be what you do not want to appear? For what is shameful in appearance is even more shameful in reality, and what is beautiful in its appearance is even more beautiful in its being. Therefore, either be in truth what you appear to be, or appear as such as you are, for an open evil is not condemned by wise men, since it is judged to be insanity."

But what, I ask, shall we say when nowadays so many people appear to be human outwardly but inside are worse than wild animals? For all the world they seem to be like those images called *babewynes*, "grotesques," which painters depict on walls. Some of them they paint with a human face and the body of a lion, others with a man's face and the body of an ass, and others again with a human head and the hind part of a bear, and so on. Surely, the same is true of hypocrites, for some of them appear in their face and front part to be mild and meek like a human person, but in their back part they are more cruel than lions through their habits of striking, robbing, and killing. Others likewise appear outwardly clean and chaste, but behind they are more lecherous than horses or asses. Others again appear to be sober, and yet on account of the unlimited gluttony which they indulge in secretly they are uglier than bears. And so forth. There is a story about a pope named Benedict who came into office by simony and lived a most evil life, even though he pretended to be a saintly person. Soon after his death he appeared to a member of his household with the head of an ass and the body of a bear. When this man asked him in great terror who he was, he replied: "I am Pope Benedict, appearing in the form in which I lived. For though I pretended to be entirely concerned with holiness, it was in reality all about lechery. Hence I carry the head of an ass, which is a lecherous animal. And because the remainder of my thoughts were spent on my stomach and delicious food, I have the body of a bear." And with these words he disappeared. Whence Chrysostom speaks against hypocrites in Homily 4 of his *Imperfect Work* as follows: "I do not know if you are human. Obviously I could say differently since you kick like an ass, jump like a bull, neigh at women like a horse, yearn for food like a bear, grow fat like a mule, ravage like a wolf, get angry like a snake, sting like a scorpion, are tricky like a fox, spit the poison of evil like an asp and viper, and fight against your brothers like a harmful demon. How, then, can I count you among humans? I do not find any human traits in you. What then? Can I call you a wild animal, if wild

5 iste] ille C. 29 cor] vox C. 40 omne] esse C.M. 49 a] om O. 54 affectus] effectus C. 55 affectu] effectu C. 59 desercionem] deseracionem C; disrescionem W. 59–60 sic oracio] om O. 90 pro qua] qua M; quia R.W. 91 nostram] propriam O. 92 non] nec C. 93 nobis] add debita nostra O. 116 isti] ibi M.W; ubi R. 117 Aliquas] aliquos O. 119 hominis] leonis C. residuo] residuum C.M. alias] alios O. 121–124 nam . . . mactandi] the two sentences reversed O. 131 pretendebam] protendebam C. circa] contra C. 133 porto vel] om O. 134 Incompleto] completo C.R. 136 aliud] aliud C.M. calcitras] calcitres O. 143 earum] illarum O.

### V.xviii QUE NOS COMPELLUNT AD ORANDUM

[S]ecundo compellimur ad orandum propter necessitatem. In tanta enim p(auper)tate est homo quod quasi nichil boni habet, quia omnia consumit ad *le hasard*. Et ideo pro auxilio necesse habet petere, quia Iacobi I dicitur:  
 5 “Si quis vestrum indiget sapiencia, postulet a Deo qui dat omnibus affluenter.” Secundo propter Christi liberalitatem. Ipse enim plus paratus est dare quam tu audeas petere. Et ideo bene dici potest rex Assuerus, qui Hester parva petenti respondit: “Et si dimidium regni pecieris, impetrabis.”  
 In eo autem fallit illud verbum rusticanum: “To a goode bidder goode wernar,” set eius contrarium verificatur, scilicet: “To goode bidder fre  
 10 yever.” In cuius signum petere differentes redarguit Iohannis 16; dicit: “Usque modo non petistis quicquam in nomine meo; petite et accipietis.”  
 Tercio, propter advocati nostri in curia celorum [f. 150v] auctoritatem. Ante enim ascencionem Domini nostri Iesu Christi talem advocatum non habuimus sicut modo, set iam tante auctoritatis est ibi advocatus noster Chris-  
 15 tus quod non solum quicquid ipse petit, set etiam quicquid in nomine eius petitur impetratur; Iohannis 14: “Quicquid pecieritis in nomine meo, fiet vobis. Petite ergo et accipietis.”

2 paupertate] potestate C. homo] add peccator O. 8–9 To . . . wernar] see Verses, pp. 204–205. 13 Domini . . . Iesu] om O.

animals have one of these evil characteristics each, while you have them all together and thus go far beyond their irrational natures? Or shall I call you a demon? But a demon does not serve the tyranny of the stomach, nor does he lust for money. Since you thus have more evils in you than wild beasts and demons, how shall we call you human? Blush, then, O hypocrite, and appear as what you are or else be in truth what you appear to be.”

21–22 Isidore, *Sent.* III.vii.4 (PL 83:672). 23–24 Isa. 29.13 and Matt. 15.8. 27 *FM* I.vii.20–21. 29 *Prov* 34177b. 51–52 Ps.-Augustine, *De spiritu et anima* 50 (PL 40:816). 53 Cant. 2.14. 54–55 For the background and popularity of this saying, see Alford, *MP* 72 (1975), 390–391. *FM* seems to predate the passages with *brevis* listed by Alford. 61–62 Exod. 17.8–13. 66 *Prov* 17624. 67–69 Matt. 20.20–28. 71–72 Ps. 118.1. 78 Cf. Luke 9.28. 81–83 1 Kings 6–14. 86–95 Matt. 6.9–13. 105 *FM* I.vii.5–8. 106–107 Matt. 23.27. 107–113 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 45 (PG 56:885). 126–134 Tubach 575; see Peter Damiani, *De abdicatione episcopatus* 3 (PL 145:428–29). 147 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 45 (PG 56:885).

### V.xviii WHAT COMPELS US TO PRAY

In the second place, we are compelled to pray by our need. Man is in such poverty that he has almost nothing that is good, for he has wasted it all at *le hasarde*, at gambling. Therefore he must needs ask for help, for in James 1 it is said: “If any of you lack wisdom, let him ask it of God, who gives to all men abundantly.” Second, we are compelled by Christ’s generosity. For he is more ready to give than you dare ask. Therefore he could be said to be King Ahasuerus, who replied to Esther when she asked him for a small gift: “Even if you should ask for half of my kingdom, you shall obtain it.” In Christ the popular proverb which says, “A good asker, a good refuser,” fails to apply, whereas its opposite comes true, namely: “To a good asker a generous giver.” To show this he reproved those who are slow in their prayers, when he said in John 16: “Hitherto you have not asked anything in my name; ask, and you shall receive.” Third, we are compelled to pray because of the authority which our advocate wields in the court of heaven. Before the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ we did not have such an advocate as we have now; but now our advocate, Christ, has such authority there that not only whatever he himself asks, but even what we ask in his name is granted; John 14: “Whatever you ask the Father in my name shall be given to you. Ask therefore and you shall receive.”

4–5 James 1.5. 7 Esther 5.3. 11 John 16.24. 16–17 John 14.13.

## V.xix QUOCIENS ET QUALITER ORANDUM EST

[T]ercio est sciendum quod sepcies in die et nocte est devote orandum, iuxta illud Psalmi: “Sepcies in die laudem dixi tibi.” Et hoc quia “sepcies in die cadit iustus,” et ideo ut tociens possit resurgere, tociens orat, ut per hoc sempiterni don(o) Spiritus Sancti valeamus adimpleri et a septem viciis capitalibus premuniri et defendi. Et similiter in memoria septem horarum Christi. Nam primo nocte media oramus, quia in hac hora Christus natus est, similiter a Iudeis captus est et illusus. Dicitur etiam in *Magistrali* quod media nocte infernum spoliavit large loquendo, scilicet ante lucem mane surrexit, et hora prima apparuit. In hac etiam hora ad iudicium venturus [esse] asseritur. In hac ergo hora laudes Deo persolvimus et ei de eius nativitate, captione, et patrum liberatione gratias agamus, et eius adventum ad iudicium sollicite expectamus. Adduntur etiam laudes tunc matutinales, quia illa hora Egipcio[s] in mari submersit, mundum creavit, et resurrexit. Et ideo tunc laudes sibi referimus, ne in mari huius mundi cum Egipciis demergamur et ut pro nostra creacione et eius resurrectione sibi gratias persolvamus. Hora autem prima Christus Pilato est presentatus et a mortuo resurgens primo mulieribus apparuit, hoc est in prima hora diei. Et ideo tunc sibi laudes persolvimus, gratias sibi resurgenti et [f. 151] apparenti reddendo. Hora tertia Christus ad columpnam flagellatus est que, ut in historiis habetur, adhuc vestigia cruoris ostendit. Et hac hora etiam Spiritus Sanctus missus est sanctis apostolis. Hora sexta in cruce clavis confixus est et tenebre facte sunt in universum mundum, ne sol in morte Domini sui ipsum crucifigentibus lucem preberet. Et in hac hora die ascensionis cum discipulis discubuit. Hora autem nona spiritum emisit, miles eius latus ap(er)ruit, ceteris apostolorum ad orandum convenire consuevit, Christus celum ascendit, etc. Hora vesperarum Christus in cena sacramentum corporis et sanguinis instituit, pedes discipulorum lavit, de cruce depositus et in sepulcro collocatus est, similiter discipulis in habitu peregrino se manifestavit. Hora completorii Christus guttas sanguinis sudavit, in monumento custoditur, et resurgens pacem discipulis nunciavit. Et ideo istis horis laudes et gratias persolvimus.

Et nota quod communiter ad orientem adoramus, secundum Damascenum, libro 4, capitulo 5, triplici ratione: Primo ut patriam nostram nos requirere ostendamus; secundo ut Christum crucifixum respiciamus; tercio ut advenientem iudicem nos expectare ostendamus. Ait enim sic: “Dominus enim crucifixus ad orientem respiciebat, et ita adoramus ad ipsum respicientes. Et assumptus ad orientem sursum ferebatur, et ipsum apostoli adorabant, et ita veniet quomodo viderunt eum euntem in celum. Ipsum ergo expectantes ad ipsum orientem adoramus.” Hec Damascenus.

## V.xix HOW OFTEN AND IN WHAT WAY WE SHOULD PRAY

In the third place we must know that we should pray devoutly seven times by day and night, according to the words of the Psalm, “Seven times a day I have given praise to you.” And this because “a just man falls seven times a day,” and therefore he prays as often so that he may rise as many times; through this we can be filled with the sevenfold gift of the Holy Spirit and be fortified and protected against the seven capital vices. And similarly we pray seven times in memory of the seven hours of Christ. For first we pray at midnight, because in that hour Christ was born and likewise captured by the Jews and mocked. It is also said, in the *Magisterial Work*, that at midnight he harrowed hell, broadly speaking, that is to say, he rose in the morning before dawn and appeared at the first hour. Further, in this hour he is asserted to come for the judgment. In this hour, therefore, we render praise to God and thank him for his birth, capture, and the freeing of our forefathers, and eagerly wait for his coming to judgment. To this are then added Lauds at dawn, for in that hour he drowned the Egyptians in the Red Sea, created the world, and rose from death. And therefore we praise him in that hour so that we may not drown with the Egyptians in the sea of this world and to give him thanks for our creation and his resurrection. At Prime, that is, in the first hour of the day, Christ was presented to Pilate and, rising from the dead, first appeared to the holy women. And therefore we praise him at that time and give him thanks for his resurrection and appearance. At the third hour, Christ was scourged at the column which still today shows marks of his blood, as can be found in histories. And in the same hour the Holy Spirit was sent to the apostles. At the sixth hour, he was nailed to the cross and darkness came over the whole world, so that at the death of its lord the sun did not give its light to those who were crucifying him. And in the same hour he lay at table with his disciples on the day of the ascension. But at the ninth hour he gave up his spirit, a soldier opened his side, the group of the apostles used to gather for prayer, Christ ascended to heaven, and other events occurred. At Vespers, Christ instituted the sacrament of his holy Body and Blood at supper, washed the feet of his disciples, was taken from the cross and placed in the tomb, and also showed himself to his disciples clothed as a pilgrim. And at Compline, Christ perspired drops of blood, was guarded in the tomb, and after his resurrection announced his disciples his peace. And for this let us give him praise and thanks at these hours.

Notice also that usually we pray facing east, according to Damascene, book 4, chapter 5, and this for three reasons: first, to show that we seek our home; second, to look at Christ on the cross, and third, to show that we are waiting for the coming of our judge. For Damascene says as follows: “When Christ was

4 dono] dona C. 7 est(2)] om O. 10 esse] est M.W. 17 mortuo] mortuis O. sanctis]  
om O. 25 aperuit] apparuit C. 30 horis] add sibi O. 36 orientem] occidentem R.

### V.xx QUE BONA CONFERT ORACIO

[C]irca quartum, scilicet de oracionis utilitate et que bona confert oracio, est sciendum quod primo ad superna desiderium ascendere facit, et maxime si sit de- [f. 151v] vota et pro peccatis lacrimosa. Sicut vis flamme ignis fumum in aere[m] facit ascendere, et ventus aquam attrahit a mari que ad terre humectacionem postea habet descendere, sic et oracio devota et lacrimosa a spiritu afflatur et sursum vehitur et iterum descendit, ut magis ac magis lav(e)t lacrimis contagia culpe; Psalmista: "Ascensiones in corde suo disposuit in valle lacrimarum." In cuius figura legitur de David, Regum 15, quod ascendit altitudinem montis "scandens et flens." Et ideo dicitur Iob 23: "In amaritudine anime mee inmorabitur oculus meus." Secundo, apud Deum gratiam et virtutum efficaciam impetrat; unde Thobie 12 legitur quod angelus dixit ei: "Quando orabas cum lacrimis, optulim oracionem tuam Domino." In cuius eiam figura Regum 20 cum egrotasset Ezechias, conversus ad parietem (ad)orabat cum lacrimis et exauditus es[t]. Tercio, ventos temptacionum deicit ad modum quo frequenter parva pluvia ventos et tempestates cedat; Thobie 3: "Post tempestatem tranquillum facis, et post lacrimarum fletus exultacionem mittis," quia secundum Gregorium, "dulciores sunt lacrimae penitentium quam deliciae regum." De quo admirans Bernardus ait: "Si enim tam pium est flere de te, o bone Iesu, dulcissimum est de te gaudere." Et ideo dicit Augustinus: "Currebant michi lacrimae et bene michi erat cum illis."

Fertur autem quod antiquis temporibus a commentatore Iuvenali Oracio depingebatur ad modum hominis pulcherrimi habentis corpus igneum et capud in celum erectum, super unam lanceam rectam et altissimam, cum quatuor angelis illam supportantibus et rotul(u)m in manibus singulis tenentibus codicem condiciones Oracionis continentem. In quorum primo rotulo scribebatur:

Terris, igne, mari, ventis peto dominari.

crucified, he was facing west, and therefore we adore him this way by looking back at him. And when he was taken to heaven, he was carried upward to the east, and the apostles adored him; and he will come in the same way as they saw him go to heaven. Therefore, we pray to him expecting him from the east."

The substance of this chapter occurs similarly in *Leg. aurea*, pp. 847–849. 2 Ps. 118.164. 2–3 Prov. 24.16. 32–39 John Damascene, *De fide orthodoxa* IV.12 (PG 94:1136). 35 The textual confusion between East and West occurs also in manuscripts of Damascene; see the edition by Eligius M. Buytaert (St. Bonaventure, N. Y., 1955), p. 305.

### V.xx WHAT GOOD EFFECTS PRAYER HAS

With respect to the fourth point, namely the usefulness of prayer and its good effects, we should know that, first prayer causes in us a desire to rise to heavenly things, especially if it be made with devotion and tears for our sins. Just as the natural power of fire causes smoke to rise in the air, and as the wind draws water from the sea which later will fall to moisten the earth, so does devout and tearful prayer receive the breathing of the Spirit and is carried aloft and descends again to wash the stains of sin more and more with its tears. As the Psalmist says: "He has disposed in his heart to ascend by steps, in the vale of tears." A type of this is found in David of Kings 15, who climbed to the height of a mountain "going up and weeping." And in Job 23 it is said: "My eye shall abide in bitterness of my soul." Second, prayer gains for us grace and the power of virtues from God. Hence we read in Tobit 12 that the angel said to Tobit: "When you were praying with tears, I offered your prayer to the Lord." This is prefigured in Kings 20: when Hezekiah was ill, he turned to the wall, adored God with tears, and was heard. Third, prayer abates the winds of temptation, in the same way as a little rain often quiets winds and storms; Tobit 3: "After a storm you make a calm, and after tears and weeping you send joyfulness," because according to Gregory, "the penitent's tears are sweeter than a king's delights." Bernard spoke of this in amazement: "If weeping for your sake is such a lovely thing, O good Jesus, then rejoicing for your sake is most sweet." And for this reason Augustine says: "My tears flowed, and with them I was happy."

In ancient times, Prayer is said to have been depicted, by the commentator Juvenal, as a most beautiful man with a body of fire, his head lifted to heaven, leaning on a straight and tall lance, and supported by four angels who held scrolls in their hands which expressed the qualities of prayer. On the first was written:

Lands and fire, sea and winds I strive to rule.

[Anglice sic:

30 Fyre, watur, wynd and lond  
Y wylne to haue in my honde.]

In secundo: [f. 152]

Vir, pete, sum presto; si plangas, cercior esto.

[Anglice sic:

35 Byd faste and Y come sone;  
Yf þow sorow, þe tyt þy bone.]

In tercio:

Si petor, accedo; sin autem, inde recedo.

[Anglice sic:

40 Whyle þou bydde, redy Y am;  
When þou leuyst, Y go þe fram.]

Et in quarto:

Aduvo feruenter, non desero, pugno libenter.

[Anglice sic:

45 〈Smertly〉 I helpe 〈and noght〉 forsake.  
Gladly Y fyzt þe maystry to take.]

Spiritualiter autem loquendo Oracio in forma hominis depingebatur in signum quod ipsa erit sicut homo rationalis; et erecta in signum quod orans superior in Deum totam spem ponit et non in homine, quia "maledictus homo qui ponit spem in homine." Exemplum illius: Iudas Machabeus bellum aggressurus contra multitudinem adversariorum suorum in Domino confortans, ut scilicet in illo spem ponerent et non in homine, dixit: "Sicut fuerit voluntas in celo, sic fiet." Item Oracio ponebatur super lanceam erectam in signum quod

50 nullo modo est tortuosa set ex omni parte cum equitate iusticie linealis ad  
55 nullam partem declinans. Et non solum debet esse recta sine tortuositate secundum legem et iudicium humanarum constitucionum, verum eciam omni modo

In English:

Fire, water, wind, and land  
Firmly I wish to have in hand.

On the second:

Pray, I am at your will; if you weep, you may be more sure.

In English:

Fast you pray, and I come soon,  
If you are sorry, you get your boon.

On the third:

If I am asked, I come, but leave as soon as you stop.

In English:

As long as you pray, ready I'll be,  
But when you stop I go from thee.

And on the fourth:

With fervor I help, I do not forsake, and gladly I fight.

In English:

I eagerly help and not forsake,  
And gladly fight the crown to take.

In spiritual terms, Prayer is depicted in human shape to show that it must be rational like man; and upright, to show that when one prays, one puts one's hope entirely above, in God, not in man, for "cursed is the man who puts his trust in man." As an example of this: when Judas Maccabaeus was about to enter the war against a multitude of enemies, he comforted his troops with the Lord, that is, that they should put their hope in the Lord and not in man, saying: "As it is his will in heaven, so let it be done." Further, Prayer rested on a straight lance, to show that it is in no way crooked but everywhere straight-forward with just equity and not partial in any way. It must be straight without crookedness, not only in accordance with the law and human legislation,



secundum conscienciam rectam et ordinatam secundum legem preceptorum Dei.

Item depingitur cum quatuor angelis, in signum quod angeli semper sunt parati Deo preces recte ordinatas offerre. Exemplum Thobie 12 de angelo

60 Raphael qui dixit: “Quando orabas optuli oracionem tuam Domino.”

Et nota quod tantum quatuor depingitur habere angelos, ad designandum quod ad hoc quod oracio fiat recta, exaudibilis, et perfecta, oportet quod sit ex quatuor particulis consequentibus, quarum prima est quod orare

65 quibus et per que omnia inferiora bene vel male ordinantur et reguntur. Et ideo in primo rotulo primi angeli scribebatur: “Terris, igne, mari,” etc.

Exemplum de igne: Genesis (9), de Sodoma et Gomorra; et similiter Regum 2, de Helia et duobus [f. 152v] principibus quinquagenariis, et qualiter

70 tercius princeps salvatus est per humilitatem oracionis. Exemplum secundo de ventis et aere, Regum, quomodo per oracionem Helie in vindictam sceleris populi per tres annos et sex menses ventus aere non erat madefactus, nam per tantum tempus non pluit super terram, set postea per humilem oracionem

75 celum dedit pluuiam et terra germen suum. Exemplum tercio de aqua patet in Mari Rubro super Pharaonem et exercitum eius orante Moyse quomodo in illo erant submersi. Et eciam prius patuit in diluuium. Et eciam secundum beatum

Orosium et Augustinum *De civitate Dei*, libro 16, capitulo 10, postea propter peccatum hominis multas provincias et partes provinciarum subvertit diluuium parciale, scilicet Ogigi et Decalionis, quamvis non fuerit nisi semel, scilicet tempore Noe, diluuium generale. Et ponit ibi exemplum:

80 Quodam tempore Cicropis regis Assiriorum factum est diluuium in orientali plaga fere perveniens ad Egiptum. Et similiter nota quomodo aque converse sunt in sanguinem tempore Pharaonis, ut patet Exodo. Similiter patet Regum 3 de aquis amaricatis per Heliseum dulcoratis.

Secunda particula pertinens ad oracionem est quod fiat cum lacrimis et

85 planctu ex dolore proprii commissi et reatus. Et ideo in secundo rotulo secundi angeli scribebatur: “Vir, pete, sum presto,” etc. Exemplum Regum 20 de Ezechia, ut patet supra, quomodo cum egrotasset conversus ad parietem plorans et orans exauditus est. Exemplum eciam de Magdalena, et de beato

90 Francisco, quomodo in principio sue conversionis plangens et plorans cum oracione dies annorum suorum, ex voce melliflua confortatus et certificatus fuit. Et ideo de illis et huiusmodi aliis pro peccatis dolentibus dicitur

in Psalmo: “Recogitabo tibi omnes annos meos,” etc., supple: quos in vanis expendidi, propter quod [f. 153] annos eternos in mente habui, quos scilicet et quorum gloriam amisi, et ideo illos in mente contrita iugiter reti-

95 nui. Unde bene dicitur illud Ieremie 32: “In fletu venient et in misericordia reducam eos,” [quasi diceret: venient ad me cum lacrimis devote orantes et in misericordia reducam eos] bene conversantes.

Tercia particula ad oracionem pertinens est quod sit constans et assidua. Et ideo scribitur in tercio rotulo: “Cum petor, accedo,” etc.

but also in every respect in accordance with a conscience that is straightforward and formed by the law of God’s commandments. Moreover, it is depicted with four angels, to show that the angels are always ready to carry rightly fashioned prayers to God. An example is the angel Raphael of Tobit 12, who said: “When you prayed, I offered your prayer to the Lord.”

And notice that Prayer is depicted with only four angels to show that, in order to be straightforward, worthy to be heard, and perfect, prayer must have the following four aspects. The first is that we must pray only for what is in agreement with God’s will and helpful to the elements by and through which all lower natures are well or badly formed and ruled. Therefore, in the scroll of the first angel was written: “Lands and fire, sea,” and so on. Concerning fire, we find an example in Sodom and Gomorrah of Genesis 9, and similarly in Elijah and the two princes of fifty men in Kings 2, and how the third prince was saved by humble prayer. An example for wind and air occurs in Kings, how at the prayer of Elijah, in punishment for the crime of the people, wind and air was not moist for three years and six months, for all that time it did not rain on the earth; but afterwards, at his humble prayer, heaven yielded rain and the earth began to sprout. An example for water is the Red Sea, in which Pharaoh and his army were drowned when Moses prayed; and the same can be seen in Noah’s flood. And later on, according to Blessed Orosius and Augustine, in book 16 of *The City of God*, chapter 10, a partial flood, namely that of Ogyges and of Deucalion, destroyed many provinces and parts of provinces because of man’s sin, although a general flood had come only once, that is, in the time of Noah. And Augustine mentions as an instance the flood that occurred at the time of Cecrops, king of the Assyrians, on the eastern shore, reaching almost as far as Egypt. In the same way, notice how in the time of Pharaoh the waters were turned into blood, as we read in Exodus. Similarly in Kings 3, how the bitter waters were made sweet by Elisha.

The second aspect that belongs to prayer is that it must be made with tears and lament in grief for one’s sin and fault. Therefore it was written in the scroll of the second angel: “Pray, I am at your will,” and so forth. An example is Hezekiah of Kings 20, as we saw earlier: when he was ill, he turned toward the wall, wept and prayed, and was heard. Another example is Magdalene; and Blessed Francis, how in the beginning of his new life, as he wept and in prayer grieved over the days of his past life, he was comforted by a honey-sweet voice and strengthened in his resolve. Therefore, the words of the Psalm apply well to these and others who thus grieve for their sins: “I will recount to you all my years,” and so forth; add: the years I have spent in vain endeavors, for which I have held the eternal years in my mind which I have lost with their glory, and therefore I have kept them firmly in my contrite mind. Hence it is said in Jeremiah 32: “They will come in weeping, and I will bring them back in mercy,” as if God were saying: they shall come to me praying devoutly with tears, and I shall bring them back in mercy to lead a good life.

- 100 Exemplum de Iosue, quomodo ipso orante contra populum Amalech prevaluit Israel, cessante illo prevaluit Amalech. Exemplum de Moyse, Exodi 17, quomodo dum extensis manibus oravit, populus Israel prevaluit, set illis depositis succubuit; propter quod filii Israel manus suas sustentabant. Unde dicitur: "Multum valet oratio iusti assidua"; et Ad Thessalonicenses
- 105 5: "Orate sine intermissione."  
 Quarta particula oracionis est quod ipsa debet esse ardens et in fine devota. Et ideo scribitur in quarto rotulo: "Aduvo ferventer," etc. Exemplum Iosue, cui oranti sol et luna quamdiu voluit obedierunt. Exemplum eciam Machabeorum 10 de Iuda Machabeo qui facta oracione bellum aggressus est et auxilio duorum virorum de celo descendencium fultus victoriam optinuit mirabilem. Exemplum eciam Regum 6 de obsidione Samarie et fame et dolore, et quomodo viri fugati sunt per supernalem exercitum grandem angelorum. Sic ergo hoc modo oratio iusta, humilis, et discreta debet esse, ut scilicet nichil petatur nisi quod sit ad Dei voluntatem et salutem animarum, ad modum quo quidam sanctus, ut patet in *Vitas Patrum*, solebat Deum orare dicens: "Domine, sicut vis et scis, miserere mei." Et nota quod quicquid dicitur supra in (ista) particula, capitulo 2, de effectu misse, potest hic adduci et e contrario. Hec de oracione dicta sufficiunt ad presens.

7 lavet] lavit C. 10 23] 27 O. inmorabitur] morabitur O. 14 adorabat] et orabat C; orabat R. 19 o] om O. 22 Iuvenali] iuvenalis M.W. 25 rotulum] rotulam C. 26–27 scribebatur] add sic O. 29–46 Anglice . . . take] material in brackets supplied from R. Verse 48, in B1.B3.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 42 Et in] om O. 43 ferventer] frequenter R.W. 45 Smertly . . . noht] i helpe anon R. 53 fiet] fiat O. 60 orabas] a later hand has added cum lacrimis C. 64 elementis] clementer C.R.W. 66 etc.] O complete the line as above, 28. 67 igne] add primo O. 9] primo C. 82 tempore] om O. 88–89 beato Francisco] sancto francisco Sp; om groups x and y.E. Jo.L3.LC; manuscript defective L1. All full manuscripts recorded. 91 aliis] ceteris O. dolentibus] add bene O. 95 32] 31 O. 100 de] om O. 101 Israel] add sed O. 104 Unde] add bene O. 113 Sic] sit O. debet esse] om O. 114 scilicet] add quod O. 117 ista] prima C; quinta M.

## V.xxi DE IEIUNIO

[I]am enim de abstinentia et ieiunio, quod est [f. 153v] secunda pars satisfactionis contra carnales insultus penitus esset dicendum, set quia de illo postea particula 6 post vicium gule satis diffuse tractabitur, ideo

The third aspect of prayer is that it must be constant and eager. Therefore it was written on the third scroll: "When I am asked, I come," and so forth. As an example, when Joshua prayed against the people of Amalek, Israel prevailed, but when he stopped, Amalek prevailed. Another example is Moses, in Exodus 17, how as long as he was praying with uplifted hands, the people of Israel prevailed, but when he let his hands sink, the people succumbed; and for this reason the children of Israel supported his hands. Therefore it is well said that "the eager prayer of the just is of great help"; and at Thessalonians 5: "Pray without ceasing."

The fourth aspect of prayer is that it must be fervent and for a pious purpose. Therefore it was written on the fourth scroll: "With fervor I help," and so forth. We find an example in Joshua, to whom sun and moon obeyed as long as he wanted while he was praying. Another example is Judas Maccabaeus, in Maccabees 10, who began the battle after he had prayed and won a miraculous victory with the help of two men who came down from heaven. A further example is the siege, hunger, and grief of Samaria, in Kings 6, and how the men were put to flight by a large troop of angels from above. Let your prayer, then, be just, humble, and discreet in this way, that nothing be asked for except what is according to God's will and for the good of souls, in the way a saintly person used to pray to God as is found in *The Lives of the Fathers*: "Lord, have mercy on me as you see fit and want it." All that was said earlier about the good effects of the Mass, in chapter 2 of this part, can be applied here also; and conversely the bad consequences for people who do not pray. This much about prayer is sufficient for now.

7–8 Ps. 83.6. 9 2 Sam. 15.30. 10 Job 17.2. 12–13 Tob. 12.12. 13–14 2 Kings 20.1–6. 16–17 Tob. 3.22. 19–20 Ps.-Bernard, *Lamentatio in Passionem Christi* 3 (PL 184:771). 20–21 Augustine, *Confessiones* IX.vi.14 (CC 27:141). 22–47 Tubach 3896; add Harley 7322, fol. 155v (with English verses). 49–50 Jer. 17.5. 52–53 1 Macc. 3.60. 60 Tob. 12.12. 67 Gen. 19.24. 67–69 2 Kings 1.9–15. 70–73 1 Kings 17. 74–75 Exod. 14. 75 Gen. 8. 75–81 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XVIII.x (CC 48:601). 81–82 Exod. 7. 82–83 2 Kings 2.19–22. 87–88 2 Kings 20.1–6. 88 Luke 7.38ff. 89–91 For example, Bonaventure, *Legenda sancti Francisci* III.6 (8:511). 92 Isa. 38.15. 95–96 Jer. 31.9. 101–103 Exod. 17.8–13. 104 James 5.16. 105 1 Thess. 5.17. 108 Josh. 10.13. 109–111 2 Macc. 10.15–38. 111–113 2 Kings 6. 115–116 Cf. VP III.207 (PL 73:806). 117 FM V.ii.100–203.

## V.xxi FASTING

We should now speak about abstinence and fasting, which form the second member of satisfaction, which is set against the attacks of our flesh. But since these will be dealt with at length later on, in part 6, after the vice of

5 quod illud sit athleta fortis gulam extirpans, totum hic causa brevitatis  
pertranseo.

2 contra] *add* scilicet O. 4 totum] ideo O.

### V.xxii DE ELEMOSINA

[C]irca terciam partem satisfactionis, scilicet de elemosina, cum ipsa  
tante virtutis sit quod opera meritoria in suo statu custodit et alia con-  
similia introducit remuneranda, (ideo) de illa ad presens dicendum est, et  
videndum primo quid sit elemosina et de quibus facienda, secundo quibus  
5 comparatur et quibus eroganda, tercio que illam impediunt, quarto que bona  
per illam eveniunt.

Est ergo primo sciendum quod elemosina est opus pietatis ad omnia va-  
lens, que ubicumque in sua indigencia confortat et sublevat. Et ideo secun-  
dum Augustinum hoc modo aliter diffinitur: "Elemosina, inquit, est res  
10 sancta que auget presencia, dimittit peccata, vitam elongat, separat a dia-  
bolo, sociat Deo, et angelos vocat in auxilium." Et nota secundum quod ha-  
betur *Summa confessorum*, libro 3, titulo "De hospitalitate ordinandorum,"  
questione 2, et accipitur a Thoma in *Summa*, questione 32: "Quedam elemosine  
15 sunt corporales, que scilicet exercentur per septem opera misericordie, que  
sunt esurientem pascere, sicientem potare, vestire nudum, recolligere hos-  
pitem, visitare infirmum, redimere captivum, sepelire mortuum." Unde ver-  
sus:

Visito, poto, cibo, redimo, tego, colligo, condo.

20 Quedam eciam sunt spirituales elemosine, et sunt iste: ignorantem docere,  
dubitanti consulere, consolari tristem, corrigere peccantem, offendentem  
remittere, onerosos portare, et pro omnibus orare. Unde versus:

Consule, castiga, solare, remitte, fer, ora.

Et nota quod elemosine corporales faciente sunt de propriis [f. 154] iuste  
et legitime acquisitis et non de rapinis aliorum illicitis et inhonestis,  
25 ut patet in *Summa confessorum*, libro 2, titulo 8, rubrica "De illicitis  
acquisitis," ut sunt de furtis, usuris, rapinis, meretriciis, et ceteris  
huiusmodi.

[D]e secundo vero, scilicet quibus comparatur elemosina et quibus ero-  
ganda est, primo est sciendum quod tria in elemosine dacione sunt conside-  
30 randa, scilicet iustum, ordo, et intencio. Iustum autem, ut sit de iusto et

gluttony, which they uproot like a strong champion, I will now bypass them for  
the sake of brevity.

3 *FM* VI.iv-vi.

### V.xxii ALMSGIVING

And so we turn to the third part of satisfaction, namely, almsgiving,  
which has such great power as to preserve our meritorious deeds in their status  
and to introduce others like them which will gain us reward. About it we must  
investigate, first, what almsgiving is and from what things alms should be  
given; second, to what it can be compared and to whom alms may be given;  
third, what things prevent it; and fourth, what good consequences it has.

First, then, we should know that almsgiving is a work of compassion which  
is useful in all sorts of ways; it comforts and helps wherever there is need.  
Therefore, another definition according to Augustine goes as follows: "Alms-  
giving is a holy work which increases present merits, forgives sins, prolongs  
life, separates us from the devil, joins us to God, and calls his angels to our  
help." And according to the *Summa for Confessors*, book 3, under the title  
"On the hospitality of people who are to be ordained," question 2 (and this is  
taken from Thomas's *Summa*, question 32): "Some alms are bodily and are  
practiced by the seven works of mercy, namely: to feed the hungry, give drink  
to the thirsty, clothe the naked, house the stranger, visit the sick, redeem the  
captive, and bury the dead." Hence the verse:

I visit, feed, give drink, redeem, clothe, shelter, bury.

Other alms are spiritual, and they are: to teach the uneducated, give counsel  
to people who are in doubt, console the sorrowing, correct the sinner, forgive  
those who offend, support those who are burdened, and pray for all. Hence the  
verse:

Counsel, punish, console, forgive, support, and pray.

And notice that bodily alms must be given from one's own property that has been  
justly and legally acquired, not from what has been taken illegally and dishon-  
estly from others, as is stated in the *Summa for Confessors*, book 2, title 8,  
under the rubric "On illegal gains," by such means as theft, usury, extortion,  
prostitution, and the like.

On the second point, to what things alms can be compared and to whom they  
may be given, we must first understand that when we give alms, three things

de proprio, ut predictum est, et non de illicito adquisito. Unde si hoc dubitatur utrum bona possint licite rapi ab avaro, usurario, vel a ceteris huiusmodi ut inde daretur elemosina aut non, respondit Raymundus quod non. Item dicit quod mala non sunt facienda ut inde eveniant bona quecumque: 30, questione 1, *Nosce*. Et ideo de talibus dicit Augustinus, 14, questione 5: "Forte, inquit, huiusmodi cogitacio diaboli calliditate suggeritur. Nam si totum tribuat circa elemosinas quod tali modo abstulit, addit pocius peccatum quam minuat, quia aufert sibi copiam restituendi. Numquam enim dimittitur peccatum nisi restituatur ablatum."

40 Secundo considerandus est ordo, ut scilicet primo elemosinam [incipiat] a seipso et postea ° proximo (faciat). Scribitur enim Matthei 7 et Luce 6: "Ipocrita, eice primo trabem de oculo," etc. Et Ecclesiastici 30: "Miserere anime tue placens Deo." Super quod dicit Magister *Sentenciarum*, libro 4, distinctione 15: "Si enim aliqui ex una parte elemosinas largiuntur et ex alia in diversis peccatis involvuntur, credentes virtute huiusmodi elemosinarum immunes persistere, quoad omnia sciant se delusos iuxta illud Psalmi: 'Qui diligit iniquitatem, odit animam suam.' [Set (ait ipse) qui odit animam suam,] non est misericors set crudelis. Ergo, etc. Ex quibus omnibus datur intelligi quod in peccatis mortalibus permanentes etsi elemosinas lar- [f. 154v] gas faciunt, non tamen per illas satisfaciunt, quia inordinate agunt dum elemosinas suas a seipsis non incipiunt, nec proprie [dicitur] elemosina tale opus dum sibimetipsis crudeles existunt, non placentes Deo. Ergo non dicenda est ista peccati satisfactio, quam quis agit pro peccato uno et perdurat in alio." Hec ille.

55 Tercio circa elemosinas considerandum est quia oportet quod fiant intencione recta, hoc est, propter Deum et non propter vanam gloriam. Scribitur enim Ad Galatas 5: "Non efficiamini inanis glorie cupidi." Nam valde venenosum est ventus inanis glorie, qui sua malicia fructus bonorum operum evellit, ne ad maturitatem perveniant. Non enim potest homo de bonis operibus inde gloriam querere, set mercedem retribucionis eterne. Unde Gregorius in *Moralibus*: "Quasi, inquit, est latrunculus appetitus humane laudis qui recto itinere gradientibus ex latere iungitur ut ex occultis educto gladio trucidetur." Est ergo ventus venenosus eo quod opera nostra suo flatu occidit, ne nobis proficiant ad (mercedem); Ecclesiastici 5: 60 "Quid prodest ei qui laborat in vanum," quasi dicat, nichil. Ne ergo ille ventus bona nostra opera destruat, dirigamus illa ad Deum solum, ut ipse a vana gloria nos preservat.

70 Exemplum autem refert Plinius, quod aquila in altum nidificat, cuius pullis insidiatur serpens nomine pa(ri)as. Qui videns se non posse propter altitudinem ad pullos ascendere, trahit se naturali instinctu ad partem venti et venenum emittens (illum) inficit. Et sic per ventum et aerem infectum pullos occidit. Quo comperto aquila instinctu naturali mirabilem

should be considered, namely their justness, order, and intention. Their justness: so that alms be taken from one's legal property, as has already been said, and not from illegal gains. Therefore, if anyone questions whether any goods may be legally taken from an avaricious man, a usurer, or someone else of this kind, with the intention of using them for alms, Raymundus replies, No. He also explains that one may not do evil with the intention that some good may come from it; see 30, question 2, "Know." And about such people Augustine says, as cited in 14, question 5: "Such a thought is probably suggested by the devil's cunning. For if a man gives everything he has taken away in this fashion as alms, he adds to his sin rather than diminishing it, for he deprives himself of the wherewithal for making restitution. For sin is never forgiven unless what has been taken away is restored."

In the second place we must consider the right order of giving alms: a person must first give alms to himself and only then to his neighbor. For in Matthew 7 and Luke 6 it is written: "You hypocrite, cast out first the beam from your own eye," and so forth. And in Ecclesiasticus 30: "Have pity on your own soul, pleasing God." On which the Master of the *Sentences* says in book 4, distinction 15: "If someone on the one hand gives alms and on the other involves himself in various sins, in the hope that he would remain guiltless by virtue of these alms, he should know that he is totally mistaken, according to the words of the Psalm: 'He that loves iniquity hates his own soul.' Now, he who hates his soul is not merciful but cruel; therefore, etc. From this we are given to understand that people who live in mortal sins, even if they give generous alms, do not make satisfaction thereby, because they act against the right order since their alms do not begin at themselves; nor can such action be rightly called almsgiving, since they are cruel to themselves and do not please God. Therefore it cannot be called satisfaction for sin when one does so for one sin and continues to commit another."

In the third place, we must consider that alms be given with the right intention, namely for God's sake, not for vainglory. For in Galatians 5 it is written: "Do not become desirous of vain glory." The wind of vainglory is very harmful; in its mischief it casts down the fruits of our good works, so that they do not come to full ripeness. For man cannot gain glory from his good works, but the reward of eternal retribution. Whence Gregory says in his *Moral Commentary*: "The desire for human praise is like a thief who secretly joins those who travel on a straight way, that he may pull his dagger in secret and murder them." And it is a poisonous wind because it kills our good works with its breath, so that they have no power to bring us reward; Ecclesiasticus 5: "What does it profit him that he labors in vain [read for the wind]," as if to say: nothing. So that this wind may not destroy our good works, let us direct them to God alone, and he will keep us from vainglory.

As an example, Pliny reports that the eagle builds his nest on high, for

adhibet cautelam. [f. 155] Nam statim querit lapidem quendam gagates dictum  
 et ponit in nido in illa parte qua ventus stat et flat, qui sua virtute  
 75 venenum repellit, et sic pulli salvantur. Moraliter per aquilam istam, que  
 ardui volatus et acuti visus est, intelligitur quilibet bonus Christianus,  
 cuius vita et desiderium a terrenis debet elevari in altum versus celum, ut  
 dicere possit cum Apostolo: "Nostra conversacio in celis est." In qua  
 altitudine conversacionis debet pullos bonorum [operum] producere. Quod  
 80 cum fecerit, statim serpens ille antiquus, scilicet diabolus, veneno mali-  
 cie et invidie accensus nititur illa per appositionem alicuius peccati  
 mortalis intoxicare et interficere. Set forte propter vite eminentiam talis  
 boni viri intentum non valet implere. Dicit enim beatus Gregorius: "Mentem,  
 inquit, in altum fixerat, propterea hostis ad eum rumpere non valebat." Quo  
 85 viso vadit serpens ille et temptat illos per ventum inficere venenatum, dum  
 laudem humanam et vanam gloriam illis commendat. Que si ad intencionem  
 hominis pervenerit, ut scilicet propter appetitum huiusmodi laudis bona  
 opera faciat, mox morientur pulli bonorum operum quoad meritum. Quid ergo  
 est faciendum? Revera accipiendus est lapis [iste] Christus, de quo Corin-  
 90 thiorum: "Petra autem erat Christus," et ponendus est in[ter] ipsa opera et  
 ventu(m) vane laudis et glorie °, ut scilicet opera nostra tantum dirigamus  
 ad Deum, [et] certe tunc vivent opera illa et nobis eveni(e)nt ad meritum  
 vite eterne, quia qualis fuerit intencio, tale et opus reputabitur. Unde  
 Bernardus: "Intencio, inquit, tua operi tuo nomen inponit."  
 95 Similiter enim habetur in proprietatibus rerum et naturis animalium:  
 strucio talis nature [f. 155v] est quod numquam ponet ova nisi quando vide-  
 rit Pliades in celo oriri. Ubi nota quod isti Pliades sunt ille septem  
 stelle vicinitate (coniuncte) et tactu omnino disiuncte. Que secundum expo-  
 sicionem Gregorii in *Moralibus* signant sanctos qui in diversis temporibus  
 100 mortui sunt et sic quasi disiuncti, et tamen eadem intencione, quia propter  
 Christum et fidem mortui sunt, et sic [quasi] coniuncti inter se. Quasi ad  
 modum istius avis, quando debemus opera bona producere, omnino dirigamus  
 intencionem ad Pliades, idest ad i(n)ten(cionem) et premium sanctorum patrum,  
 qui sunt quasi stelle fixe in celo, scilicet quomodo Deus eis contulit pro  
 105 operibus suis, ut sic illorum imitacione opera nostra omnino pro Deo et non  
 pro laude et gloria humana faciamus, iuxta illud Apostoli Ad Corinthios:  
 "Quicquid facitis, omnia in gloriam Dei facite."

3 ideo] et C. 3-4 et videndum] videndo M.R; om W. 4 elemosina] om O. 12 titulo]  
 add scilicet O. 20 peccantem] peccatorem O. 24 legitime] licite O. 25 ut] prout O.  
 in] om O. 26 ut] cuiusmodi O. 30 et] om O. sit] scilicet . . . fiat O. 40-41 incipiat]  
 om C.O and elsewhere; text r.t.z and source. 41 postea] add a C.M.W. faciat] a proxi-  
 mo C; om W. 46 delusos] delusi O. 55 quia oportet] om O. 64 mercedem] virtutem  
 C. 69 parias] panas C.W. 71 illum] nidum C; illos corr W. et(3)] sive per O.

whose young ones a snake named parias lies in ambush. When the latter under-  
 stands that it cannot get to the young eagles because of the height, it moves  
 by its natural instinct in the direction from which the wind blows and poisons  
 it by emitting its venom. And in this way it kills the young eagles through  
 the poisoned wind or air. When the eagle finds this out, through his own  
 natural instinct he takes a marvelous countermeasure. For he looks for a stone  
 called agate and puts it in his nest on the side from which the wind blows; by  
 its natural power the stone repels the poison, and thus the young eagles are  
 safe. In moral terms, by the eagle, who is strong in flight and of keen  
 eyesight, we may understand any true and good Christian, whose life and desire  
 should be raised high from earthly things toward heaven, so that he may say  
 with the Apostle, "Our homeland is in heaven." In that high homeland he must  
 bring forth the offspring of good works. When he has done that, the old  
 serpent, the devil, stirred by the poison of malice and envy, tries at once to  
 poison and kill the eagle's offspring by bringing some mortal sin to it. But  
 perhaps he cannot carry out his intention on account of the lofty life of such  
 a person. For Blessed Gregory says: "He had fixed his mind on high, therefore  
 the enemy could not break him." When the serpent perceives this, it goes and  
 tries to infect them with poisoned wind by holding before them human praise and  
 vainglory. When these enter a man's will, that is, when he does his good works  
 out of desire for such praise, the offspring of his good deeds will soon die as  
 far as their meritoriousness is concerned. What, then, is to be done? Indeed,  
 we should take that stone which is Christ, of whom is said in Corinthians, "the  
 rock was Christ," and put it between our good deeds and the wind of praise and  
 glory, so that we orient our deeds only toward God; then certainly our deeds  
 will live and will bring us the reward of eternal life, because any deed will  
 be weighed according to what has been its intention. Whence Bernard says:  
 "Your intention gives your deed its name."

As we find in treatises on the properties of things and the nature of ani-  
 mals, it is characteristic of the ostrich not to lay eggs until it has seen the  
 Pleiades rise in the sky. The Pleiades are seven stars joined very closely to-  
 gether in space without touching each other. After the explanation of Gregory  
 in his *Moral Commentary*, they symbolize the saints who have died in different  
 ages and therefore do not touch each other, so to speak, but who yet died with  
 the same intention, namely for Christ and the faith, and are thus, as it were,  
 joined closely together. Therefore, when we must bring forth our deeds, we  
 should like the ostrich direct our attention wholly to the Pleiades, that is,  
 to the intention and reward of the holy fathers, who are like fixed stars in  
 the sky, that is to say, we should attend how God has rewarded them for their  
 deeds, so that in imitating them we may carry out our deeds entirely for God's  
 sake and not for human praise and glory, after the words of the Apostle to the  
 Corinthians: "Whatsoever you do, do all to the glory of God."

76 bonus Christianus] verus christianus et bonus O. 91 ventum] ventus C; venenum M. glorie] add repellitur C. 92 evenient] eveniant C. 95 Similiter] sicut O. 98 coniuncte] coniunctione C.O; text as in source. 99 in] om O. 102 modum] add ergo O. avis] animalis O. 103 intencionem] imitacionem C.

### V.xxiii QUIBUS ELEMOSINA COMPARATUR—1

[C]omparatur autem elemosina semini propter multa. Et primo quia ad modum boni seminis debet terre bone et convenienti, idest bonis (pau)peribus, commendari, iuxta illud Thobie: “Vade, adduc amicos de tribu nostra timentes Deum, ut epulentur nobiscum.” Et tamen quia in moderno populo  
5 tales difficulter reperiuntur, ideo faciendum est sicut facit agricola non habens bonam terram: ipse enim iacit [semen] in terram quam habet. Sic et nos; quia si non inveniantur boni pauperes, tamen elemosina danda est talibus qui in nomine Christi Iesu elemosinam petunt, et hoc intendendo sustentacionem nature et non fomentum culpe, Thobie 3: “Omni petenti te tribue.” Et nota quod non omnes sunt boni pauperes. Unde Beda: “Pauper, inquit, spiritu beatus est, qui si clamet Dominus exaudit: pauper a crimine, pauper a viciis, pauper eciam in quo nichil mundi huius invenitur.” Et ideo dicit Augustinus: “Si di- [f. 156] ves, inquit, habet facultates et in hiis non extollitur set pocius in humilitate deprimitur, inter pauperes  
10 tunc numeratur. Et e contrario si pauper habet facultates nullas et tamen ex cupiditate inordinata inflatur, talis inter divites reprobus dampnatur.”

Secundo, ad modum seminis debet esse elemosina in terra non seminata seminari, scilicet inter pauperes et non inter divites; Ecclesiastici 8: “Noli fenerari homini diciori te, quia si feceris quasi perditum habes.” Et  
20 ideo dicit Bernardus: “Misericordiam de pauperibus habeatis, ut ad (iudicium) secure veniatis.” Quia secundum beatum Gregorium terrena servando amittimus, set pauperibus largiendo servamus. Et iuxta concilium Augustini aperi manum tuam pauperi, ut tibi Christus ap(eri)at ianuam celi. Cuius contrarium fecit dives ille qui micas panis Lazaro negavit et [ideo], quia  
25 nichil propter Deum erogare voluit pauperi, nichil meruit. Unde ipse in pena tortus misericordiam petens dicit illud Luce 16: “Pater Abraham, miserere mei.” Mox sibi responsum erat: “Fili, recordare quod recepisti

12–22 John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* III. 13 Thomas Aquinas, *Summa theologiae* 2a–2ae, qu. 32, art. 2. 18 In 20647; Prov 33805. 22 As at 18. 25–26 John of Freiburg, *Summa confessorum* II.viii. 33 Raymundus, *Summa* II.viii.7 (p. 249). 34–35 Raymundus refers to Gratian II.1.1.27, *Non est putanda* (1:369–370). 35–39 Augustine as quoted in Gratian II.14.5.3 (1:739). 42 Matt. 7.5; Luke 6.42. 42–43 Eccelus. 30.24. 44–54 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* IV.xv.5–6 (2:330–331). 47 Ps. 10.6. 57 Cf. Gal. 5.26. 61–63 Gregory, *Moralia* IX.xxv.37 (PL 75:879). 65 Eccles. 5.15. 68–94 On the stone *gagates* see Pliny, *Hist. naturalis* X.iv.12 and XX-XVI.xxxiv.142. The same story and moralization in *GR* 37. 78 Phil. 3.20. 90 1 Cor. 10.4. 94 Cf. Ambrose, *De officiis* I.xxx.147 (PL 16:66), quoted in Peter Lombard, *Sent.* II.xl (1:557). 96–97 Similarly in *Convertimini*, fol. 105v. 97–101 Gregory, *Moralia* XXIX.xxxi.67–68 (PL 76:515). 107 1 Cor. 10.31.

### V.xxiii TO WHAT THINGS ALMS CAN BE COMPARED—1

Alms can be compared to seed for many reasons. First, like good seed they must be entrusted to good and fitting soil, that is, to the deserving poor, according to Tobit: “Go and bring friends from our tribe that fear God, to feast with us.” And since in modern society it is difficult to find such, we must do as the farmer does when he has no good soil: he casts his seed on such land as he has. So should we do, too. For if we cannot find deserving poor, then let us give our alms to those who ask for it in the name of Jesus Christ, with the intention of helping nature and not of nourishing sin, as at Tobit 3: “Give to everyone that asks you.” Notice that not all the poor are deserving. Whence Bede says: “The ‘poor in spirit’ are blessed, those whom God hears when they call out: who are poor in crime, poor in vices, and poor in the sense that nothing of this world is found in them.” And thus, Augustine says: “If a rich person has wealth but is not proud of it but rather becomes humble, then he is counted among the poor. And if, on the contrary, a poor man has no possessions but swells with disorderly desires, he is condemned with the rich that are rejected.”

Second, like seed, alms must be sown in land that has not been seeded before, that is to say, among the poor, not the rich; Ecclesiasticus 8: “Do not lend to a man who is richer than yourself; if you do so, count it as lost.” And therefore Bernard says: “You shall have mercy from the poor, so that you may come to your judgment safely.” For according to Blessed Gregory, by trying to keep earthly goods we lose them, but by giving them to the poor we keep them. And after the advice of Augustine, “open your hand to the poor so that Christ may open the door of heaven to you.” The rich man of the Gospel acted contrariwise when he denied Lazarus a few crumbs of bread; and so, as he would spend nothing on the poor man for God’s sake, he deserved nothing. Therefore he was tormented in pain and asked for mercy, saying the words written in Luke



bona in vita tua,” etc. Unde Gregorius: “Quid est, inquit, quod Dominus Deus de divite et paupere verbum faciens nomen pauperis dicit, nomen divitis non dicit, nisi quod Dominus humiles novit et approbat, superbos vero ignorat? Et ideo dicit illis: ‘Amen, dico vobis nescio vos.’ Dicit enim de divite: ‘Homo quidam,’ etc., set de paupere ait ‘Lazarus nomine,’ acsi aperte diceret: humilem et pauperem scio, set divitem nescio nec superbum.”

Et nota quod dives ille fuit in vita cupidus in adquirendo, excedens in expendendo, et avarus in retinendo. Unde post mortem penas correspondentes sustinuit. Quod primo erat cupidus patet [f. 156v] cum dicitur: “Homo quidam erat dives,” ita scilicet ex spoliis, rapinis, et aliis illicitis, et pro istis sustinuit mendicitatis et extreme paupertatis inopiam, quod bene patuit quando guttam aque miserrime petebat. Multe enim misere fuerunt ille epule et aride atque (s)alse, ubi tantum siciebat. Nec mirum, quia fuerunt sine aqu(a) misericordie, de qua dicitur: “Sicut aqua extinguit ignem, sic elemosina extinguit peccatum.” Quod eiam secundo erat excedens in expendendo patet ibidem cum dicitur: “Et induebatur purpura et bisso.” Bissus enim levis et suavis est, set purpura pungens et aspera. Igitur eius indumentum erat de purpura et bisso, quia interius pungebatur consciencia, quamvis exterius delectabatur in vestura. Set revera contra istam pompam sustinuit extreme vilitatis abiectioem, quia ut patet ibidem “sepultus erat in inferno.” In alio autem cimiterio eius sepulturam non elegit, et ideo iustum fuit ut ibi sepeliretur; Ysaie 24: “Pepigimus fedus cum morte, et cum inferno pactum fecimus.” S(et) ibi non induebatur purpura et bisso, set vermibus et tineis, iuxta illud Ysaie 14: “Detracta est ad inferos superbia tua; concidit cadaver tuum; subter te sternetur tineas, et operimentum tuum erit vermis.” Tercio erat avarus in retinendo, quod patet ibi: “Epulabatur cotidie splendide,” hoc est per se sine societate convenienti, quia nullos servorum Dei habere voluit qui omnia largitur, set miseros peccatores. Et ideo contra delicias has tormentorum sustinuit acerbissimam varietatem, tam per ignem quando dixit “crucior in hac flamma” quam per famem quando guttam aque peccit et nemo illi dabat.

Et nota quod [f. 157] merito denegata fuit illi misericordia propter multa. Primo, quia ipse misericordiam in vita prius receperat iuxta illud: “Recepisti bona in vita tua.” Osee 2: “Misereor ei qui fecit misericordiam”; *Glossa*: “Indignum est enim Deum ei esse propiciam qui crudelis est in proximum.” Secundo denegata fuit ei misericordia quia misericordiam non fecerat, quia vulgariter dicitur: “Hoc facies alii quod tibi vis fieri.” Dicit forte aliquis huiusmodi avarus illum excusans quod tot erant ibi mendicantes quod non sufficiebat sibi omnibus elemosinam dare; set contra hoc dicitur in evangelio illo singulariter sic: “Erat quidam,” et non multi. Vel quod non petebat; set contra hoc dicitur “mendicus,” et per consequens petens elemosinam sicut pauper. Vel quod non cognovit eum;

16: “Father Abraham, have mercy on me.” To which the reply was: “Son, remember that you received good things in your lifetime,” and so forth. On this, Gregory comments: “Why is it that the Lord God, when he speaks of the rich and the poor man, mentions the poor man’s name, but not that of the rich man, other than that the Lord knows and acknowledges the poor, but does not recognize the rich? Thus he says to them: ‘Amen, I say I do not know you.’ For he refers to the rich man as ‘a certain man’ and so on, but to the poor man as ‘named Lazarus,’ as if he were saying explicitly: the humble and poor I know, the rich and proud I do not.”

Notice also that during his life this rich man was greedy to gain, too free in spending, and miserly in keeping his goods for himself. Therefore he suffered corresponding punishments after his death. That he was, first, greedy can be seen in the words “There was a certain rich man,” rich, that is, from his robbing and plundering and other lawless acts; and for these he suffered the punishment of begging and of extreme poverty, as can be seen when in his misery he asked for a drop of water. For the dishes where he was suffering such thirst were miserable and dry and salty. No wonder, for they had no water of mercy, of which is written: “As water quenches fire, alms quench sin.” That he was, second, too free in his spending can be seen in the same passage where it says: “He was clothed in purple and fine linen.” For fine linen is light and soft, but purple is pricking and rough. Therefore his garment was of purple and fine linen because inside he was pricked by his conscience, whereas on the outside he took bodily pleasure in his clothes. But for such pomp he suffered being thrown into extreme lowness, for as can be seen in the Gospel text, “he was buried in hell.” He chose not to be buried in any other cemetery, and so it was just that he should be buried in hell; Isaiah 24: “We have entered into a league with death, and we have made a covenant with hell.” There he was no longer clothed in purple and fine linen but rather with worms and moths, according to the words of Isaiah 14: “Your pride is brought down to hell; your carcass is fallen down; under you the moth shall be strewed, and worms shall be your covering.” Third, he was miserly in keeping things for himself. This can be seen in the words, “He feasted sumptuously every day,” that is, by himself without fitting society, for he did not want to have God’s servants with him to whom he could give his goods, but only wretched sinners. Against these pleasures he suffered a variety of bitter torments, both through fire, when he said “I am tormented in this flame,” and through hunger, when he asked for a drop of water and no one gave him any.

And notice that he was denied mercy deservedly for several reasons. First, because he had already received mercy in his life, as seen in the words: “You did receive good things in your lifetime.” Hosea 2: “I have mercy on him who has been merciful”; and the *Gloss* comments: “It is not right that God should be merciful to someone who is cruel to his neighbor.” Second, he was

70 contra quod dicitur quod "Lazarus dicebatur." Vel quod non expectabat; contra quod dicitur ["iacebat"]; tamen nimis longe et non habebat per quem sibi mitteret; contra quod dicitur] quod iacuit "ad ianuam." Vel quod trutannus erat et laborare pro prandio potuit; contra quod [dicitur] "ulceribus plenus." Vel (non) comedisset de cibariis [meis]; contra quod "cupiens saturari." Vel quia nimis preciosa petebat; contra quod "micas que cadebant de mensa." Ex quibus patet quod nullam excusacionem habuit sibi misericordiam denegare; Ecclesiastici 28: "In hominem similem sibi non habet misericordiam." Tercio denegata fuit sibi misericordia quia tempus misericordie pertransierat. Tempus enim presentis vite est tempus misericordie; unde Psalmista: "Tempus miserendi eius quia venit tempus." Set tempus future vite erit tempus iusticie; Psalmista: "Cum accepero tempus, ego iusticias iudicabo." Quarto, quia indebito modo misericordiam peciit. In cuius petitione quinque verba inutilia notantur, quorum primum verbum adulacionis quando dicit "Pater Abraham." Patrem vero adulando vocat

85 illum, cuius numquam antea [f. 157v] voluit esse filius. Secundum verbum fuit presumpcionis, ibi: "Mitte Lazarum." Magna enim presumpcio erat quod ab eo voluit serviri cui numquam servire dignabatur, cum tamen servicium non meretur habere qui illud negat impendere. "Filius enim Dei non venit ministrari set ministrare." Non enim peciit ut duceretur ad Lazarum, set ut

90 Lazarus duceretur ad eum. Unde Petrus Ravennatensis: "Adhuc, inquit, dives ille maliciam suam non deserit quod non se ad Lazarum duci postulat, set Lazarus ad ipsum. Optat enim Lazarum de gremio patris ad infernum, de solio sublimi ad abissum duci, qui tamen minimum servientem ad illum mittere noluit dum ad portam iacebat ulceribus putrefact(u)s." Tercium verbum fuit desperacionis, quando dixit "ut intinguat." Iuste enim desperabat, et ideo quasi stillam misericordie postulabat. Unde Crisostomus: "Qui in preciosis excellit in culpa, vilissima perit in pena." Quartum fuit incipacencie et murmuracionis, quando dixit "crucior in hac flamma," acsi diceret: Dominus dure me punit nimis. Non enim recognoscebat humiliter quod iuste culpe sue debebatur, sicut latro qui ait Luce 23: "Nos, inquit, iuste digna factis recipimus." Quint(um) verbum fuit carnalis affecionis, ibi: "Habeo quinque fratres."

Per ista iam dicta patet salvacio humilium pauperum et reprobacio superbiorum divitum. Et ideo iuxta Apostolum, "dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum," etc., maxime ad indigentes, ut ipsi opera nostra coram summo iudice faciant meritoria. Et nota quod secundum legem caritatis tenentur divites pauperibus subvenire, sicut ipsi e contrario [f. 158] tenentur pro ipsis orare. Dicit enim Apostolus: "Alter alterius onera portate," etc. Et certe quicumque sic fecerit, perfecta caritas in illo esse probatur, "quia Deus caritas est, et qui manet," etc. Et hic nota narrationem quomodo cecus claudum portavit ad participacionem, et econtra claudus docuit viam ceco.

denied mercy because he had not been merciful, for the common proverb says: "Do to others as you want to have it done to you." Now, someone who is similarly avaricious may want to excuse the rich man and say that there were so many beggars around that he did not have enough to give alms to all of them. But against this objection, the Gospel uses the singular and says, "there was a certain beggar," not many. Another objection is that no one was asking for alms; but against this the Gospel says, "a beggar," and consequently he was asking for alms as a poor man does. Or else, that the rich man did not know the beggar; against which the Gospel says, "he was called Lazarus." Or else, that the beggar was not waiting for alms; against which the Gospel says, "he lay." Or else, that the beggar was far away, and the rich man had no one to send alms to him; against which the Gospel says that he lay "at his gate." Or else, that the beggar was a good-for-nothing and could have worked for his food; but against this the Gospel says, "full of sores." Or else, that he would not eat of the rich man's food; but against this the Gospel says, "he desired to be filled." Or else, that he was asking for alms that were too costly; but against this the Gospel says, "the crumbs that fell from the table." From all this it can be seen that the rich man had no excuse for denying Lazarus his mercy; Ecclesiasticus 28: "He has no mercy on a man like himself." Third, he had to be denied mercy because the time for mercy had expired. For the time for mercy is the time of our present life; as the Psalmist says: "It is time to have mercy on him, for the time has come." But the time of the future life will be a time of justice; the Psalmist: "When I take a time, I shall judge justices." Fourth, because he asked for mercy in an unbecoming way. In his prayer can be found five useless expressions. The first was an expression of flattery when he said "Father Abraham." He flatteringly calls him "father" to whom he has never before wanted to be a son. The second was an expression of presumption, namely, "send Lazarus." For it was very presumptuous to want to be served by him whom he was never willing to serve; for no one deserves to receive service who refuses to give it himself. "For the Son of God has not come to be ministered unto but to minister." The rich man did not ask to be led to Lazarus, but that Lazarus be led to him. On which Petrus of Ravenna comments: "The rich man still does not abandon his wickedness, insofar as he is asking, not that he be led to Lazarus, but that Lazarus be led to him. He wishes that Lazarus be sent from his father's bosom to hell, from his throne on high to the abyss, he who did not even want to send his lowliest servant to Lazarus while he was lying at his gate rotting with ulcers." The third expression was one of despair, when he said, "that he may dip." For he was then rightly despairing of mercy, and thus begged, as it were, for a drop of it. Whence Chrysostom says: "He who stood high in splendor during his sinful life will perish in the most abject punishment." The fourth expression was one of impatience and grumbling, when he said, "I am

115 Revera sic divites, qui sunt quasi ceci in spiritualibus, tenentur supportare pauperes, qui nichil habent unde sustentantur aut suppodiantur nisi per elemosinas. Et econtra pauperes, qui sunt perspicui visus in spiritualibus, tenentur divites viam versus participacionem celi docere ac pro illis Deum iugiter orare. Et sic alter alterius onus supportans adimplebit legem Christi.

2 pauperibus] operibus C.W. 5 difficulter] difficiliter O. 8 in] om O. 15 facultates nullas] om O; apparently a scribal emendation after loss of non before habet (present in R.M). 20–21 iudicium] deum C. 23 aperiat] appareant C. 35 et] om O. 36 dicitur] add ibidem O. 40 salse] false C.W. 41 aqua] aque C. 46 exterius] add corporaliter O. 50 Set] scilicet C. 74 non] quod C. 78 denegata] deneganda O. sibi] ei O. 80 unde] om O. 93 duci] deduci O. 94 putrefactus] putrefactis C. 95 desperabat] add de misericordia O. 100 ait] dixit M.R.; dicit W. 101 Quintum] quinto C. 114 elemosinas] add suas O.

#### V.xxiv QUIBUS ELEMOSINA COMPARATUR—2

5 Tercio comparatur elemosina semini quia sicut semen ante oculos seminantis seminatur et non a tergo, sic homo ante oculos suos debet elemosinam facere et non a tergo co[n]fidendo nimis in parentibus relictis et executoribus. Tales enim ut communiter mortuos a tergo decipiunt, et cicius frequenter domestici quam ignoti. Quia unusquisque, puta uxor, filius, filia, neptis, nepta, et huiusmodi, sibi appropriant bona defuncti, et sic anima a

tormented in this flame,” as if he were saying: the Lord is punishing me too hard. He did not humbly acknowledge that he deserved this punishment justly for his guilt, as the thief did when he said, in Luke 23, “We have justly received the due reward for our deeds.” And the fifth expression was one of carnal love, namely: “I have five brothers.”

In what we have said can be seen how the poor who are humble are saved, and how the rich who are proud are reproached. Therefore, following the Apostle, “let us do good while we have time,” and so forth, particularly to the needy, that they may make our deeds meritorious before the highest judge. Notice that according to the law of charity the rich are held to support the poor, just as the poor on the other hand are held to pray for their benefactors. For the Apostle says: “Bear one another’s burdens,” and so on. Whoever does so, surely in him perfect charity is proven to reside. For, “God is charity, and he who abides in charity,” and so on. Note here the story in which a blind man carried a lame one to a banquet and, in exchange, the lame man taught the blind which way to go. In the same manner, the rich, who are as it were blind in a spiritual way, are held to support the poor, who have nothing to sustain and support them except their alms. In exchange, the poor, who spiritually have a clear sight, are held to teach the rich the way to the banquet of heaven and to pray to God for them. In this manner, one carries another’s burden and fulfills the law of Christ.

3–4 Tob. 2.2. 9–10 Luke 6.30. 13–16 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps. 48*, sermo 1, 3 (CC 38:552). 19 Ecclus. 8.15. 21–22 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 4, 5 (PL 76:1092). 26–28 Luke 16.24–25. 28–33 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 40, 3 (PL 76:1305). 31 Matt. 25.12. 32 Luke 16.19–20. 36–37 Luke 16.19. 41–42 Ecclus. 3.33. 43 Luke 16.19. 47–48 Luke 16.22. 49–50 Isa. 28.15. 51–53 Isa. 14.11. 54 Luke 16.19. 57 Luke 16.24. 61 Luke 16.25. 61–62 Hos. 2.23. 64 Cf. Whiting D.274. 67–102 Luke 16.19–28. 77–78 Ecclus. 28.4. 80 Ps. 101.14. 81–82 Ps. 74.3. 88–89 Matt. 20.28. 90–94 Petrus Chrysologus, *Sermo 122* 4 (CC 24A:734). 100–101 Luke 23.41. 104–105 Gal. 6.10. 108 Gal. 6.2. 109–110 1 John 4.16. 110–111 Tubach 690; add: Bromyard, “Caro,” C.II.9; Brinton, sermon 26.

#### V.xxiv TO WHAT THINGS ALMS CAN BE COMPARED—2

Alms can be compared to seed for a third reason: just as seed is sown in front of the sower and not at his back, so must a person give alms in front of himself and not at his back by relying too much on his relatives, successors, and executors. For these frequently deceive the dead behind their backs, and it is more often members of one’s household than strangers that do so. For each and every one: wife, son, daughter, grandchildren, and so on, take the

bonis meritoriis relinquitur supervacua. Et iuste, quia noluit seipsum iuvare quando potuit. [Et ideo vulgariter dicitur:

10 Who-so woll no3t when he may,  
He schall no3t when he woll.

Ideo bene dicitur in Anglico:

When þou þy lyfe vp-holdyste,  
þynke wan þou arte oldyste,  
And do gode at þe 3ate.  
15 When þou with deth vnboldeste,  
(þou schall no3t yf þou woldest,)  
For þan is al to late.]

Unde narratur de quodam in extremis laborante et amissa loquela, dixit uxor eius ancille sue: "Heu michi quod cito morietur! Et ideo statim sume tibi ulnam unam et dimidiam de panno lineo ad consuendum." Que respondit: "Nimis parum est, quia homo magne stature est. Adde ergo qua[r]terium unum." Dixit illa: "Ut quid pro putrifactione nimis consumemus?" Quod audiens infirmus resumpto spiritu cum tumultu ait: "Sic, domina, sic curtam fac michi camisiam et breuem." Cui illa: "Tace, fatue, nescis propositum meum quare hoc feci. Novi quod grandis [f. 158v] restat tibi via et proluxa, et ne forte in luto te illam fedare contingat, hoc feci."

Ad idem eciam narratur veraciter de quodam divite qui pre nimia infirmitate testamentum suum ad plenum condere non v(a)lebat, set omnia bona sua in manibus duorum sacerdotum de parochia et unius laici vicini sui reliquit. Cumque post eius mortem isti tres bona sua considerarent, videntesque ibi vasa argentea, unus eorum dixit: "[Indigeo calice. Dentur ergo michi hec vasa argentea,] et ego fideliter pro anima eius cantabo." Cui alter ait: "Et ego nuper in villam hanc veni nec adhuc provisus sum. Dentur ergo michi hec utensilia, et ego similiter pro anima eius cantabo." Ad hec respondit laicus: "Et ego animalibus indigeo pro aratro et biga. Dentur ergo boves michi et equi." Quo audito indignati sacerdotes dixerunt: "Tu pro anima eius quid facies cum sis laicus? Nos sumus sacerdotes et pro anima eius cantabimus, tu vero non sic." Quibus irrisorie [ille] dixit: "Si vos pro anima illius cantare velitis ad hoc quod bona sua habeatis, in nomine Domini canite, et ego tripudiabo, quia revera quicquid feceritis, vobiscum de bonis hiis participabo." Unusquisque ergo sapiens de bonis suis disponat in vita sua. Nota pro illa materia supra, parte 1°. Nota illud [quod] vulgariter dicitur in versibus:

dead person's possessions for themselves, and thus his soul is left quite without good deeds that will bring him eternal reward. And this is only just, because he would not help himself when he could. Hence the common proverb:

He who will not when he can,  
He shall not when he will.

And it is well said in English:

When you your life uphold,  
Reflect on when you're old,  
And do good at your gate.  
For when in death you're weak,  
You won't get what you seek,  
For then all is too late.

There is a story about someone who lay dying and had lost his speech. His wife said to her maid: "Woe to me, he will soon be dead! Take now an ell and a half of linen cloth to sew his winding-sheet." The maid replied: "That is too little, he is a big man. Add another quarter." Then the wife said: "Why should we sew that much for the rot?" When the sick man heard this, his strength returned and he said in great anxiety: "O lady, do you make my shirt so short?" And she to him: "Shut up, you fool, you don't know why I have done this. I know that you have a long and hard way to go, and I have done this so you won't get your shirt dirty in the mud."

On the same subject there is a true story about a rich man who was unable to make his last will completely because of his great illness; so he left all his goods in the hands of two priests from his parish and one layman, a neighbor of his. When these three inspected his possessions after his death and saw that there were silver vessels, one of the priests said: "I need a chalice. Let me have these silver vessels, and I shall faithfully sing Mass for his soul." The second then said: "I have recently come to this parish and am as yet unprovided. Let me have these household goods and I will likewise sing Mass for his soul." Then the layman replied: "And I need farm animals for my plow and cart. Let me, then, have the oxen and horses." When the priests heard this, they grew indignant and said: "What are you going to do for this soul, you who are a layman? We are priests and will sing for his soul. But you cannot do that." To whom he replied with derision: "If you want to sing for his soul so you can have his goods, in God's name sing, and I shall dance. For whatever you do, I will have my share of his goods with you." Therefore, whoever is wise, let him dispose of his goods while he is alive. See further

- 45 Dum vivis vivunt, moriens moriuntur amici.  
Mors facit immemores quos vita tenebat amicos.  
Post mortis morsum vertit dilectio dorsum.  
Finita vita, finit amicus ita.

6 neptis] *add et O.* 8–17 Et . . . late] *text from R.* Who-so . . . woll] *See Verses, pp. 191 and 205.* When . . . late] *Verse 49 in B1.B3.Go2.L2.LC.R.W1.* 16 pou . . . woldest] *om R; text from B3.* 28 valebat] *volebat C.* 31–32 Indigeo . . . argentea] *om C.O; text supplied from B1.* 38 dixit] *respondit O.* 39 illius] *eius O.* 42 1] *add c. C; add capitulo 3 M.* 43 quod] *om C.W.*

### V.xxv QUE ELEMOSINAM IMPEDIUNT

- Circa autem impedimenta elemosine est sciendum quod ipsa sicut bonum semen ne fructificet septempliciter impeditur. Nam primo sicut granum seminatum impeditur crescere et fructificare quando non bene cooperitur, ventis et volucris exponitur, revera sic elemosina sive granum boni  
5 operis impeditur quando vento [f. 159] humane laudis et superbie exponitur [et] non cooperitur terra humilitatis. Talis enim elemosina non fructificat eo quod paleam boni operis dat Deo et granum mundo. Contra quod Matthei 5 dicitur: “Attendite, ne iusticiam vestram faciatis coram hominibus,” et Ecclesiastici 29: “Conclude elemosinam in sinu pauperis.” Set certe de  
10 multis dici potest illud Aggei 1: “[Seminastis] multum,” idest opera multa, “et intulistis] parum.” Et subdit (causam) dicens quia “qui merces congregavit, misit eos in sacculum pertusum.” Qui autem ponit denarios in sacculum pertusum, bene scit quando ponit set nescit quando perdit, et tamen ° simul ponit et perdit °. Sic qui dat elemosinam vel aliquod bonum opus  
15 facit propter superbiam et mundi laudem, bene scit quando facit, set non percipit quando per(dit), quia simul et semel facit et perdit.
- Secundum impedimentum est econtra quando granum nimis profunde infigitur in terra, ita quod germen non potest exire. Sic elemosina, in qua compas(sio) et nutrimentum proximi consistit per avariciam. Nam quando avaricia terram terre accumulatur et [per] nimium illius amorem elemosin(a), in qua compas(sio) et nutrimentum proximi est, non potest exire ad auxilium pauperum, impeditur eius fructus et per consequens perdit amorem celestium. Et nota iuxta illud Apostoli Philippensium 3: “Que michi fuerunt lucr(a),” [scilicet] (secundum) mundum, “hec arbitratus sum propter Christum detrimenta”; Matthei 8: “Quid prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, anime,” etc., quasi dicat, nichil. Unde dicit Gregorius: “Quid, inquit,

on this subject above, in part 1. And notice what is commonly said in these verses:

Your friends will live as long as you, and with you they die;  
Your death makes those forget whom your life kept as your friends.  
After the bite of death their love turns its back on you.  
When life is done, done is your friend as well.

18–26 Tubach 4356; add: Bromyard, “Executores,” E.VIII.13. 27–41 Perhaps Tubach 1933. The same story as here also in Bromyard, “Executores,” E.VIII.8. 42 *FMI.xiii–xiv.* 44–45 *Prov 6780, 15149, 4583.* 46–47 *Prov 22027.*

### V.xxv WHAT THINGS HINDER ALMSGIVING

With respect to the obstacles to almsgiving, we should know that, as good seed is prevented from bearing fruit, almsgiving is prevented in seven ways. For first, a grain that has been sown is prevented from growing and producing fruit when it is not well covered and thus exposed to wind and the birds. In the same way, alms or the grain of a good deed is stunted when it becomes exposed to the wind of human praise and of pride and is not covered with the soil of humility. Such alms do not produce fruit because they give to God the straw of a good deed, and the grain to the world. Against such people it is said in Matthew 5: “Take heed that you do no do your justice before men,” and in Ecclesiasticus 29: “Shut up alms in the heart of the poor.” But surely the words of Haggai 1 may be said of many people: “You have sowed much,” that is, many deeds, “and brought in little.” And he adds the reason for this by saying that, “he that has gathered wages put them into a bag with holes.” He who puts coins in a bag with holes knows when he puts them in but does not know when he loses them, and yet he puts them in and loses them at one and the same moment. In the same way, he who gives alms or does some good deed out of pride or for worldly praise knows well when he does this but does not notice it when he loses it, for he does it and loses it at one and the same moment.

The second obstacle occurs when, in contrast, the seed is laid too deep in the soil, so that its sprout cannot come up. In this fashion, alms, in which lie compassion and nourishment for our neighbor, are hindered by avarice. For when avarice heaps earth upon earth, and because of its great love alms, in which is compassion and nourishment for our neighbor, cannot come up to help the poor, then their fruit does not develop and consequently they lose the love of heaven. Notice the words of the Apostle in Philippians 3: “The things that were gain to me,” that is, things of the world, “these I have counted loss for

confert homini si per amena loca ducatur ad suspendium? Aut quid prodest homini si per divicias ad infernum ducatur?" quasi dicat, nichil. Unde Ecclesiastici 29 dicitur: "Perde pecuniam propter amicum et fratrem et non abscondas illam sub lapide in perdicionem." Et nota quod bene dicit "perde pecuniam," quia sicut semen quod in terra iacitur perdi videtur et tamen postea multi- [f. 159v] plicatur, sic semen elemosine quando datur indigenti videtur perdi, set postea tamen crescit in infinitum, [quia] a morte liberat et non permittit in tenebras pertransire.

35 Tercium impedimentum est ad modum gelu nimium constringens. Nam sicut in grano nuper seminato nimium gelu illius calorem naturalem extinguit, cuius caloris beneficio germinant herbe et concrescunt, sic per invidiam per gelu signatam destruitur naturalis calor caritatis, sine qua semen boni operis non proficit. Corinthiorum (13): "Si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam, caritatem autem non habuero, nichil sum." Set quod dolendum est, hiis diebus "superabundat malicia et refrigescit caritas multorum." Set de hac caritate et invidia nota supra, particulis suis.

45 Quartum impedimentum est spinarum et veprium ac saxorum multitudo, per que non incongrue ira designatur et odium, que in corde hominis bonum semen paciencia impediunt. Unde Luce 8: "Semen cecidit inter spinas, et simul exorte spine suffocaverunt illud." De qua nota supra particula sua.

50 Quantum impedimentum seminis est carencia pluvie et terre siccita(s), per quod indevocio et negligencia designatur quoad accidiam; Luce 8: "Aliud cecidit supra petram," scilicet supra cor durum, "et natum aruit quia non habebat humorem," scilicet devocionis. Et ideo de talibus bene dicitur Regum 19: "Facti sunt velud semen agri," etc., "arefactum est antequam veniat ad maturitatem." Sic in proposito. Antequam opera pigri veniant ad perfectionem, boni scilicet finis, arescunt et non fructificant. Et h(i)c esset dicendum de illis qui numquam humectant terram cordis sui per aquam contricionis; set quere supra particulis suis.

60 Sextum impedimentum est fimi superflui apposicio, [f. 160] que frequenter herbas producit nocivas et germen totum necant, ad modum quo vinea naturaliter quanto plus stercorizatur tanto cicius corrumpitur. Et bene signat gulam, que quanto plus de cibariis superfluis attribuit carni, tanto vicia anime nutrit nociva que animam necant et virtutes meritorias auferunt. Subitus autem ymber et nimis impetuose cadens arva subvertit et semen submersit. Revera sic cibus inmoderatus animam subruit et in infernum demergit. Set pluvia que desursum serotinus descendit terram humectat et semen fructificare facit. Sic secundum Augustinum cibus in moderacione sumptus animam reddit sobriam.

65 Septimum impedimentum est frequens conculcacio transeuncium, per quod signatur peccatum luxurie; Ysaie: "Posuisti in terram corpus tuum et quasi viam transeuntibus." De illo ergo impedimento Luce 8 dicitur: "Aliud ceci-

Christ"; and Matthew 8: "What does it profit a man if he gains the whole world," and so on, as if he were saying: nothing. On this, Gregory comments: "What good is it for a man to be led to the gallows through pleasant places? Or what good does it do a rich man if he is led to hell through riches?" as if he were saying, none. Therefore Ecclesiasticus 29 says: "Lose your money for your friend and your brother and do not hide it under a stone to be lost." And notice that the text says, "lose your money," for just as seed seems to be lost when it lies in the earth, and yet afterwards it multiplies, so the seed of alms seems to be lost when it is given to a needy person, and yet afterwards it grows toward infinity when it frees us from death and does not let us fall into darkness.

The third obstacle shrinks our alms as frost does. For just as in a newly sown grain too much frost extinguishes the natural heat through which herbs sprout and grow, so the natural heat of charity, without which the seed of a good deed is of no profit, is destroyed by envy, which is symbolized by the frost. Corinthians 13: "If I should deliver my body to be burned but have no charity, it profits me nothing." But it is to be lamented that in our days "iniquity abounds and the love of many grows cold." But on this love and on envy see above, in their respective sections.

The fourth obstacle is the multitude of thorns and brambles and rocks, which not unfittingly symbolize anger and hatred. These work against the good seed of patience in man's heart. Whence it is said in Luke 8: "Some seed fell among thorns, and the thorns growing up with it choked it." See further on this above in the part on wrath.

The fifth obstacle for this seed is lack of rain and drought of the soil, by which we may understand lack of devotion and the negligence of sloth; Luke 8: "Some fell upon a rock," that is, on a hard heart, "and as soon as it had sprung up, it withered away because it had no moisture," that is, of devotion. To such people, the words of Kings 19 apply well: "They became like seed of the field," etc.; "it withered before it came to maturity." In terms of our comparison: before the deeds of a lazy person reach the perfection of a good ending, they wither and bring no fruit. And here we should speak of those who never moisten the soil of their heart with the water of contrition. But look for these matters above in their respective sections.

The sixth obstacle comes from giving too much fertilizer, which often produces harmful weeds and thereby kills all the young sprouts, just as, in the way of nature, the more a vineyard is fertilized, the sooner it is ruined. This symbolizes gluttony: the more unnecessary food it gives our body, the more it feeds the harmful vices of our soul, which kill the soul and take away its meritorious virtues. A sudden rain which falls too violently ruins the fields and drowns the seed. In the same way, taking food beyond measure ruins our soul and drowns it in hell. But the rain which falls lightly in the evening



dit secus viam et conculcatum est," scilicet a transeuntibus. Et nota quod  
 70 quidam gratis apperiant corda sua pravis cogitationibus que bona opera se-  
 minata conculcant et [ad] actum malum alliciunt. Et ideo hic esset agendum  
 de malis cogitationibus, set quere supra particula prima de superbia cor-  
 dis.

Igitur amoveamus huiusmodi impedimenta et actui caritatis et elemosine  
 75 nos disponamus, atque ad ea que pertinent ad semen bonorum operum bene  
 seminandum oculum cordis habeamus. Et sunt multe condiciones ad bene se-  
 minandum. Prima est quod antequam iac(i)atur in terram, necessaria est dili-  
 gens preparacio terre, quia si sit infructuosa, debet primo comburi igne  
 80 contricionis et postea arari vomere confessionis. Et nota: sicut enim terra  
 quando aratur, illa que profundius iacet superius evertitur, sic revera in  
 confessione faciendum est. Nam illa que interius latent in corde debent  
 superius everti et per confessionem expelli. [f. 160v] Set forte dicit  
 aliquis: "Non sum bonus paterfamilias, et quamvis essem, pauper sum et  
 aratrum non habeo nec pertinencia ad illud. Quid ergo faciam ut terra  
 85 cordis mei bene colatur et seminetur et in posterum bonos fructus et uberes  
 producat?" Revera respondeo, et quamvis fuerint [dies] festivales, tamen ad  
 modum illius terre pro amore Dei optimum aratrum tibi accomodabo cum perti-  
 nenciis suis. Aratrum autem in se erit bona voluntas bene operandi et  
 continuandi. Cuius scindibulum, scilicet *cultur* et *share*, erunt dolor et  
 90 contricio pro peccatis. Sex autem boves erunt quinque sensus cum bona  
 memoria, que terram optime arabunt, scilicet bene discutiendo per omnes  
 sensus cum bona memoria quid, quantum, quomodo, cur, ubi, et quare tale  
 peccatum commisisti, prout patet supra, capitulo 7, modo scilicet per talem  
 sensum, puta per visum, modo per sensum talem, puta auditum, etc. Postea  
 95 debent trunci et male herbe eradicari et tunc apponi alia terra fertilis et  
 pinguis, scilicet terra que Anglice vocatur *marle*, hoc est vera et iusta  
 penitencia pro tali peccato et tali. Et tunc seminemus semen bonorum ope-  
 rum. Et ne forte cum creverint illis inmiscant se alie herbe nocive mala-  
 rum cogitacionum aut, quod absit, oper(um), debent cum furculo et hamo  
 100 acuto abscindi et proici, que sunt remorsus consciencie et detestacio  
 culpe. Postea tempore suo fructum productum metes et insimul colligando  
 colliges in diversas congeries per iugem continuacionem, et tunc duces  
 garbas ad horreum pure consciencie, in quo bladum verberabitur per frequens  
 exercitium penitencie. Et certe, si sic feceris, habebis in die festo de  
 105 terra tua in aula celesti panem leticie et potum gaudii. Ecce aratrum  
 spirituale cum suis pertinenciis. [f. 161] Et ne aliquid necessarium defi-  
 cere videatur, servus ille qui illud a tergo tenebit erit spes future  
 glorie, set puer cum virga stimulata, Anglice *a goode*, erit timor pene.  
 Iuxta ergo concilium Osee: "Seminare in veritate iusticiam, non in vanita-  
 110 te," idest pro humana laude, set tantum propter Deum, et tunc bonos fructus

moistens the earth and makes the seed produce fruit. Thus, according to Augus-  
 tine, does food taken in measure render our soul sober.

The seventh obstacle comes when bypassers frequently trample on it, which  
 symbolizes the sin of lechery; Isaiah: "You have laid your body on the ground  
 and as a way for those who pass by." Of this obstacle it is said in Luke 8:  
 "Some fell by the wayside and was trodden down," that is, by those who pass by.  
 Notice that some people freely open their hearts to evil thoughts that trample  
 on the good deeds that have been sown there and lure them into sinful deeds.  
 Therefore, we now ought to deal with evil thoughts; but for this subject see  
 above in part 1, on pride of the heart.

Let us therefore remove these obstacles and dispose ourselves for acts of  
 charity and almsgiving and direct our heart's eye to those things which relate  
 to sowing the seed of good deeds well. This calls for a number of different  
 conditions. First, before the seed is cast on the soil, the latter must be  
 carefully prepared; if it is sterile, it must first be burned with the fire of  
 contrition and then be plowed with the plowshare of confession. And notice:  
 when the earth is plowed, what lies deeper is thrown up on top. We must do  
 likewise in confession, for what is hidden at the bottom of one's heart must be  
 turned up and cast out through confession. Now, perhaps someone will say: "I  
 am not a good householder, and even if I were, I am poor and have neither plow  
 nor what goes with it. What then shall I do to cultivate the soil of my heart  
 so that it will receive good seed and later produce a good and rich harvest?"  
 To him I reply: Even if it were a feast day, for the love of God I will make  
 you a superb plow with all that goes with it for this particular soil. The  
 plow itself will be your goodwill to work well and to persevere. Its blade,  
 that is, *coulter* and *share*, will be the grief and contrition for your sins.  
 The six oxen will be your five senses plus your memory, which are to plow your  
 soil well, namely by examining all your senses and your memory as to what, how  
 much, in what way, why, where, and with what help you have committed a sin, as  
 I have explained earlier, in chapter 7—now with one sense, perhaps your sight,  
 then with another, perhaps you hearing, and so forth. Next you must pull out  
 stubs and bad weeds and put on it some soil that is rich and fertile, called *marl*  
 in English, which is true and just penance for this and that sin. And then  
 let us sow the seed of good works. But that no harmful weeds of evil thoughts  
 or—God help us—evil deeds may grow up intermingled with them, those  
 must be cut out with a hoe and a sharp harrow—that is, remorse of conscience  
 and hatred of sin—and be thrown away. Then, when the right time has come, you  
 will reap the harvest and bind it in sheaves by persevering in good work, and  
 you will take the sheaves to the barn of good conscience where the crop is  
 threshed in frequent penitential exercises. And if you do all this, you will  
 certainly, on the feast day in the hall of heaven, have the bread of gladness  
 and the drink of joy from your land. This, then, is the spiritual plow with

colligetis, aliter vero non. Quia si elemosinas feceris pro laude et gloria mundana, sicut faciunt ypocrite ambiciosi, “amen dico tibi recepisti mercedem tuam.” Et ideo facienda est tantum propter Christum, et hoc voluntarie, quia dicitur:

115 Non doni cultum set dantis respice vultum,

quia “hillarem datorem diligit Deus.”

Fertur enim in *Gestis Romanorum* quod quidam predives palacium construere volens de sub terra in quodam sarcophago cuiusdam antiquitus sepulti iuxta ossa sua quatuor anulos invenit sic inscriptos. Nam in primo scribebatur sic:

120

Quod expendi habui.

In (secundo):

Quod donavi habeo.

In (tercio):

125 Quod servavi perdidit.

In quarto:

Quod negavi punio.

[pat Y spende pat Y had.

pat Y zeue pat Y haue.

130 pat Y kepte ys lost fro myne.

For (pat) I warnyt now Y pyne.]

Moraliter autem loquendo, prima particula est de se satis plana, scilicet “quod expendi habui.” Nam illa que in vita expendi circa victum et vestitum et huiusmodi, ex illis solacium et beneficium tunc habui. Set pro secunda circumscriptione, (que est “quod donavi habeo,” in quadam glossa Ad Galatas 9 dicitur: “Dare, inquit, elemosinam non est perdere set ad tempus seminare, ut in futuro plus habeatur.” Unde Gregorius 18 *Moralium*: “S(umm)e, inquit, expedit elemosinam dare, nam terrena omnia que servando omittimus, largiendo servamus; patrimonium enim retentum perditur, set permanet erogatum. Diu autem cum rebus nostris esse non possumus, quia aut nos illas moriendo deseruimus aut ille nos viventes deserunt pereundo. Agendum est ergo (dicit Gregorius) nobis ut illas absolute perituras modo pereuntem

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all that goes with it. And lest anything necessary may seem to be lacking, the servant who will have it behind him is the hope of future glory. But the boy with the rod to drive the oxen—the *goad* in English—will be the fear of punishment. After the counsel of Hosea, “sow justice in truth and not in vanity,” that is, not for human praise but only for God’s sake, and then you will gather a good harvest, not otherwise. For if you have given alms for the sake of human praise and worldly glory, as ambitious hypocrites do, “Amen, I say to you, you have received your reward.” Therefore, alms must be given for Christ’s sake alone, and with goodwill, for it is said:

Do not regard the worth of a gift but the giver’s face,

because “God loves a cheerful giver.”

*The Deeds of the Romans* tells a story about a very rich man who, when he wanted to build a palace, found in the ground in a sarcophagus of someone who had been buried there a long time before, besides his bones, four rings with the following inscriptions. On the first was written: “What I have spent I have had.” On the second: “What I have given I have.” On the third: “What I have kept I have lost.” And on the fourth: “What I refused I now suffer for.” In English:

pat Y spende pat Y had . . .

In moral terms, the first inscription, namely “What I have spent I have had,” is fairly clear of itself. For what I have spent on food and clothes and such during my life, from that I have had my comfort and benefit. But regarding the second inscription, namely “What I have given I have,” a gloss on Galatians 9 explains: “When we give alms, we do not lose anything but sow in time, so that we may gain from it in the future.” Whence Gregory says in book 18 of his *Moral Commentary*: “To give alms is of the greatest advantage, for any earthly goods that we might lose by trying to keep, we keep by giving them away; an inheritance that is held on to is lost, but if it is distributed, it remains ours. We cannot always be with our possessions, for either we leave them when we die, or they leave us by perishing while we are still alive. We should then act in a way by which we compel these possessions—which we will lose either way—to yield more than such transitory reward.” Regarding the third inscription, which was, “What I have kept I have lost,” Chrysostom comments on Matthew: “If you keep your riches, you have already lost them, for they are of no avail to your salvation but rather help to condemn you forever.” Therefore Blessed Augustine says in Sermon 5 of his work *On the Lord’s Words*: “If you have money, spend it. By spending your money you increase justice.” And he continues: “If you praise a man for selling lead and buying gold, why do you not praise one who changes money into justice?” And regarding the fourth

cogamus transire mercedem.”) Pro tertia vero circumscriptione, (scilicet  
 “quod servavi perdidisti,” ait Crisostomus super Mattheum: “Si servas, inquit,  
 145 divicias iam perdidisti, quia tibi non proficiet ad usum salutis, set ad  
 interitum dampnationis.” Et ideo beatus Augustinus *De verbis Domini* sermone  
 5 ait: “Si habes pecuniam, eroga. Erogando pecuniam auges iusticiam.” Et  
 sequitur: “Si illum laudas qui vendidit plumbum et acquirit aurum, quare  
 non laudas eum qui pecuniam mutat in iusticiam?”) [f. 161v] Pro quarta  
 150 scriptura, que fuit “quod negavi punio,” est sententia Salvatoris quod  
 homines qui in hac vita negant opera pietatis et misericordie quod in  
 tremendo iudicio punientur illius voce terribili: “Ite, maledicti, in ignem  
 eternum.” Quid, ergo, credis eveniet illis qui non [tantum] elemosinam  
 negan(t) pauperibus, verum etiam pro suis vanitatibus et transitoriis in  
 155 victu et vestitu, equitatu, ac etiam pro edificiis construendis et cetera  
 huiusmodi habendis spoliunt pauperes? quasi dicat: vox predicta et ultra,  
 si posset. Et ideo tales redarguendo Hugo de Sancto Victore: “Ampla, in-  
 quit, sibi reges edificant palacia, set domus eorum sepulcra illorum in  
 eternum. Turres firmas in summis moncium locant, vallem aggere, muro cin-  
 160 gunt, [montes] non suis manibus set pauperum spoliis transferunt, solo enim  
 imperio circumductis fluminibus hostium vires excludunt. Nichil tamen horum  
 morti contradicere potest.” Et sequitur: “Episcopi etiam domos non impares  
 ecclesiis magnitudine construunt, depictos delectantur [f. 162] thalamos  
 habere, vestiunt ibi ymagines preciosis (co)lorum indumentis, et pauper  
 165 sine vestibus incedit ac vacuo ventre clamat ad hostium. O, inquit, mira  
 delectatio Troiana! Gestat mira paries pictus purpura et auro vestitos, et  
 Christianis negantur veteres panni!” Et sequitur: “Grecorum exercitui dan-  
 tur arma, victori clipeus aureus datur auro splendens, pauperi autem ad  
 hostium clamanti non porrigitur panis. Si verum fatear (dicit ipse), spoli-  
 170 antur sepe pauperes ut vestiantur lapides et lingna.” Hec ille. Et ecce ad  
 huiusmodi non confert Deus divicias, set secundum beatum Gregorium “omni-  
 potens Dominus largiendo terrena suadet celestia.” Et ideo in persona Christi  
 dicit Augustinus: “Da michi ex eo quod dedi tibi de meo. Quero [da,] et  
 reddam. [Habuisti,] inquit, me largitorem; me ergo facito debitorem.” Unde  
 175 quidam:

Fac quod Christus amat cum pauper ad hostia clamat:  
 Impartire sibi quod dedit ante tibi.

Ipse enim est minimus in nomine Christi petens. Set Christus in Mattheo:  
 “Quod uni ex minimis meis fecistis, michi fecistis,” etc.

10 Seminastis] om with blank C.M; om W. 11 intulistis] intulisti C.W. causam] tamen  
 C. 12 eos] eas R.M; om W. 13 tamen] add quod C. 14 perdit] add bene scit C. vel]  
 aut O. 16 perdit] perdidit C. 18–19 compassio] compascitur C. 20 elemosina] ele-  
 mosinam C. 21 compassio] compascitur C. 23 lucra] luci C. 24 secundum] sicut

inscription, which read “What I refused I now suffer for,” we have the declara-  
 tion of our Savior that people who in this life refuse deeds of compassion and  
 mercy will be punished at the fearful judgment by his awesome words: “Go, you  
 cursed, into everlasting fire.” What, then, do you think will happen to those  
 who not merely refuse giving alms to the poor but in fact rob the poor in order  
 to get their transitory pleasures in food, clothing, horses, buildings, and the  
 like? Surely they will hear the words just quoted, and what follows them. In  
 reproaching such people Hugh of Saint Victor says: “Kings build large palaces  
 for themselves, but their houses are tombs forever. They put strong towers on  
 hilltops; they surround them with moat, rampart, and wall; they transfer moun-  
 tains not with their hands but with the spoils of the poor, for by their com-  
 mand alone they have water flow around them to ward off the troops of enemies.  
 And yet, nothing of all this can withhold death.” And Hugh continues: “Bish-  
 ops, too, build themselves houses that are not unlike churches in size. They  
 love to have painted beds. They dress up images in precious and colorful  
 garments. And the poor man goes without clothes and cries at their gate with  
 an empty stomach. Oh wonderful Trojan delight! Their splendid walls have  
 pictures clothed in purple and gold, and Christian people are denied even some  
 old rags!” And he continues: “The Greek army is given arms, the victor a  
 golden shield shining with gold. But the poor man who cries at the gate does  
 not get a rag. To tell the truth, their poor are often robbed so that stone  
 and wood may be dressed up.” But lo, God does not grant riches for such use,  
 but according to Blessed Gregory, “the Almighty Lord grants earthly goods to  
 draw us to heavenly ones.” And therefore Augustine says in the person of  
 Christ: “Give me, for I have given you from what is mine. Give, I ask, and I  
 shall give it back to you. You have had me as your giver; let me therefore  
 become your debtor.” Whence someone says:

Do what Christ will love when the poor man cries at your door:  
 Share with him what he has earlier shared with you.

For this is “the least one” who asks in Christ’s name, as Christ says in  
 Matthew: “What you did to one of the least of my brethren, you did to me.”

8 Matt. 6.1. 9 Eccles. 29.15. 10–12 Hag. 1.6. 23–25 Phil. 3.7. 25–26 Matt.  
 16.26. 29–30 Eccles. 29.13. 39–40 1 Cor. 13.3. 41 Cf. Matt. 24.12. 42 *FM*  
 III.vi–xxiii and i–v. 45–46 Luke 8.7. 46 *FM* II.ii–iii. 48–50 Luke 8.6. 51–52 2  
 Kings 19.26. 55 *FM* V.vii–x. 67–68 Isa. 51.23. 68–69 Luke 8.5. 72–73 *FM*  
 I.iii. 93 *FM* V.xii. 109–110 Hos. 10.12. 112–113 Cf. Matt. 6.2, etc. 115 *Prov*  
 17520; cf. 17442. 116 2 Cor. 9.7. 117–131 Tubach 4175; see also *Verses*, pp. 29–32.  
 Further occurrences in Holcot, sermon 64; Dublin, Trinity College MSS 347, fol. 405v,  
 and 667, fol. 64v. 137–143 Gregory, *Moralia* XVIII.xviii.28 (PL 76:52). 144–  
 146 Cf. Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 15 (PG 56:719–720). 147–149 Au-  
 gustine, *Sermo* 61 iii.3 and iv.4 (PL 38:410). 152–153 Matt. 25.41. 157–170 Hugh of  
 Saint Victor, *De claustro anime* I.1 (PL 176:1019). 171–172 Gregory, *In Evangelia*,

C.O. 26 dicit] *om* O. 28 homini] diviti O. 30 abscondas] abscondes O. 38 signatam] designatam O. 39 13] 8 C.W. meum] *add* ita O. 47 siccitas] siccitatis C.O. 48 designatur] intelligitur O. 53 hic] hoc C.R.W. 68 illo] isto O. 71 ad] *om* C.W. 76–77 ad . . . seminandum] *om* O. 77 iaciatur] iaceatur C. 87 illius] istius O. 94 sensum(2)] *om* O. 96 scilicet . . . Anglice] vulgariter M; anglice R.W. 98 immisceant] intermisceant O. 99 operum] opera C. 117 enim] autem O. 122 in secundo] in tercio C; *om* O. 124 in tercio] in secundo C; *om* O. 126 in quarto] *om* O. 128–131 [pat . . . pyne] *text* from R. Verse 50, in B1.B3.C.Co.E.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.W1. 131 [pat] *om* R. 135–149 que . . . iusticiam] C reverses the second and third inscriptions, as above. 137 Summe] sine C.R.W. 139–140 erogatum] irrogatum O. 154 negant] negantes C. 164 colorum] telorum C. 166 mira] *om* O. 175 quidam] *add* ait sic O.

### V.xxvi QUE BONA PER ELEMOSINAM EVENIUNT

[R]estat modo ultimo videre de effectu elemosine, scilicet que bona per illam eveniunt. Et est sciendum secundum quod superius in eius diffinitione dicebatur: ipsa elemosina dimittit peccata, auget presencia, separat a diabolo, et sociat angelis. Et ideo iuxta concilium Luce 14: “Cum facis cenam, noli vocare amicos,” etc., “set voca pauperes et debiles, et beatus eris.” Narratur de quodam episcopo nomine Odone, quomodo in caristia docuit dare elemosinam, promittens sic facientibus centuplum accepturis. Quod cum audisset quidam [f. 162v] devotus et dives credens dictis suis, tradidit viginti libras pauperibus distribuendum et cirographum pro promissis accepit. Cum ergo cito post eius mortem venisset uxor sua cum liberis ad Odonem episcopum cum dicto cirographo debitum (viri petens), duxit illos ad eius monumentum, et facta oracione cum illud apperuisset, ecce defunctus iacuit vultu placido acsi dormisset, quandam cartam pulcherrimam in manu tenens sigillo signatam aureo. Quam cum de manu sua statim accipere non possent, facta iterum oracione acceptam cartam ap(e)ruerunt, quam litteris aureis sic conscriptam invenerunt: “Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego talis pro pecunia quam pro dispositione episcopi Odonis in usus pauperum distribui centuplum ante mortem meam accepi in hoc seculo, scilicet in plena remissione peccatorum meorum, et secundum eius promissum vitam eternam in futuro.”

20 Sic etiam patet de elemosina quid sit et de quibus facienda, quibus comparatur et quibus eroganda, que illam impediunt et que bona inde eveniunt. Et ideo hic nota narrationes et alia et dilata ut placet. Et nota quod plura que dicta sunt superius de avaricia possunt hic allegari. Unde h(e)c iam de elemosina et eius partibus ad presens dicta sufficiunt.

11 viri petens] vi repetens C. 15 acceptam] accepta O. aperuerunt] apparuerunt C. 17 dispositione] *add* domini O. 22 et(3)] *om* O. 23 hec] hic C.

hom. 32, 6 (PL 76:1237). 173–174 Thus also in Peraldus, *Summa vitorum* IV.iv.7. 176–177 *Prov* 8659. 179 *Matt.* 25.40.

### V.xxvi WHAT GOOD EFFECTS COME FROM ALMSGIVING

In the last place we must now speak of the effect of almsgiving, that is, the good results that come from it. And according to what was said earlier when we discussed its definition, we must know that almsgiving forgives sins, increases our current merits, separates us from the devil, and joins us with the angels. Therefore, after the counsel of Luke 14, “when you make a dinner, do not call your friends,” etc., “but call the poor and the weak, and you shall be blessed.” There is a story about a Bishop Odo, how during a famine he taught to give alms, promising to all who did so that they would receive a hundredfold reward. A certain pious rich man heard this and believed the bishop’s words. He gave twenty pounds for distribution among the poor and received a promissory note for it. When he died shortly afterwards, his wife and children went to Bishop Odo with this promissory note and asked for what he owed to her husband. The bishop took her to her husband’s grave and, after saying a prayer, opened it. There was the dead man lying, with a peaceful face as if asleep, and held a beautiful charter in his hand sealed with a golden seal. As they could not at once take it out of his hand, they prayed again, then took the charter and opened it. In it they found the following written with gold letters: “Let all present and future know that for the money I gave to Bishop Odo to be distributed for the use of the poor I have received a hundredfold return before my death in this world, namely the full remission of my sins, and in the future, as he had promised, eternal life.”

Thus, then, it is manifest what almsgiving is, from what we should give alms, to what things these can be compared, to whom they should be given, what obstacles prevent them, and what their good effects are. You may tell here other pious tales and things and amplify them if you wish. Notice also that many things I said earlier about avarice can be cited here as well. But this much will be enough about almsgiving and its aspects.

4–6 Luke 14.12–14. 6–19 Tubach 176; *add*: Bromyard, “Elemosine,” E.III.48.

## V.xxvii DE PUGNA CONTRA MUNDUM

[D]icto aliquo modo contra vicium accidie de occupatione spirituali quantum consistit in penitencia et eius partibus, scilicet in contricione, confessione, et satisfactione, et illarum partibus, ulterius de illa occupatione est dicendum quantum consistit in pugna contra tres hostes principales, qui sunt mundus, caro, et diabolus, quos oportet debellare per fidem, spem, et caritatem, similiter per prudentiam, [f. 163] temperanciam, et fortitudinem. Unde de istis primo est videndum quomodo per dictos hostes debellamur, secundo quomodo per dictas virtutes eis resistere possumus, sternere, et vincere; cuius processus reddendo singula singulis clarius legenti apparebit.

Est ergo advertendum, secundum beatum Gregorium, quod isti tres hostes hoc modo nos infestant. Nam primo mundus et caro nituntur [ad] peccata allicere, set diabolus cum illis totaliter nititur subvertere. Caro autem querit suavia, mundus preparat ligna, diabolus mittit incendia. Caro ligat ad voluptatem, mundus impellit ad vanitatem, diabolus trahit ad iniquitatem. Caro eciam est hostis domesticus suadens suavia, quia luxuriam et voluptatem, per quas deprimit nos in(f)ra nos. Mundus est hostis sophisticus suadens inania, quia avariciam et cupiditatem, cum quibus trahit nos extra nos. Set diabolus est hostis occultus suadens pessima, quia superbiam, iram, et invidiam, cum quibus erigit nos supra nos. Et tamen, secundum Bernardum, hoc modo mercedem retribuunt suis servitoribus, quia caro dat suis quasi momentaneam voluptatem, mundus transitoriam dignitatem, set diabolus eternalem captivitatem. Tot igitur et tantis inimicis nos obpugnantis est viriliter resistendum et constanter debellandum, ut victoriam habeamus.

[C]irca autem mundi adversitatem est sciendum quod ipsa nos multipliciter impugnat, et primo undique pericula opponens. Unde propter eius inquietudinem et amaritudinem non inmerito mari comparatur. Unde Crisostomus omelia 33 in *Imperfecto*: "Mare, inquit, mundus est ubi aque salse s(unt) propter iniquitates, ubi dominantur potestates et diversa pericula spirituum certamina." Sicut enim assidua est in [f. 163v] mari tempestas, sic in mundo, nam alterutrum se comedunt, sicut in mari pisses forciores devorant infirmiores; Abacuc 1: "Facies hominis quasi pissis maris." De isto ergo mari ait beatus Ambrosius in sermone confessoris communi dicens: "Navigantibus enim nobis per hoc mare magnum et spaciosum, in quo reptilia quorum non est numerus," etc., usque "agone luctantur." In quo quidem mari navis principalis est cupiditas, cui adherent tria genera scapharum, scilicet mercatorum, piscatorum, et piratarum. In prima enim navigant mereatores cupidi, qui nituntur alios decipere emendo et vendendo. In secunda autem navigant homines curiales, scilicet qui morantur in curiis istorum magnorum nec fluctuantes piscari desistunt nunc per dona, nunc per promissa ad bona

## V.xxvii THE BATTLE WITH THE WORLD

After we have spoken about spiritual activity, the virtue opposed to the vice of sloth, insofar as it consists in penance and its parts, that is, contrition, confession, and satisfaction, with their respective divisions, we must now further treat of that spiritual activity which consists in the battle against our three main enemies, that is, the world, the flesh, and the devil, which we must combat with faith, hope, and charity, and likewise with prudence, temperance, and fortitude. Concerning this matter, we must first investigate how we are being attacked by these three enemies, and second how we may withstand, prostrate, and defeat them through the said virtues. The development of this matter, matching the single enemies with the respective virtues, will become clear as you read on.

We must, then, realize that according to Blessed Gregory these three enemies beset us in the following way. First, the world and the flesh try to lure us to sin, but the devil tries to ruin us completely with their help. For the flesh seeks what is soft, the world prepares the wood, and the devil brings fire to it. The flesh binds us to pleasure, the world pushes us to vanities, and the devil draws us to iniquity. Further, the flesh is our domestic foe who persuades us to seek softness, by lechery and carnal pleasure, by which it pushes us below ourselves. The world is a sophist, a tricky foe who persuades us to seek vain things, by avarice and covetousness, with which he draws us outside ourselves. But the devil is a secret enemy who draws us to the worst, namely to pride, wrath, and envy, with which he lifts us above ourselves. And yet, according to Bernard, these enemies give their servants their reward in the same way, for the flesh gives its followers, as it were, a momentary pleasure; the world, transitory rank and worthiness; but the devil, eternal captivity. These many and great enemies who beset us must be opposed with manly resistance and fought with constancy, so that we may gain the victory.

With respect to the adversity of the world, we must know that it besets us in many ways, and first by setting up dangers for us everywhere. Therefore it is fittingly compared to the sea, because of its restlessness and bitterness. In Homily 33 of his *Imperfect Work*, Chrysostom says: "The world is a sea whose waters are salty because of its injustices; in it power prevails, and many dangers, and struggle among spirits." As in the sea, so in this world storms are frequent; and one eats another, as in the sea the stronger fish devour the weaker ones; Habakkuk 1: "The face of man is like the fish of the sea." Of this sea Blessed Ambrose speaks in his common sermon for a confessor as follows: "As we sail on this large and wide sea, in which there are numerous reptiles," and so on, to "they fight in their battle." The major ship in this sea is covetousness, accompanied by three kinds of boats, namely those of merchants, fishermen, and pirates. In the first sail greedy merchants, who try to cheat others in their buying and selling. In the second sail courtiers,

temporalia ascendere. In tertia vero navigant magni domini raptores et iniusti, qui simplices spoliunt et eorum bona asportant. In quibus etiam navibus sunt tria genera recium, quorum unum est in quo portantur palee, cum [quo] piscantur qui non cessant ista vana et transitoria, que iuste paleis comparantur, acquirere tam avidae. Aliud genus est per quod capiuntur aviculae, et in illo aucupantur qui in altum per inanem gloriam nituntur ascendere et tamquam avolare. Tercium genus est per quod capiuntur pisces, cum [quo] piscantur luxuriosi qui pisces tam magnos quam parvos, scilicet uxores, viduas, virgines, et coniugatas, destruunt et confundunt. Quorum navium gubernatores sunt huiusmodi operatores.

Est etiam mundus forum deceptorium. Nam sicut proprium est fori ut in eo omnia vendantur et emantur, ubi etiam vendentes et ementes se invicem [f. 164] decipiant, sic in mundo ostenduntur diversa concupiscibilia venalia, quorum mercatores fere non est qui faciat bonum—“non est usque ad unum,” iuxta Psalmum. Item sicut locus fori sive nundinarum modo est populosus, multimodis bonis refertus, gaudiosus, et gloriosus, et in modico cum quilibet redit ad propria, quidam cum lucro, quidam cum dampno, confestim fit quasi locus desertus, turpis, fedus, et contemptuosus—revera sic est de mundo. Unde illud fit Sapientie 5: “Quid nobis profuit superbia aut divitiarum iactantia? Quid inde nobis contulerunt? Omnia transierunt velut umbra, et tanquam navis que pertransit aquam fluctuantem, cito preterierit, non [videtur].”

Et ideo, ut videtur, bene tercio comparari potest diluvio generali tempore Noe, quod totum mundum occupavit et submersit nisi quos in arcam Noe recepit. Revera sic mundi cupiditas et miseria omnes quasi submersit, quia ut habetur Ieremie 6, “a minori usque ad maiorem omnes avaricie student, et a propheta usque ad sacerdotem omnes faciunt dolum.” Nec est qui eius diluvium potest evadere nisi submergatur aut perimatur, nisi quis ad arcam crucis Christi ligneam voluerit confugere; Sapientie 10: “Cum aqua deleteret terram, sanavit sapientia, per contemptibilem lignum iustum gubernans.” Expone ideo ut ait Crisostomus: “Maria fuit desponsata fabro lignario, quoniam Christus, sponsus Ecclesie, per lignum crucis salutem omnium operaturus erat in medio terre.” Unde illud Proverbiorum capitulo 3: “Lignum vite est; qui apprehenderit, beatus.”

Quod autem lignum crucis convenienter comparatur arche Noe, et e contrario, satis declarat Augustinus *De civitate Dei*, capitulo 26, dicens: “Iam vero, [inquit,] quod Noe homini iusto et, sicut [f. 164v] de illo veridica scriptura loquitur, in sua generatione perfect(o)—non utique sicut proficiendi sunt cives civitatis Dei in illa immortalitate qua equantur angelis Dei, set sicut esse possunt in hac peregrinatione perfecti—imperat [Deus] ut arcam, in qua cum suis, cum uxore, filiis, et nuribus, et cum animalibus que ad illum ex precepto Dei in arcam ingressa sunt,

those who reside in the courts of the great, who while they float on this sea never stop fishing for temporal goods and higher positions, now with gifts and now with promises. In the third boat sail great lords who oppress and are unjust, who rob the lower classes and carry off their goods. In these ships are three kinds of nets. One is the kind in which one carries straw; this is used by those who never cease from eagerly grabbing at vain and transitory goods, which can rightly be compared to straw. Another kind is that with which one catches birds; this is used by people who want to rise up high in vainglory and fly like birds. And the third kind is that with which one catches fish; it is used by lechers, who catch and kill big fish and little fish, that is to say, wives, widows, virgins, and betrothed. People who act this way are the pilots of these ships.

This world is likewise a treacherous marketplace. It is in the nature of a marketplace that everything is sold and bought there and that the sellers and buyers cheat each other; in the same way, in this world many desirable things are offered for sale, among whose merchants there is hardly one who does good—“no, not one,” as the Psalm says. Also, as a marketplace or a fair is now filled with people, stocked with all sorts of goods, joyful, and magnificent, and in a little while everyone goes back to his home, one with profit, another with loss, and the place at once becomes deserted, ugly, dirty, and contemptible. Just so does it happen with the world. Whence the words of Wisdom 5: “What has pride profited us, or what advantage has the boasting of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow, and as a ship that passes through the waves; as soon as it is gone by, it is no longer seen.”

And so, I believe, the world can thirdly be compared to the universal flood of Noah’s time, which covered the whole world and drowned everything except those whom Noah had taken into his ark. Thus has the world’s covetousness and misery drowned everyone, for as we read in Jeremiah 6, “from the least to the greatest, all are given to covetousness; from the prophet to the priest, all practice deceit.” There is none who can escape the world’s flood without drowning or perishing except he who will flee to the wooden ark of Christ’s cross; Wisdom 10: “When water destroyed the earth, wisdom healed it again, directing the course of the just by contemptible wood.” Explain this after Chrysostom: “Mary was espoused to a carpenter, because Christ, the spouse of his Church, had, through the wood of the cross, worked salvation for all in the midst of the earth.” Hence the words of Proverbs 3: “It is the tree of life; he that retains it is blessed.”

That the wood of the cross can be fittingly compared to Noah’s ark, and vice-versa, Augustine shows clearly in chapter 26 of *The City of God*, where he says: “Now God commands that Noah be saved from the vast flood by the ark in which he entered at the Lord’s command with his family, his wife and sons and daughters-in-law, Noah, a just man and, as Scripture says of him truthfully,



liberaretur a diluvii vastitate. Procul dubio figura est peregrinantis in  
 85 hoc seculo civitatis Dei, hoc est Ecclesie, que fuit salva per lignum in  
 quo pependit mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Iesus. Nam et mensure  
 ipsius longitudinis, latitudinis, et altitudinis signant corpus humanum, in  
 cuius veritate ad homines prenunciatus est venturus et venit.” Et sequitur:  
 90 “Humani corporis quippe longitudo a vertice usque ad vestigia sexies tantum  
 habet quam latitudo, que est ab uno latere usque ad alterum latus, et  
 decies tantum quam altitudo, cuius altitudinis mensura est in latere a  
 dorso usque ad ventrem, velud si iacentem hominem meciaribus supinum se[u]  
 primum, sexies tantum longius est a capite usque ad pedes quam latus a  
 dextra in sinistram vel e contrario, et decies quam altus a terra. Unde  
 95 facta est archa trecentorum in longitudine cubitorum et quinquaginta in  
 latitudine et triginta in altitudine, ad modum corporis humani. Et quod  
 ostium in latere accepit, profecto est illud vulnus quando latus crucifixi  
 lancea perforatum est. Hac quippe a(d) illum venientes ingrediuntur, quia  
 inde sacramenta manarunt, quibus credentes muniuntur. Et quod de lignis  
 100 quadratis fieri iubetur undique stabilem vitam sanctorum signat, que quo-  
 cumque verteris quadrum stabit,” vel supple: [f. 165] signare satis congrue  
 potest quatuor partes ligni crucis. Et sequitur: “Quoniam non solum in  
 inferioribus mansiones habere archam voluit verum etiam in superioribus, et  
 hec dixit bicamerata. Et in superioribus superiorum, et hec appellavit  
 105 tricamerata, vel ab ymo versus sursum tria construeret habitacula. Possunt  
 hec intelligi tria illa que commendat Apostolus, que sunt fides, spes, et  
 caritas.” Hec Augustinus. Quia vero parte supra satis tractatur de mundo,  
 ideo hic causa brevitas leviter transio.

3 illa] ista O. 9 sternere] prosternere O. 17 infra] intra C. 30 sunt] scilicet C.R.  
 42 temporalia] add et dignitates O. 45 cum quo] cum C; et cum (isto avari) M; et cum  
 W. 47 aucupant] occupant (se superbi) M; aucupantur R. 48 tamquam] add aves  
 R.W. 60 fit] om O. 62–63 et . . . videtur] the quotation appears in different abbrevi-  
 ated forms O. 79 profecto] perfecta C. 87 ipsius] ipse M.W; ipsa (mensura) R. al-  
 titudinis] add eius O. 98 ad] ac C. 103 ] archa O. 105 construeret habitacula] tercia  
 consurgeret habitatio O.

## V.xxviii DE FIDE

[C]ontra ergo istum hostem, scilicet mundum, et eius insultum audacter  
 iam primo accedit fides ut illum (expugnet) et devincat, iuxta illud Iohan-  
 nis canonica sua prima, capitulo 5: “Hec est victoria que vincit mundum,

perfect in his generation—not, however, with that perfection with which the  
 citizens of the city of God are to progress in that immortality in which they  
 are like the angels, but rather insofar as they can be perfect in this present  
 pilgrimage. Beyond doubt, for those who make their pilgrimage in this world  
 this is a prefiguration of the city of God, that is, the Church, who was saved  
 by the wood on which the mediator between God and men hung, the man Jesus  
 Christ. For the measurements of its length and width and height stand for the  
 human body, as he was in truth foretold to come and has come.” Then Augustine  
 continues: “The length of a man’s body from his head to his footsoles is six  
 times his width, measured from one side to the other, and ten times his depth,  
 measured on the side from his back to his stomach. If you measure a man  
 stretched out on the ground, whether he is on his back or his stomach, his  
 length from head to feet is six times the distance from his right side to his  
 left or vice-versa, and ten times his elevation from the ground. For this  
 reason, the ark was built at a length of three hundred cubits, a width of  
 fifty, and a depth of thirty, just like the human body. The door in its side  
 surely is that wound which the side of the Crucified received when it was  
 pierced with a lance. Through it those enter who come to it, for from it the  
 sacraments flowed forth by which the faithful are cleansed. And that it was  
 ordered to be built from squared beams on all sides symbolizes the stable life  
 of the saints, for wherever you turn a cube, it will stand firm,” or add: it  
 may fittingly symbolize the four parts of the wood of the cross. And Augustine  
 continues: “He wanted the ark to have rooms not only on its lower but also on  
 its upper level, and these he called ‘second stories’; and further on an even  
 higher level, which he called ‘third stories,’ so that Noah was to build three  
 levels of rooms from the bottom to the top. By this we may understand the  
 triad which the Apostle recommends, namely faith, hope, and charity.” Since I  
 have dealt with the world further in an earlier part, I now move on for the  
 sake of brevity.

11–25 A compilation of commonplaces; see Wenzel, “The Three Enemies of Man,” *MS*  
 29 (1967), esp. 53ff. 29–31 Ps.–Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 39 (PG  
 56:846). 33 Hab. 1.14. 55–56 Ps. 13.1. 60–63 Wisd. 5.8–9. 67–68 Jer. 6.13.  
 70–72 Wisd. 10.4. 72–74 Ps.–Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 1 (PL 56:630–  
 631). 74–75 Prov. 3.18. 78–107 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* XV.xxvi.1 (CC 48:493–  
 494). 79 Cf. Gen. 6.9.

## V.xxviii FAITH

Against this enemy, the world, and its attack, faith now bravely enters  
 the field to fight and overcome it, after the words of 1 John 5: “This is the  
 victory which overcomes the world, our faith.” Concerning this faith we must

fides nostra." Circa hanc fidem est sciendum primo quid sit et in quibus  
 5 consistit, secundo [de] eius effectu quomodo mundum expugnat et prosternit.  
 Est ergo fides secundum Apostolum, Ad Hebreos 2, "substancia rerum speran-  
 darum, argumentum non apparencium." In qua quidem diffinitione fides dici-  
 tur "substancia," idest fundamentum substans edificacioni spirituali, quod  
 10 est gracia et gloria, quia per hanc inhabitat nos Spiritus Sanctus quasi  
 arra celestium bonorum. Ipsa namque fides facit iam aliquid res speran-  
 das in nobis subsistere per gratiam, et tandem faciet per gloriam, quia  
 ipsa est primus habitus virtutum, tempore quamvis non natura. Dicit eciam  
 "sperandarum," quia fides per assensum facit in nobis subsistere res spe-  
 15 randas. Dicitur eciam "argumentum," idest arguens mentem, quia fides probat  
 de non apparentibus et inclinatur intellectum ad credendum ea que non appa-  
 rent. Et ideo dicitur potius argumentum [quam] conclusio. Secundum enim  
 Magistrum *Sentenciarum* distinctione 23, capitulo 8: "Hoc veraciter dicitur  
 credi [f. 165v] quod non valet videri. (Nam credi iam non potest quod  
 20 videri potest.)" Et ponit exemplum dicens: "Thomas, inquit, aliud vidit et  
 aliud credidit, quia hominem vidit et Deum confessus est." Unde secundum  
 eum fides est virtus qua creditur quod non videtur. Dicitur eciam "fides  
 est rerum non apparencium" eo quod ipsa sua luce et veritate manifestat ea  
 que non apparent, tam preterita quam futura, sicut per fidem credimus  
 25 resurrectionem mortuorum, iudicium futurorum, etc., ut satis patet tam in  
 cimbo Consilii Niceni quod cantatur in missa quam eciam in cimbo Atha-  
 nasii quod dicitur "Quicumque vult," et maxime in communi cimbo apostolo-  
 rum, quod omnibus Christi fidelibus exponitur ad docendum.

In quo si respectus habeatur ad eos qui illud cimbo (e)diderunt,  
 tunc articuli sunt duodecim, secundum numerum apostolorum. Si vero conside-  
 30 ramus que radicaliter sunt credenda, tunc articuli sunt quatuordecim,  
 quorum septem spectant ad divinitatem et septem ad Christi humanitatem. Et  
 hec bene figurantur in septem stellis Apocalipsis et in septem candelabris  
 aureis, in quorum medio Filius Hominis ambulat. Septem ergo que pertinent  
 ad divinitatem: Primus articulus est credere in unum Deum, secundus est  
 35 Patrem esse Deum; que duo notantur ibi: "Credo in Deum Patrem omnipoten-  
 tem." Et istos duos articulos posuit beatus Petrus. Et convenienter, quia  
 eius fides virebat pre ceteris, et ideo in fide pre ceteris apostolis  
 commendatur a Christo sibi dicente illud Matthei 16: "Tu es Petrus, et  
 super hanc petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam," quam scilicet per fidem con-  
 40 fessus es. Tercius est Filium esse Deum, ibi: "Et in Iesum Christum, Filium  
 eius unicum, Dominum nostrum." Quia ergo credimus quod ipse Dominus Deus  
 ponit nobis manum in auxilium, munus in premium, [f. 166] et minas in  
 supplicium, ideo in eum speramus. Et hunc articulum posuit Andreas, et hoc  
 convenienter propter spem vite eterne. Ipse fuit discipulus beati Iohannis  
 45 Baptiste audiens ipsum de Christo predicantem; ipse ex tunc Christum seque-

investigate, first, what it is and in what it consists, and second how it works  
 to fight and prostrate the world. According to the Apostle in Hebrews 2, faith  
 is "the substance of things to be hoped for, an argument for things that do not  
 appear." In this definition, faith is called a "substance," that is, the founda-  
 tion *sub-stans*, "underlying," the spiritual building, which is grace and  
 glory, for through it the Holy Spirit dwells within us as an earnest of the  
 heavenly goods. This faith causes the things we hope for to be partially  
 present in us already now through grace, and in the future it will do so  
 through glory, because faith is the first habit of the virtues, though only  
 according to the order of time, not in its nature. The Apostle speaks of  
 "things to be hoped for," because through our assent faith causes the things  
 we hope for to exist in us. It is likewise called *argumentum*, that is to say,  
*arguens mentem*, "convincing our mind," because it proves the existence of  
 what cannot be seen and inclines the intellect to believe in what lies outside the  
 experience of our senses. Therefore it is called "argument" rather than "con-  
 50 clusion." For according to the Master of the *Sentences* in distinction 23,  
 chapter 8, "that is truly said to be an object of belief which cannot be seen.  
 For what one can see cannot be an object of belief." And he gives an example  
 and says: "Thomas saw one thing and believed another, for he saw a man and  
 confessed him to be God." Hence, according to the same, faith is the virtue by  
 which we believe what we do not see. Faith is further said to be "of things  
 that do not appear," because by its light and truth it makes things manifest  
 that otherwise are hidden, both past and future; thus, through faith we believe  
 in the resurrection of the dead, the future judgment, and so on, as can be  
 found in the Nicene Creed, which is sung at Mass, as well as in the Athanasian  
 Creed, which begins with "Whoever wants," and above all in the common  
 Apostles' Creed, which is taught and explained to every Christian.

If we attend to the authors of this creed, there are twelve articles, the  
 number of the apostles. But if we consider the fundamental subject matter of  
 our belief, then there are fourteen articles, of which seven relate to Christ's  
 divinity and seven to his humanity. These are prefigured in the seven stars in  
 Revelation and in the seven gold candelabra in whose midst the Son of Man  
 walks. Of the seven that relate to Christ's divinity, the first states that we  
 believe in one God, and the second, that God is our father. These two are  
 expressed in the sentence: "I believe in God, the Father, the Almighty," and  
 they were given by Blessed Peter, and fittingly so, because his faith was  
 stronger than that of the others and was singled out from that of the other  
 apostles as Christ said to him in Matthew 16, "you are Peter, and on this rock  
 I will build my Church," that is, which you have confessed through your faith.  
 The third article declares that the Son is God, when it states: "And in Jesus  
 Christ, his only Son, our Lord." Since we believe that the Lord God offers us  
 a hand in aid, a gift in reward, and a threat in punishment, we put our hope in

batur. Quartus articulus est credere Spiritum Sanctum esse Deum, ibi:  
 “Credo in Spiritum Sanctum.” Nam ipse spiritus pietatis est et compassionis  
 qui pie infundit activis opera misericordie, ac etiam per suam consolacio-  
 nem reddit hominem mitem et invictum, et ideo vocatur Paraclitus, idest,  
 50 consolator. Nam ipse “Deus tocus consolacionis est, qui consolatur nos in  
 omni tribulacione nostra.” Et hunc articulum posuit Bartholomeus, et bene,  
 nam ipse interpretatur suspendens aquas, in signum quod ipse Spiritus  
 Sanctus suspendit aquas tribulacionis et angustie. Qui in tantum istum  
 Apostolum reddebat invictum quod vinci non potuit, quamvis pro amore eius  
 55 vivus excoriatus fuit. Sic ergo patet quod isti quatuor articuli sunt de  
 unitate divine essencie et trinitate personarum. Quintus articulus est  
 credere remissionem peccatorum hiis qui sunt in Ecclesia, quod notatur ibi:  
 “Sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem, remissionem peccato-  
 rum.” Et hunc articulum posuit Symon, qui interpretatur obediens et perse-  
 60 verans, quia ad hanc remissionem numquam pervenitur nisi per humilitatem et  
 in bonis perseveranciam, iuxta illud Matthei: “Qui perseveraverit usque in  
 finem,” etc. Sextus est mortuorum resurrectio vel resuscitacio, quod patet  
 ibi: “Carnis resurrectionem.” In ista enim resurrectione erit maxima muta-  
 cio, quia ex carne corruptibili et mortali fiet incorruptibilis et immorta-  
 65 lis; que quidem mutacio erit ad maximam gloriam bonis, et ad maximam mise-  
 riam malis. Hunc articulum posuit [f. 166v] Thadeus, qui c(o)rculum inter-  
 pretatur, quasi cor colens, quia sic ille corda barbarorum coluit quod eius  
 resurrectionis ad gloriam esse meretur. Septimus est bonorum remuneracio,  
 sub quo etiam comprehenditur malorum punicio; ibi: “Vitam eternam. Amen.”  
 70 Quem posuit Mathias, qui interpretatur donatus, scilicet pro Iuda qui  
 seipsum tradidit ad mortem eternam. Iuste dicitur datus, quia gloria eterna  
 non venditur nec est aliquis qui habeat unde emat, set illa per Christum  
 sine precio datur, iuxta illud Psalmi: “Pro nichilo salvos facies illos,”  
 scilicet fideles in te confidentes. Et isti tres ultimi articuli ad divini-  
 75 tatem pertinent eo quod virtute Dei fit remissio peccatorum, que est anime  
 iustificacio, et corporum resuscitacio atque corporis et anime glorifica-  
 cio.

Alii sunt septem articuli qui ad Christi humanitatem pertinent. Quorum  
 primus est credere Iesum Filium Dei conceptum fuisse de Spiritu Sancto, et  
 80 secundus est credere quod idem Filius natus est de Maria Virgine. Qua[m]  
 quidem concepcione[m] et etiam nativitate[m] caritas Christi erga genus  
 humanum pre ceteris operabatur iuxta illud Apostoli: “Propter nimiam cari-  
 tatem qua dilexit nos misit Filium suum in similitudinem carnis peccati.”  
 Set istos duos posuit Iacobus Minor, qui etiam frater Domini appellatur. Et  
 85 bene frater Domini dicitur propter nimiam similitudinem quam habuit pre  
 ceteris; similiter quia ad modum Christi “vinum et ciseram non bibit” nec  
 carnes comedit, set in omni persecucione viriliter restitit, propter quod

him. This article was given by Andrew, and fittingly so, because of his hope  
 for eternal life. Andrew was a disciple of Blessed John the Baptist, whom he  
 heard preaching of Christ; and from that point on he followed Christ. The  
 fourth article declares that the Holy Spirit is God, when it says: “I believe  
 in the Holy Spirit.” This is the spirit of piety and compassion, who lovingly  
 infuses works of mercy into people who follow the active life, and who also  
 through his consolation renders man mild and strong, for which he is called  
 Paraclete, that is, consoler. For he is “the God of all consolation who  
 comforts us in all our tribulation.” And this article was given by Bartholo-  
 mew, whose name means “suspending the waters,” in token that this Spirit  
 suspends the waters of tribulation and anxiety. He rendered this apostle so  
 strong that he could not be overcome, even when he was flayed alive for his  
 love. In this way, then, it is clear that these four articles refer to the  
 unity of God’s being and to the trinity of persons. The fifth article states  
 our belief in the remission of sins for those who belong to the Church, when it  
 says: “The holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints, the forgiveness of  
 sins.” This article was given by Simon, whose name means “obedient” and “per-  
 severing,” because one can never come to this remission of sins except through  
 humility and perseverance in good works, after the words of Matthew: “He who  
 perseveres unto the end,” etc. The sixth article declares the resurrection of  
 the dead, in the words: “The resurrection of the body.” In this resurrection  
 a tremendous change will take place, for our corruptible and mortal flesh will  
 become incorruptible and immortal; this change will bring the greatest glory to  
 the good, and the greatest wretchedness to the wicked. This article was given  
 by Thaddeus, whose name means *corculum*, “little heart,” as if to say *cor  
 colens*, “worshipping the heart,” because he cherished the hearts of barbarians  
 so much that it helped him to the glory of the resurrection. The seventh  
 article states the rewarding of the good, which also implies the punishment of  
 the wicked; and it says: “Life everlasting. Amen.” This was given by Mathias,  
 whose name means “given,” because he was given in the place of Judas, who  
 handed himself over to eternal death. And he is rightly called “given,” be-  
 cause eternal life is not for sale, nor can anyone buy it, but it is given without  
 money and freely by Christ, according to the words of the Psalm: “For  
 nothing you will save them,” that is, the faithful who trust in you. These  
 last three articles belong to Christ’s divinity because it is by virtue of his  
 divinity that sins are forgiven (which is the soul’s justification), that our  
 bodies shall rise, and that body and soul will be glorified.

The other seven articles relate to Christ’s humanity. In the first we  
 believe that the Son was conceived by the Holy Spirit, and in the second, that  
 the same Son was born of the Virgin Mary. His conception and birth was fore-  
 most a deed of his love for mankind, after the words of the Apostle: “For his  
 exceeding charity with which he loved us, he sent his Son in the likeness of

in fine lapidatus est. Tercius est credere Filium Dei pro nobis mortuum in cruce, quod notatur ibi: "Passus sub Poncio Pilato, crucifixus, mortuus, et sepultus." [f. 167] Et hunc articulum posuit Iohannes. Et iuste, quia ipse plus vidit de Christi passione quam aliquis alius, et ideo scripsit de Christi matris recommendacione et de Christi lanceacione. Et eciam addidit in suo evangelio pre ceteris quod Christus dixit "Sicio," scilicet salutem animarum, et similiter alia que nullus alius evangelista vidit. Unde in fine [sue] passionis dicit: "Qui vidit, testimonium perhibuit," etc. Quartus et undecimus est credere Filium Dei descendisse ad inferos secundum animam, ibi: "Descendit ad inferna, tercia die resurrexit a mortuis." Et hunc articulum posuit beatus Thomas, et bene, quia ipse erat niger [primo] propter incredulitatem sive infidelitatem, [quod notatur ibi: "Descendit ad inferna," et postea candidus per confessionis fidelitatem,] quod notatur quando dixit: "Tercia die," etc. Et iste in Yndia predicavit. Quintus et duodecimus est credere sanctam Ecclesiam catholicam, sanctorum communionem. Cuius articuli duplex potest esse sensus. Unus est: Credo Ecclesiam militantem, que iam adheret Deo per contemplacionem, esse assumendam ad Ecclesiam triumphantem, ubi adheret Deo per claram visionem. Et hoc est quod oramus in canone misse dicendo: "Supplices te rogamus, omnipotens Deus, iube hec perferri per manus sancti angeli tui in sublime altare tuum," etc. Non enim oramus quod ille species panis portetur in illud altare sublim(e), quia illuc numquam deveniet, nec oramus quod verum corpus Christi quod semper ibi est illud deportetur, set quod veritas tocuis Ecclesie que per illud sacramentum significatur in celum deportetur. Et hoc propter illius convenienciam. Nam sicut panis ex quo fit eucharistia fit ex multis granis, et vinum ex quo fit sanguis ex multis racemis, sic Christi Ecclesia adunatur ex multis fidelibus. [f. 167v] Et ideo oramus quod ista veritas Ecclesie finaliter in celum deportetur. Est autem communis modus loquendi iste, quia si videam ymaginem alicuius, statim dicam "istum diligo vel odio," non tamen pro ipsa ymagine, set pro ipso significato per ymaginem, scilicet pro amico vel inimico. Sic in proposito. Aliter eciam intelligitur articulus iste, "Credo in sanctam Ecclesiam," etc., idest, credo illam Ecclesiam cum sanctis communicare, que maxime fit per virtutem contemplacionis. Et istum articulum posuit Mattheus, qui de peccatore vocatus est in discipulum Christi, sicut Ecclesia militans collecta de peccatoribus fiet Ecclesia triumphans. Iste enim Mattheus predicavit in Macedonia. Sextus et decimus tercius est credere Christum ascendisse ad Patris equalitatem, ibi: "Ascendit ad celos, sedet ad dextram Dei Patris," etc. Christus enim in sua ascensione attendebat gaudium et depellebat timorem, quia sedet ad dextram Dei Patris, et ibi est summa pax et eterna concordia. Et ideo congrue hunc articulum scripsit Iacobus Maior, frater s(cilicet) Iohannis Evangeliste, qui huius ascencionis et ad dexteram cessionis maxime desideravit esse

sinful flesh." These two articles were given by James the Less, also called "brother of the Lord." He is fittingly called "brother of the Lord" because he was very much like him, more than anyone else. In addition, like Christ he "did not drink wine or strong drink," nor did he eat meat; and he persevered manly in every persecution, for which he was stoned in the end. The third article affirms that the Son of God died for us on the cross, as it is said in the words: "Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, died, and was buried." And this article was given by John, and fittingly so, because he witnessed more of Christ's Passion than anyone else and thus wrote about Christ's entrusting his mother to him and his being pierced with a lance. And further, he adds in his gospel to what the other evangelists report, that Christ said "I thirst"—namely, for the salvation of souls—and other things which no other evangelist saw. For this reason he says at the end of his account of the Passion: "He who saw it has given testimony," and so on. The fourth and eleventh article affirms that the Son of God descended into hell, with respect to his soul, saying: "He descended into hell, the third day he rose from the dead." This article was given by Blessed Thomas, and fittingly so, because he was first black on account of his incredulity or lack of faith, which is shown in "He descended into hell," and afterwards white in the faith of his confession, which is shown when he said, "On the third day," and so on. Thomas preached in India. The fifth and twelfth article affirms our belief in the holy Catholic Church, the communion of saints. This article can carry a twofold meaning. One is this: I believe that the Church Militant, which now is united to God through contemplation, will be taken into the Church Triumphant, where it will be united with God through direct vision. For this reason we pray in the canon of the Mass as follows: "We humbly beseech you, Almighty God, let these gifts be carried by the hands of your holy angel," and so on. We do not pray that the particular form of bread be carried to the altar on high, for it could never travel there; nor do we pray that the true Body of Christ may be carried there, because it is there always; but we pray that the truth [*read* unity?] of the whole Church, as it is symbolized in this sacrament, be carried to heaven. And this is fitting, for just as the bread which becomes the Eucharist is made out of many grains, and just as the wine which becomes the Blood of Christ is made from many grapes, so is Christ's Church gathered together from many believers. We therefore pray that this true Church may in the end be carried to heaven. It is a common way of speaking that when I see someone's picture, I say at once "I love him" or "I hate him," referring not to the picture but to him who is depicted by it, that is, my friend or enemy himself. The same holds true of the matter under discussion. The second way to understand this article "I believe in the holy Catholic Church," etc., is that the Church is in communion with the saints, which happens above all by virtue of contemplation. This article was given by Matthew, who was called

130 particeps, ut patet in eius matris petitione dicentis: "Dic ut sedeant hii duo filii," etc. Iste predicavit in Hispania. Septimus et decimus quartus est credere quod Filius Dei est venturus iudicare vivos et mortuos. Nam Christus venturus ad mundum resplendet per sapienciam qua inter bonos et malos iuste iudicabit, et sicut lapis crisolitus emittit scintillas de ore suo, idest ardentia iudicia et horribilia contra malos iuxta illud Psalmi: "Ignis in conspectu eius exardescit," etc. [Hunc articulum posuit beatus Philippus,] et bene secundum sui nominis interpretacionem. Interpretatur enim os la(mpad)is, signans quod in [f. 168] iudicio de ore suo fulgur et ignem ad modum la(mpa)dis emittet. Et iste apostolus predicavit in Galilea, scilicet Philippus qui hunc articulum posuit.

140 Sic ergo patent articuli fidei per duodecim apostolos ordinati. Que quidem fides propter eius constanciam et soli(ditat)em non incongrue nominatur primus lapis in fundamento Ecclesie Christi, lapidi iaspidi comparata, cuius natura talis invenitur: videlicet, semper virescit, fugat fantas-  
 145 mata, reddit tutum inter pericula, luxuriam cohibet, morbos sanat. Revera sic fides semper viret in stabilitate nec marcessit pro quacumque tribulacione seu persecucionem. Et Petri 5 dicitur: "Adversarius vester diabolus tamquam leo rugiens circuit querens quem devoret; cui resistite fortes in fide," etc. Secundo [fides] fugat fantasma[ta] errorum ac heresim; Actuum  
 150 15: "Fide purificans corda eorum." Tercio reddit tutum inter pericula, et ideo assimilatur scuto, dicente Apostolo: "Accipite scutum fidei." In quo scuto depingi non incongrue possunt arma illustrissimi regis Anglie. Ipse enim, ut videtis, gestat scutum de (minio), idest *goules*, cum tribus leopardis transeuntibus de auro puro. Et bene per illud scutum de *goules*  
 155 intelligo ardentem [amorem] et caritatem, per quam accendimur ad intensam fidem et credulitatem in Deum et articulis prescriptis. Per tres leopardos potest intelligi benedicta Trinitas, in qua cunctis aliis abiectis credendum est; et per aurum divinitatem istius Trinitatis. Nam sicut ita purum aurum est in minori leopardo sic[ut] in maiori, et e contrario, sic ita  
 160 purus Deus et verus est una persona in benedicta Trinitate sicut alia, et e contrario. Set isti leopardi sunt transeuntes ad denotandum quod non nimis studiose debemus nos intromittere, discutere, et disputare quomodo tres persone possunt esse unus [f. 168v] Deus et cetera huiusmodi ad fidem pertinencia, ne forte ad incredulitatem et heresim deducemur sicut pluries  
 165 auditum est de aliis, set transeundo unde et firmiter credere tenemur prout Ecclesia Dei credit et docet. Quarto fides luxuriam cohibet, sicut patet de Magdalena cui dixit Christus: "Fides tua te salvam fecit." Quinto, morbos sanat, iuxta illud Matthei: "Signa eos qui crediderint hec sequentur: in nomine meo demonia eicient," etc., "supra egros man(us) imponent, et bene habebunt," etc. Et maxime contra morbum ydropicum, idest contra avariciam, nam avarus est sicut ydropicus, quia quanto plus bibit, tanto plus sitit;

from a sinful life to become Christ's disciple, just as the Church Militant is gathered together from sinners and will become the Church Triumphant. Matthew preached in Macedonia. The sixth and thirteenth article affirms that Christ rose to assume an equal position with his Father: "He ascended into heaven, sits at the right hand of the Father," etc. For in his ascension Christ rose to joy and cast down fear, for he sits at the right hand of God the Father, where there is the greatest peace and eternal harmony. For this reason, this article was fittingly given by James the Greater, the brother of John, who deeply desired to share Christ's ascension and sitting at God's right hand, as we learn from his mother's petition when she said: "Say that these my two sons may sit," etc. James preached in Spain. And the seventh and fourteenth article affirms that the Son of God will come to judge the living and the dead. For Christ will come into the world shining in his wisdom with which he will judge the good and the evil with justice; and like the chrysolite, he will send forth sparks from his mouth, that is, burning and horrible judgments against the wicked, according to the words of the Psalm: "A fire shall burn before him," etc. This article was given by Blessed Philip, and fittingly so after the meaning of his name, which is "the mouth of the lamp," for in his judgment Christ will send forth lightning and fire from his mouth like a lamp. And Philip, who formulated this article, preached in Galilee.

These, then, are the articles of faith as they were established by the twelve apostles. This faith is not unfittingly called the first stone in the foundations of Christ's Church, because of its stability and firmness. It can be compared to the jasper, which has these qualities: it is always green, it drives away phantasms, it keeps one safe in dangers, it prevents lechery, and it heals sicknesses. In the same way, faith is always green in its stability and never wilts in any tribulation or persecution whatever. Therefore it is said in Peter 5: "Your adversary, the devil, goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour; resist him, strong in faith," and so forth. Second, our faith puts the phantasms of errors and heresies to flight; Acts 15: "Purifying their hearts by faith." Third, it keeps us safe among dangers, and therefore it is compared to a shield by the Apostle when he says: "Take the shield of faith." In this shield may be fittingly depicted the arms of the most illustrious king of England. For as you know, he carries a shield of red, *goules*, with three leopards rampant of pure gold. By the shield in *goules* I understand the fervent love and charity which inflame us to have an intense faith and belief in God and the articles mentioned above. By the three leopards we may understand the Blessed Trinity, in whom we must believe after casting off all other idols. And by the gold I understand the divine nature of this Trinity. For this gold is as pure in the smallest leopard as it is in the largest, and vice-versa; thus God is purely and verily in one person of the Blessed Trinity as he is in another, and vice-versa. These leopards are ram-

ita ipse quanto plus habet, tanto plus appetit [temporalia]. Unde illud Ad Hebreos: "Sancti [per fidem] vicerunt regna," idest, per illam divicias regnorum contempserunt.

2 expugnet] repugnat C. 8 edificacioni] edificio O. 14 eciam] ergo O. 18–19 Nam . . . potest] iam non potestque videri C.O; *text from B1, thus also in source.* 21 eciam] *add* quod O. 22 rerum] *om* O. 28 ediderunt] condiderunt C. 29–30 consideramus] consideremus O. 34 in] *interl* C; *om* O. 44 convenienter] *add* primo O. 46 credere] *om* O. 52 nam] *om* O. ipse(2)] iste O. 53 Sanctus] *om* O. 61 Qui] *add* autem O. 62 resurrectio vel resuscitacio] resuscitacio M.R; *resurreccio* W. 66 Hunc articulum] et hunc O. corculum] circulum C. 73 precio] *add* et libere O. 75 Dei] deitatis O. 79 fuisse] *om* O. 80 credere] *om* O. 85 quam habuit] inter eos O. 92 addidit] addit O. 93–94 scilicet . . . animarum] *om* O. 94 evangelista] apostolus M; *om* R.W. 99–100 quod . . . fidelitatem] *text from R; M.W have eyeskip* ibi . . . notatur. 103 est] iste O. 107 in . . . tuum] *om* O. 108 ille] iste M.W; *ista* R. sublime] sublimi C. 119 illam] istam O. 120 istum] hunc O. 124 credere] *om* O. 125 ad . . . Patris] *om* O. 128 scilicet] sancti C. Evangeliste] *om* O. 130 ut] quod O. 132 credere] *om* O. 133 venturus] *add* est O. resplendet] *add* ut O. 136 exardescit] exardescet M.R; *ardesset* W. 136–137 Hunc . . . Philippus] *om* C (*see below, line 140*).W. *Text from R. M reads paulus for philippus.* 138 lampadis] lapis C. suo] *om* O. 139 lampadis] lapidis C. apostolus] *om* O. 140 scilicet . . . posuit] *om* O. 141 duodecim] christi O. 142 soliditatem] sollicitudinem C. 148 tamquam . . . devoret] etc M.R; *om* W. 149 etc.] *om* O. 153 minio] auro C. idest] *om* O. 154 bene] *add* nam O. 165 tene-mur] *om* O. 169–170 supra . . . etc.] *om* O. 169 manus] manent C. 170 ydropicum] ydropisis O. 171 est] *om* O. quia] *om* O.

### V.xxix QUOMODO FIDES MUNDUM VINCIT

[M]odo videndum est quomodo hec fides mundum vincit et debellat. Ubi sciendum quod primo vicit mundum errantem per vie directionem. Ipse mundus quasi continue deviat ad illicita instigando. Nec mirum, quia "in tenebris est et in tenebris ambulat." Et ideo Osee 4 scribitur: "Non est veritas in terra," ergo crudelitas; "non est sciencia," ergo fatuitas; et sequitur:

5 set est (supple: in terra) "maledictum, mendacium, homicidium, furtum, adulterium," etc. Non ergo est mirum si mundus erret. Unde Augustinus: "Omnis, inquit, labor hominis vacuus est sine fide." Est ergo fides secundum eum cognitio rerum que non videntur. Deus autem invisibilis est, et

10 tamen perfecte credendo videri potest, dum scilicet fides Ecclesie sine fictione firmiter tenetur, ut patet de articulis predictis et corpore Christi in altari. Et bene ait Iesus Matthei 10: "Beati qui non viderunt et [f. 169] crediderunt"; *Glossa* ibi: "Per veram fidem, ait Christus, me vident qui perfecte in me credunt." Unde Bernardus omelia 16: "Fides,

pant, to indicate that we must not be too eager to investigate, discuss, and dispute how three persons can be one God and other aspects of our faith, so that we may not be led into disbelief and heresy as it has often happened to some people, but we should leap beyond and firmly believe as God's Church believes and teaches. Fourth, faith prevents lechery, as can be seen in Magdalene, to whom Christ said: "Your faith has made you whole." And fifth, it heals sicknesses, according to what is said at the end of Matthew: "These signs shall follow them that believe: in my name they shall cast out devils," and so on; "they shall place their hand on the sick, and these shall be healed," etc. Faith avails especially against the illness of drosy, that is, against avarice. For a man who suffers from drosy, the more he thirsts, the more he drinks; so does an avaricious person desire more and more temporal goods, the more he already has. Hence the words of Hebrews: "By their faith the saints conquered kingdoms," that is, through their faith they scorned the riches of earthly realms.

3–4 1 John 5.4. 6–7 Heb. 11.1. 17–21 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* III.xxiii.7 (2:145). 25–27 The Nicean Creed is found in the missal (e.g., Legg, p. 211), the Athanasian Creed in the breviary: Procter and Wordsworth, eds., *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesiae Sarum* (Cambridge, 1879–1886), 2.46–48; for the Apostles' Creed, see the following discussion. 38–39 Matt. 16.18. 50–51 2 Cor. 1.4. 61–62 Matt. 10.22. 73 Ps. 55.8. 82–83 Eph. 2.4 and Rom. 8.3. 86 Luke 1.15, from Lev. 10.9. 93 John 19.28. 95 John 19.35. 106–107 Legg, p.223. 130–131 Matt. 20–21. 136 Ps. 49.3. 147–149 1 Pet. 5.8–9. 150 Acts 15.9. 151 Eph. 6.16. 167 Matt. 9.22. 168–170 Mark 16.17–18. 173 Heb. 11.33.

### V.xxix HOW FAITH OVERCOMES THE WORLD

Now we must investigate how this faith fights against and overcomes the world. We should know, then, in the first place, that it overcomes the world's misguidance by putting us on the right way. The world almost constantly leaves its way to urge us on to forbidden actions, and it is no wonder, because "it is in darkness and walks in the dark." Therefore it is written in Hosea 4: "There is no truth in the land," but rather cruelty [*read* credulousness?]; "there is no knowledge," but rather foolishness; and it continues: "Cursing, lying, killing, theft, adultery," *add*: are in the land, and so forth. No wonder, then, that the world goes astray. Augustine says: "All man's efforts are empty without faith." Thus according to him faith is the knowledge of things that are not seen. God is invisible, and yet through perfect belief he can be seen as long as one firmly holds the Church's faith without feigning, as is manifest from the articles discussed earlier and the Body of Christ on the altar. Jesus says in Matthew 10: "Blessed are they that have not seen and



15 inquit, attingit inaccessa, deprehendit ignara, comprehendit inmensa, et apprehendit novissima." Et tamen iuxta Apostolum Iacob: "Fides sine bonis operibus mortua est."

Secundo fides vincit mundum sterilem per fructuum virtutum multiplicacionem. Quod autem mundus de se sterilis est, patet Regum 2, [ubi dicitur]

20 quod aque Iericho "pessime sunt et terra sterilis." Iericho enim interpretatur luna, que crescendo et decrescendo continue mutatur. Et bene signatur mundum quia sterilis est et volubilis; Ecclesiastici 5: "Qui amat divicias, fructum non capiet ex eis." Set contra hoc Ad Hebreos 10 dicitur: "De fide terra sterilis virtutem seminis in concepcione accepit."

25 Tercio vincit mundum mortificantem per operis vivificacionem. Est enim mundus quasi mare mortuum, in qua non vivit aqua. Nec mirum, quia non (descendit) de eo nisi favilla. Set certe illu(m) fides vivificat, quia quicquid meriti, quicquid vite et beatitudinis in mundo invenitur, ex fide procedit. Et nota quod mundus mari bene comparatur propter eius pericula, que in hiis versibus continentur:

Sunt scopul(i), sirtes, syrene, Scilla, Caribdis,  
Atque bitalassus metuenda pericula ponti.

Sunt autem scopul(i) saxa prominencia, ad que si navis collidatur, frangitur. Sic in mundo sunt scandala, propter que dimittit homo opera penitencie. Et ideo corpus, quod est navis anime, frangitur dum a fortitudine

35 vigoris ignavia laxatur. Sirtes autem sunt loca ubi est inequalitas fundi, quando scilicet in alico loco est aqua profundissima et statim iuxta est alius locus vadosus aut aqua nulla [f. 169v] set zabulum tantum. Sic est in mundo. Nam unus habet bonorum superfluitatem et alius nimium defectum et calamitatem, quo contra Proverbiorum 30 dicitur: "Divicias et paupertates ne dederis michi, set tantum," etc. Syrene autem sunt monstra (mari)na, que ut dicitur dulcedine sui cantus nautas ad se attrahunt et submergunt. Sic mundus per voluptates et vanas delicias quamplures decipit; Ysaie 13: "Syrene in delubris voluptatis." Est tamen sciendum quod poete fingunt

45 syrenas fuisse tres sorores transformatas, ex parte virgines et ex parte volucres, alas habentes et unguas, quarum una voce, alia tibiis, et tercia lira caneant, que illectos navigantes suo cantu et melodia in naufragium trahebant. Secundum tamen veritatem fuerunt meretrices que transeuntes ducebant ad egestatem, ut dicit Ysidorus. Que ideo dicitur ipsas alas

50 habuisse et unguas sicut aves, quia amor volat et vulnerat. In fluminibus (eciam) dicuntur commorasse, quia fluctus venerem [pro]curat, hoc est, habundancia rerum, que per fluctus designatur, luxuriam generat. Est eciam Scilla ingens saxum habens multa capita prominencia, ad que naves collisi aut fluctus horrendum faciunt strepitum. Propter quod dicitur fabulose

55 Scilla latrare. Sic in mundo sunt multi latratus, quia iurgia, contencio-

have believed"; and the *Gloss* comments: "Christ says, 'they who believe in me wholly see me in true faith.'" Whence Bernard says in Homily 16: "Faith attains to what is above one's reach, it perceives what is unknown, grasps what is beyond measure, and sees what is to come in the future." And yet, according to the Apostle, "faith without works is dead."

In the second place, faith overcomes the world's sterility by producing manifold fruit of virtues. That the world of itself is sterile can be seen from Kings 2, where it is said that the waters of Jericho are very bad and its soil sterile. Jericho means "the moon," which constantly changes by waxing and waning. And thus it well symbolizes the world, because the latter is sterile and changeable; Ecclesiastes 5: "He who loves riches shall reap no fruit from them." But against this is said in Hebrews 10: "Through faith the sterile earth [read Sarah] received strength to conceive seed."

In the third place, faith overcomes the world's deadliness by bringing man's works to life. For the world is like the Dead Sea, whose water does not live. And this is no wonder, because nothing comes from it but hot ashes. But faith brings life to it, for whatever merit, life, and beauty are found in the world come from faith. And notice that the world can be compared to the sea because of its dangers, which are summarized in the following lines:

Hidden rocks and sandbanks, sirens, Scylla, Charybdis,  
Currents of pitch are the dangers at sea to be feared.

First, the hidden but large rocks: if a ship runs against them, it breaks. In the world, these are the scandals, on whose account one refrains from doing works of mercy and of penance. And then one's body, which is the ship of the soul, is broken when through idleness it relaxes the tone that comes from a strenuous life. Sandbanks are places where the depth of the water changes: in one place the water is very deep, and right next to it is a shallow place or no water at all but only sand. The same is true of the world, for one person has an abundance of goods, while another suffers want and misfortune, against which is said in Proverbs 30: "Give me neither riches nor poverty, but only," etc. The sirens are sea monsters who are said to attract sailors by their sweet song and then drown them. In the same way does the world deceive many with its pleasures and vain delights; Isaiah 13: "Sirens in the temples of pleasure." Notice that the poets say the sirens were three sisters who had been transformed and were partially maidens, partially birds with wings and claws; one of them used to sing, the second played a flute, and the third played a lyre; and when they had lured sailors with their song and music, they would bring them to shipwreck. But in reality they were whores who used to lead passersby into poverty, according to Isidore. Thus, they are said to have had wings and claws like birds because their love flies and wounds. They are further said to dwell in streams because water gives birth to Venus, that is to say: rich possessions,

nes, ire, rixe. Secundum tamen Ysidorum *Ethimologiarum* libro 11, capitulo 4, "poete fingunt Scillam vetulam fuisse quandam cum caninis latrantem capitibus." Caribdis est locus voraginosus et vertiginosus, ubi naves transeuntes ad se attrahit et deglutit. Qui bene avariciam designat, [f. 60 170] que plures in mari huius mundi ad se trahit, quia secundum Ieremie 8 "a minore usque ad maximum omnes sequuntur avariciam." In hoc tamen sunt Caribdis et avaricia dissimiles quia Caribdis ter in die aquas absorbet et ter evomit et sic fluctus erigit, set avarus quod semel absorbet numquam gratis evomit set tenacissime retinet et astringit. Dicit tamen Hugo quod 65 ista Caribdis fuit vetula quedam voracissima, que quia boves Hercules furabatur, a Iove fuit fulminata et in mari precipitata, ubi adhuc antiquas fingitur ipsam exercere voracitates et rapinas. Quod quidem figmentum bene avaricie competit, que voracissima invenitur, eciam labores bovum, scilicet fructus terre et frumenta, rapit et abscondit. Et ideo non tantum fulminata 70 a deo Iove set eciam maledicta a Deo Iesu Christo et expulsa de celo. Unde illud Proverbiorum 11: "Qui abscondit frumenta in tempore, maledicetur in populis." Bitalassus vero est locus bituminosus et limosus, in quem cum navis impingit, propter limi eius tenacitatem exire non potest. Sic in mundo est ut communiter conversacio hominum limosa et societas quamplurimum 75 infecta, quam cum quis intraverit, vix exire valebit, quia ut dicitur: "Qui tetigerit picem, inquinabitur ab ea."

Set revera ista pericula huius maris, idest mundi, satis secure pertransit homo in fide radicans. Nam talis homo proprium corpus habet pro navi in quo commercia portat preciosissima, scilicet animam cum suis poten- 80 ciis et graciis tam naturalibus quam infusis; que iuste preciosa dicuntur eo quod Christi sanguine precioso redempta, ut dicitur Petri 1: "Non corruptibilibus auro et argento," etc. In quo quidem navi racio est nauta, que regit corpus in mundo [f. 170v] sicut nauta navem in mari. Iste igitur nauta racionis sedet in parte posteriori, hoc est, debet recordari de 85 miseria sui ortus pertransiti et respicere ad partem anteriorem considerando miseriam sue mortis. In illo eciam navi malum est spes, lignum transversum est solida fides de cruce Christi, et velum caritas. Tam cito ergo [hoc] mare ab ista navi pertransitur, quamcito vita labitur. Set nota quod nullus existens in navi percipit quamcito ipsa currit, nisi qui in lignum 90 vel aliud immobile in terra oculum figit. Sic nullus percipit quamcito ista vita currit nisi oculum mentis per fidem veram in lignum crucis et mortem Christi fixerit; quod si fecerit, illesus transibit et salvus, iuxta illud Matthei: "Fides tua te salvum fecit," quia prout Ad Hebreos: "Sancti per fidem vicerunt."

which are symbolized by streams of water, produce lechery. Scylla is a huge rock with many cliffs jutting out from it. Ships and waves that are thrown against them make a fearful noise, and for that reason in the fables Scylla is said to bark. In the same way there is much barking in the world, namely arguments, strife, anger, and fights. Yet Isidore says in book 11 of his *Etymologies*, chapter 4: "The poets imagine that Scylla was an old woman, barking, with heads of dogs." Charybdis is a deep whirlpool that draws passing ships into it and swallows them. It fittingly symbolizes avarice, which in the sea of the world similarly draws many people to itself, for in Jeremiah 6 it is said: "From the least to the greatest, all are given to covetousness." But Charybdis and avarice differ insofar as Charybdis swallows the water three times a day and throws it up again and thereby makes the waves rise and fall; but the avaricious person never gives willingly back what he has once swallowed, but rather holds on to it and clutches it most tightly. Hugh reports that this Charybdis was a voracious old woman who for stealing the oxen of Hercules was struck by Jove with a thunderbolt and flung headlong into the sea. There she is still imagined to engage in her former robbing and devouring. This image fits avarice very well, for this vice also is found to be most voracious and to steal and hide the labors of oxen, that is, the fruit and harvest of the earth. It was therefore not just struck with a thunderbolt from the god Jupiter but cursed by the true God, Jesus Christ, and expelled from heaven. Hence it is said in Proverbs 11: "He who hides grain during a famine shall be cursed among the people." A current of pitch, finally, is a spot in the sea that is thick with tar; when a ship gets stuck in it, it cannot get out again because of the stickiness. Likewise, in the world human intercourse is frequently thick and muddy, and society sticky, so that once one has gotten into it, one can hardly get out. Hence the saying: "If you touch pitch, you will get dirty."

But the man who is rooted in faith passes safely through these dangers of the sea, that is, of this world. Such a man has his own body for his ship, in which he carries a most precious merchandise, namely his soul with its powers, both the natural ones and those that have been infused; it is rightly called precious because it has been redeemed with the precious blood of Christ, as is affirmed in Peter 1: "Not with corruptible gold and silver," etc. In this ship, the captain is our reason, who rules our body in this world as a captain steers his ship in the sea. Reason, our captain, sits at the stern, which means that he must remember the wretchedness of his beginning, the way he has come, and must look toward what lies ahead, thinking of the misery of his death. The mast in this ship is hope, the crossbeam is firm faith in the cross of Christ, and the sail is charity. We sail over this sea as quickly as our life passes. But note that no one on board a ship realizes how fast it runs unless he keeps his eye on some wood or something else that stands still on the land. In the same way, no one realizes how fast our life passes unless he

C.O; sara r,t,z and source. 27 descendit] scitur C. illum] illud C. 31 scopuli] scopule C.M. 33 scopuli] scopule C. 41 set tantum] om O. marina] in arena C. 51 eciam] et C; autem R. procurat] curat C.W; creat (?) M. 66–67 antiquas fingitur] antiquitas fingit R.B1. 70 Deo . . . Christo] christo domino O. 74 quamplurimum] plurium O. 79 quo] corr C; qua O. 83 igitur] ergo O. 86 illo] isto M.W; ista R. 93 Matthei] add 15 O. prout] add dicitur O. 94 vicerunt] add regna operati sunt iusticiam etc O.

### V.xxx QUI FIDEM IMPUGNANT

- [S]et istam fidem impugnant et [sibi] contrariantur, quod dolendum est, hiis diebus tam homines quam mulieres qui contra ordinationem Dei et Ecclesie diabolo instigante quod propriissimum est Deo omnium Creatori attribuunt creaturis, scilicet futura contingencia scire et predicere, 5 sanitatem et infirmitatem cum fictis carminibus inponere et destruere. Cuiusmodi sunt qui dicuntur incantatores, qui artem suam verbis excercent, Anglice *tilsters*, qui cum carminibus et aliis miseriis suis sanitatem promittunt. Unde quando stomachus alicuius ex nimia superfluitate cibi et potus aggravatur et infirmatur, dicunt quod “mater cecidit,” et tunc oportet quod aliqua vetula misera tali arte imbuta adducatur ad fricandum 10 ventrem et latera. Que ut frequenter magis obest quam prodest, et maxime spiritualiter, eo quod huiusmodi [f. 171] artes inhibite sunt. Et ideo in talibus considerandum est utrum naturaliter videatur si tales effectus possint causari an non, quia si non, consequens est quod pertine[n]t ad 15 artem demoniacam. Ex quo manifestum est quod (natura efficaciam naturalem) habere poterit, ut patet per Augustinum ° 12 *De civitate Dei*, c. Dicit tamen Raymundus hic quod aliquis vel aliqua colligens herbas medicinales vel huiusmodi faciens cum simbolo aut oracione dominica aut talia scribit in cartis et ponat super aliquem infirmum, ut sic in illis tantum Deus 20 Creator omnium honoretur, non reprobatur dummodo nulla alia supersticiosa misceantur, ut patet 26, questione 5, *Non liceat*, et questione 7, *Non observetis*. Et dicit ipse: “Securum est quod huiusmodi faciens sit discretus, probatus in fide, bone vite et bone fame, et quod nullo modo infundat oraciones huiusmodi super pomum, pirum, cingulum, aut consimilia, set 25 tantum super infirmitatem, iuxta illud Matthei ultimo: ‘Super egros manus inponent,’ supple in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, ‘et bene habebunt,’ ” ut patet questione 2, *Utrum observaciones*.  
Sunt eciam alii qui syromantici dicuntur, et sunt illi manuum inspec-

keeps the eye of his mind in true faith steadily on the wood of the cross and on Christ’s death; if he does so, he will go through life safe and without harm, according to the words of Matthew 15: “Your faith has made you whole,” for as it is written in Hebrews: “The saints conquered by their faith,” etc.

3–4 1 John 2.11. 4–7 Hos. 4.1–2. 8 Cf. Augustine, *Sermo 8 X.11* (PL 38:72). 12–13 John 20.29. 14–16 Bernard, *Super Cantica LXXXVI.iii.6* (2:258). 16–17 James 2.17. 19–20 2 Kings 2.19. 22–23 Eccles. 5.9. 23–24 Heb. 11.11. 40–41 Cf. Prov. 30.8. 44 Isa. 13.22. 45–51 Isidore, *Etym. XI.iii.30–31*. 56–58 *Ibidem*, 32. 61 Jer. 6.13. 71–72 Prov. 11.26. 75–76 Eccles. 13.1. 81–82 1 Pet 1.18. 93 Matt. 9.22. 93–94 Heb. 11.33.

### V.xxx PEOPLE WHO GO AGAINST THE FAITH

But, alas, in our days both men and women attack and go against this faith when they, contrary to the rule set by God and the Church and under the impulse of the devil, attribute to creatures what belongs to God alone, the Creator of all, namely the ability to know and predict future events and to bring health and sickness by laying on made-up charms. To this kind belong witches, in English *tilsters*, who carry out their craft with words and promise to bring healing with their charms and other wretched contrivances. For instance, when somebody’s stomach is heavy and sick because he has eaten and drunk too much, they say “his mother has fallen,” and then it is necessary to call in some wretched old woman who knows this craft to rub his stomach and sides. Often this does more harm than good, especially in spiritual terms, because skills of this sort are forbidden. Therefore, in such cases one must inquire whether or not such effects may be caused naturally, because if they are not, then it follows that they are the result of some diabolical skill. Which proves that nature could have a natural effect, as Augustine declares in book 12 of *The City of God*. But Raymundus says on this issue that if a man or woman gathers medicinal herbs or something of this kind and does so reciting the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer or writes these on a piece of paper which he places on the sick person, so that by doing this he only honors God, the Creator of all things, there is no reproach in this as long as nothing else of a superstitious character gets mixed in with it; thus in the *Decretum*, 26, question 5, *Non liceat*, and question 7, *Non observetis*. And Raymundus says: “It is safe if the person who does this is discreet, tried in faith, of a good life and good reputation, and if in no way prayers of this kind are spoken over an apple, pear, belt, or the like, but only over the sickness, according to the words at the end of Matthew: ‘They shall lay their hands upon the sick,’ add: in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, ‘and they shall recover,’ ” as is evident from question 2, *Utrum observaciones*.

tores qui per lineamenta earum dicunt se futura contingencia scire et  
 30 predicere, quot viros talis mulier habebit et quot uxores talis vir, quomodo  
 eciam talis est ad dignitatem promovendus et talis in patibulo suspendendus.  
 Que omnia falsa sunt et ab arte diaboli collecta et ficta, eo quod in futuris  
 contingentibus iudicium certum dari non potest nisi a Deo. Alii autem sunt  
 35 qui coniectores dicuntur, et sunt interpretatores sompniorum, qui scilicet in  
 talibus nimis credunt, cum tamen in rei veritate ut communiter  
 (e)veniunt ex aliqua causa naturali intrin- [f. 171v] seca, verbi gratia:  
 si enim complexio fuerit habundans ex humore frigido, tunc talis  
 communiter sompniabit de aquis, pluviis, nivibus, et huiusmodi. Quibus  
 40 propositis respondent tales coniectores quod venient in promptu tribulationes  
 et angustie. Si autem complexio sua fuerit calida et sicca, tunc naturaliter  
 sompniabit de igne, de luminaribus, cereis, et candelis. Set illis propositis  
 dicunt quod mors veniet in promptu. Que omnia falsa sunt, vana, et  
 supersticiosa. Et idem patet de illis qui credunt in primis donis, qu(e)  
 dicuntur *yerysyftis* et *handselles*, per que credunt melius vel peius expe-  
 45 dire in die, ebdomoda, et mense et anno. Sunt et alii dicti *arioli*, ab aris  
 nominati, qui eciam precibus et sacrificiis faciunt artem suam, qui eciam  
 alio modo dicuntur *ymaginarii* et *ydolatre*, ydolas colentes ut sibi respondeant  
 de futuris per oblationes. Alii eciam (phitonici) sive specularii dicuntur,  
 50 quorum ars est inspicere in speculis, pelvibus, et unguibus politis, et  
 huiusmodi, [in quibus] vident ut dicunt mirabilia. Sunt eciam alii nigromantici  
 a nigredine dicti, sive vultuosi, et tales in circulis demones suscitant ut  
 ad quesita respondeant. Et similiter in cera et alia molli materia componunt  
 effigies hominum ad interficiendum eos. Ubi nota: de peregrino queratur qui  
 55 visitavit beatum Petrum quomodo salvatus fuit ab uno tali. Sunt eciam alii  
 qui dicuntur sortilegi, dicti a "sors, sortis," qui per sortem faciunt artem  
 suam, sicut patet de *ragemonn* et festucis contrahendis. Et similiter  
 mathematici, scilicet qui per stellas sciunt divina predicere. Versus:

Doctrinam mathesis notat, set divina[re] mathesis,

60 [et cetera huiusmodi.]

Set rogo quid dicendum est de talibus miseris et supersticiosis [f. 172]  
 qui de nocte dixerunt se videre reginas pulcherrimas et alias puellas  
 tripudiantes cum domina Dyana choreas ducentes dea paganorum, que in  
 nostro vulgari dicitur *elves*? Et credunt quod tales possunt tam homines quam  
 65 mulieres in alias naturas transformare (et) secum ducere apud *eluenlond*,  
 ubi iam, ut dicunt, manent illi athlete fortissimi, scilicet Onewyn et Wad  
 et ceteri. Que omnia [non] sunt nisi fantasmata et a maligno spiritu illis  
 demonstrata. Nam cum diabolus animam alicuius talis ad talia credendum

Others there are who are called palm readers, who look at one's hand and say  
 they can know and predict future events from the lines in one's palms, such as:  
 how many husbands such and such a woman will have, or how many wives a man,  
 how one person will be promoted to a high rank and another be hanged on the  
 gallows. But all this is false and made up and gathered by demonic art,  
 because there is no certain knowledge about future events except from God.  
 There are others, called soothsayers, and they interpret dreams; they have an  
 extraordinary faith in dreams, whereas in reality dreams usually are caused by  
 some natural and intrinsic factor; for instance, if someone is cold by his  
 physical constitution, he will normally dream of water, rain, snow, and the like.  
 But the soothsayers interpret such dreams as foreshadowing imminent  
 tribulations and anxieties. But if he has a hot and dry temper, he will  
 naturally dream about fire, lights, tapers, and candles. But the soothsayers  
 tell him that death will come soon. All of this is false, vain, and superstitious.  
 And the same is true of people who believe in first gifts, which are called  
*year's gifts* or *hansels*, by which they believe they will fare better or  
 worse in the particular day, week, month, and year. Others are called *arioli*,  
 from *ara*, "altar," because they practice their craft with prayers and sacrifices;  
 they are otherwise also known as image-worshippers or idolaters, who  
 worship images and make offerings to them so that they might receive an answer  
 about the future. Others are called *phitonici* or *specularii*, whose art it is  
 to look into mirrors, bowls, polished fingernails, and the like, in which they  
 claim they see marvelous things. Others again are necromancers, so called from  
*nigredo*, "blackness," or else "grimacers"; these raise devils in their circles  
 that are expected to answer their questions. Likewise they make figures of  
 people in wax or some other soft material in order to kill them. Notice the  
 story of a pilgrim who visited Blessed Peter, by whom he was saved from one of  
 this kind. Others there are who are called *sortilegi*, from *sors*, "lot," who  
 practice their art by casting lots, such as the *ragman* and drawing straws. And  
 there are *mathematici*, astrologers, who can foretell God's plans by the stars.  
 Hence the verse:

*Máthesis* is a science, but the art to predict, *mathésis*.

And there are yet others of this sort.

But I ask, what shall we say of those superstitious wretches who claim  
 that at night they see the most beautiful queens and other girls dancing in the  
 ring with Lady Diana, the goddess of the heathens, who in our native tongue are  
 called *elves*? And they believe that these can change both men and women into  
 other beings and carry them with them to *elvenland* where there are already, as  
 they say, those strong champions like Onewynn and Wade and others. All this  
 is nothing but phantoms shown them by a mischievous spirit. For when the devil

subiugavit, seipsum aliquando transformat, modo in formam angeli, modo in  
70 formam hominis, modo mulieris, modo aliarum creaturarum, modo equos,  
modo pedes, modo etiam in torneamentis et hastiludiis, modo ut dictum est in  
choreis et aliis ludis. Per que omnia animam talis miseri sic per credu-  
litate[m] captivatam multipliciter deludit, ut talia credant et enarrent.

Quod beatus Paulus asserere non audebat quando raptus erat usque ad tertium  
75 celum, set dicit: "Sive in corpore sive extra corpus, nescio; Deus scit."

Revera de istis sicut de supradictis omnibus dico aperte sicut patet  
in *Decretis* 26, questione 5, *Episcopi*, quod qui in talibus credunt vel  
pertinaciter docent, maxime postquam veritatem audierint, quod infidelissi-  
mi sunt et paganis deteriores. Unde tam illa quam huiusmodi omnia et singu-  
80 la secundum omnes doctores catholicos maledicta sunt a Deo et sancta eius  
Ecclesia quater in anno. Et non tantum hoc, set omni die a communitate tota  
ministrorum Ecclesie sancte. Dicit enim Psalmista: "Maledicti qui declinant  
a mandatis tuis." Set mandatum Dei est: "Non habebis deos alienos." Ergo  
contra illud facientes sunt maledicti, cuiusmodi sunt huiusmodi incredules  
85 eo quod laborant iura propria Salvatoris ceteris [f. 172v] creaturis false  
attribuere. Scribitur enim Ysaie 10: "Anima que declinaverit ad magos vel  
ariolos," etc., "ponam faciem [meam] contra eam et interficiam illam de  
medio populi"; quod Actuum I dicitur: "Non enim vestrum est nosse tempora  
vel momenta que Pater posuit in sua potestate."

Et nota quod lex est in multis provinciis quod siquis in carcere  
90 poneretur per regem vel principem, (si tunc) arte aliena aut ingenio carce-  
rem frangat et evadit, quod ex tunc quantumcumque fuerit iustus vel inno-  
cens seipsum facto illo reddit reum et culpabilem, et ideo post hoc maiori  
plectitur pena. Moraliter enim loquendo carcer Dei infirmitas est sive alia  
95 quecumque tribulatio, in qua nos rebelles sua iusticia occulta sive mani-  
festa pro delictis affligit et castigat. Set hunc carcerem nituntur (e)va-  
dere et infringere qui per sortilegium et illicita carmina querunt illicita  
sue infirmitatis remedia, et ideo gravius pro hiis merito punientur et  
forte ad mortem, prout patet Regum 1 de rege Ochosia qui spreto Deo <sup>o</sup> vivo  
100 et vero consuluit deum Accharon. Similiter Saul in angustia positus consu-  
luit Phitonissam, propter quod secundum aliquos tam ipse quam filius eius  
Ionathas in bello cadebant et regnum datum est David. Nam Sauli dixerat  
Samuel, Regum 28: "Cras enim tu et filii tui mecum eritis." Unde Exodi 22  
dicitur et precipitur: "Non pacieris maleficos vivere," quasi diceret: quia  
105 opera Creatoris, scilicet de futuris contingentibus, creaturis attribuunt,  
merito sunt detestandi. Quod optime patet sic.

Narrat enim Malmesbury libro 6 *De gestis Anglorum* de quadam muliere  
apud Berkeley maleficiis consueta, que dum quadam die circa coniurationes  
occuparetur, corniculam quamdam quam in [f. 173] cibo nutrierat audivit  
110 more suo insolito crocitantem et miro modo garrientem. Quo audito cecidit

has subdued someone's soul into believing these things, he transforms himself,  
now into an angel, now into a man or a woman, now into other creatures, now  
[on] horses, now [on] foot, sometimes even at tournaments and jousts, some-  
times, as I have said, at dances and other games. By all of these he deludes  
in many ways the soul of a wretch whom he has captivated through his credulity,  
so that he will believe and recount all this. Blessed Paul did not dare to  
tell about similar things after he had been carried up to the third heaven, but  
instead said: "Whether in the body or out of the body, I do not know; God  
knows."

So, indeed, of these people and all the others mentioned above I say  
openly what can be found in the *Decretum* 26, question 5, *Episcopi*, that those  
who believe in such things or obstinately teach them, especially after they  
have heard the truth, are most faithless and worse than heathens. Wherefore  
these and all other superstitious beliefs and practices are, according to all  
the doctors of the Church, cursed by God and his holy Church four times a year.  
And beyond this they are cursed every single day by the entire community of the  
servants of Holy Church. For the Psalmist says: "Cursed are they who decline  
from your commandments." But God's commandment is: "You shall have no other  
gods." Therefore, those who act against this commandment are cursed, and this  
applies to such people of wrong belief as we have seen, who are at pains  
falsely to attribute to creatures what by right belongs to our Savior alone.  
For it is written in Isaiah 10: "I will set my face against the soul that has  
gone aside after magicians and soothsayers," etc., "and I will cut him off out  
of the midst of his people." For in Acts I it is said: "It is not for you to  
know the times or moments which the Father has put in his own power."

And notice that there is a law in many regions that if someone is put in  
jail by the king or prince and breaks jail and escapes by his cleverness or  
some outside help, he thereby renders himself guilty, even if he had been  
guiltless and innocent before, and in consequence is given a greater punish-  
ment. Morally speaking, God's prison is some illness or some worldly tribula-  
tion, in which he touches and chastises us rebels for our crimes with his  
justice, whether in secret or openly. But people who seek for forbidden reme-  
dies for their illness by means of soothsaying and forbidden charms try to  
break and escape from this jail; and therefore they will justly be punished  
more grievously for these acts, perhaps even with death, as it evidently hap-  
pened to Ahaziah, in Kings 1, who scorned the living and true God and instead  
consulted the god of Ekron. In a similar way, when Saul was in great straits  
he consulted the witch of Endor, for which act, according to some writers, both  
he and his son Jonathan fell in battle and the kingdom was given to David; for  
in Kings 28, Samuel had said to Saul: "For tomorrow you and your sons shall be  
with me." Whence it is said and commanded in Exodus 22: "You shall not suffer  
wizards to live," as if to say: since they attribute the works of the Creator,



cultellus de manu eius ac simul vultus palluit, et concidit et producto gemitu profundo: "Hodie, inquit, audiam et accipiam aliquid grande." Et hiis dictis intravit quidam nuncius obitum filii sui et familie ruinam exponens. Que statim pre angustia in lecto decubuit usque ad mortem saucia-  
 115 ta, et superstites liberos suos, unam monacham et alium monachum, pernicious incitavit epistolis, quibus advenientibus dixit: "Nunc quia ad finem vite mee propero et demones habeo exactores in pena quos per sortilegia et alia maleficia hactenus suasores habui in culpa, vos ergo per materna viscera rogo ut saltem al(levi)are temptetis tormenta. Et cum mortua fuero,  
 120 hoc modo corpus meum servate: Primo insuite corpus in corio cervino, deinde ponite in tumulo lapideo, operculo ferreo et plumbeo constringite, et super hec omnia lapidem tribus cathenis ferreis magni ponderis circumdate. Et psalteria quinquaginta per tres noctes et eiusdem numeri missas de die pro me cantari faciatis, que forsitan adversariorum concursus levigent et resistent. Et si tribus noctibus ibidem secure iacuero, quarto die infodite matrem vestram humo, quamquam verear ne terra me recipiat suis finibus que  
 125 tociens gravata fuit sortilegiis." Et hiis dictis expiravit. Cum ergo omnia ut preceperat facta fuissent, pro dolor nil pie lacrimae liberorum valuerunt, nil vota, nil preces, tanta erat circa eam demonum potestas. Nam  
 130 primis duabus noctibus, cum chori clericorum psalmos circa eius corpus [f. 173v] concreparent, demones ostium ecclesie obturatum ingenti clausura leviter distringentes duas extremas cathenas frugerunt, media vero que erat quasi laboriosius obturata [illibata] duravit. Tercia ergo nocte circa  
 135 gallicantum horribili strepitu demonum adveniencium nonnulla fundamenta monasterii visa sunt moveri. Unus ergo demonum vultu terribilior et statura eminentior ianuas ecclesie maiori vi concussas in fragmenta deiecit. Diriguere clerici metu, steterunt quique non valentes aufugere. Ille ergo demon, ut videbatur, arroganti gestu ad tumulum lapideum accessit et ibidem invocato et acclamato eiusdem mulieris nomine ut surgeret imperavit. Qua  
 140 respondente: "Nequeo pre vinculis," respondit demon: "Solveris, inquit, set malo tuo." Quo dicto mox cathenam ut stuppam dirumpens operculum tumbe pede excussit et apprehensam coram omnibus extra ecclesiam traxit, ubi pre foribus equus nigerrimus horribiliter (hinn)iens videbatur aculeis ferreis per totum dorsum repletus, super quem misera imposita mox ab oculis intuentium cum tota [demonum] multitudine disparuit numquam deinde visa. Ipsa  
 145 tamen audiebatur fere per quatuor miliaria clamando ac miserabiliter increpando. Hec ibi.

Ad idem etiam patet 4 libro *Dyalogorum* de quodam nequam excommunicato in ecclesia sepulto et a demonibus foras eiecto. Caveant ergo omnes tales,  
 150 quia secundum beatum Augustinum 26, questione 7, tam huiusmodi malef(ici)a observantes quam attendentes, docentes, consencientes, credentes, et ad domum taliter accedentes aut int(rodu)ctos interrogantes sciant se a Christi

namely future events, to his creatures, they are rightly to be rejected. This is quite manifest from the following account.

In his *Deeds of the English*, William of Malmesbury reports of a woman that practiced witchcraft near Berkeley. One day, as she was busy with her incantations, she heard her raven, whom she had reared up with her own food, croak in an unusual way and chatter in a strange fashion. When she heard this, her knife fell from her hand and she turned all pale in the face, and she fell down and gave a heavy sigh, saying: "Today I shall hear and receive something important." At these words a messenger entered and announced the death of her son and the ruin of his family. She at once lay down in her bed in great anxiety, hurt to death. Then she hastily sent by letter for her remaining children, one a nun, the other a monk, and when they arrived, she said to them: "I am quickly coming to the end of my life, and the demons who so far have helped me in sin, by my soothsaying and witchcraft, will now carry out my punishment. As I am your mother, I ask you to do everything to lessen my torments. When I am dead, you must keep my body as follows: first, sew me in the hide of a stag; then put me in a stone coffin with a lid of iron and lead; and on top of this put a rock wound with three iron chains of great weight. Then you must have fifty psalters said for me for three nights, and fifty Masses per day, which perhaps will lighten and hold back the attacks of my enemies. If I lie safe this way for three nights, then you can put your mother in the ground on the fourth day, although I fear that the earth may not accept me anywhere because I have so often burdened it with my witchcraft." And with these words she died. Everything was done as she had ordered, but alas! neither the pious tears of her children nor the offerings nor the prayers availed anything, so great was the devils' power over her. For in the first two nights, as the choirs of clerics let their prayers resound round her body, the devils easily pulled open the church door that had been heavily barred and broke the two outer chains, while the one in the middle, which was more heavily wrought, remained intact. But in the third night at cockcrow the very foundations of the monastery could be seen to shake with the horrible noise of the devils when they came. One of them, with a terrifying face and taller than the rest, kicked the church doors with great force and broke them down in pieces. The clerics stood absolutely stiff with fear and could not flee. Then that devil went to the stone tomb, as it seemed with haughty steps, and there called out the woman's name, ordering her to rise. She answered: "I can't, because of the chains," but he replied: "You shall be freed, but for your own evil." With these words he right away broke the chain as if it were a string, kicked the lid aside with his foot, and grabbed the woman and pulled her outside the church in the sight of everybody. There, outside, appeared a black horse which gave an awesome neigh and had its whole back full of iron needles. The wretched woman was put on that and soon disappeared from everybody's sight with the



- fide apostatasse et suum baptismum prevaricasse, [f. 174] per quod iram Dei ac eius inimiciciam incurrisse, nisi ecclesiastica doctrina emendati per penitentiam Deo reconcilientur. Et quod si talis fuerit clericus, deponendus [est] et in monasterio detrudendus; si laicus, excommunicandus. Et si notorium sit, eucaristia cum ceteris [beneficiis] Ecclesie deneganda et pena secundum canones Extravagantium *De sortilegiis*, quadraginta dierum inponenda.
- 155
- 160 Nota etiam quod omnes tales pro hereticis iudicantur. Nam hereticus secundum beatum Augustinum est qui falsam opinionem de fide gignit et in illa perseverat et pertinaciter defendit; vel secundum Ieronimum, qui sacram scripturam aliter intelligit, docet, ac pertinaciter defendit quam Spiritus Sancti sensus flagitat. Et nota quod numquam aliquis hereticus censendus est nisi qui in illa perseverat et illam pertinaciter defendit.
- 165 Et talis secundum Raymundum, sive occultus sive manifestus, ipso iure est maiori excommunicatione excommunicatus. Et talis cuiuscumque condicionis sit, etiam si papa fuerit, deponendus est. Eisdem etiam excommunicationes incurrunct omnes illorum fautores, receptores, et in illis credentes.
- 170 Bene ergo deberent propter periculum excommunicationis omnes tales ab huiusmodi maleficiis et interdictis desistere. Est ergo excommunicatio a qualibet licita communione actu separatio, et talis excommunicationis due sunt species, quia una maior, alia minor. Prima separat omnino a sacramentis et ab ingressu ecclesie, et a communione fidelium. Set nota quod nusquam est aliquis excommunicandus nisi propter peccatum mortale, nec maior excommunicatio infligenda nisi pro contumacia tantum et contemptu; set minor pro contumacia et aliis culpis. Et nota quod timenda est excommunicatio tum quia ipsa est quasi [f. 175] gladius spiritualis separans animam a Deo sicut gladius materialis separat animam a corpore, tum quia talis excommunicatus est quasi ab hostibus captus et Dei auxilio omnino destitutus, tum quia privatus communione fidelium et ab omnibus bonis que fiunt in Ecclesia.
- 175
- 180 Nota quod communicans cum excommunicatis magno periculo se exponit, et primo in semetipso, quia non cavet sibi ab eo qui habet morbum contagiosum. Secundo in excommunicato, eo quod sibi aufert remedium mortis, scilicet confusionem, ex cuius metu deberet conteri et corrigi; Ecclesiastici 4 dicitur: "Est confusio adducens gloriam." Tercio peccat in illo pro quo excommunicatio fit, quia aufert sibi rem suam. Et quarto in Deum, quem in ministro suo spernit et contempnit; Luce 10: ["Qui vos spernit, me spernit." Per istud legitur in figura Exodi 10] quod "tenebre horribiles facte sunt in universa terra Egipti," in signum separationis illorum a Deo; set "ubicumque fuerunt filii Israel, lux erat." Unde hos ab illis divisit tamquam lucem a tenebris, in signum quod nulla debet esse communicatio bonorum ad malos et precipue excommunicatos; unde Genesis 1 dicitur: "Divi-
- 185
- 190

whole crowd of devils and was never seen again. However, she was heard howling and cursing miserably at a distance of nearly four miles.

A similar story appears in book 4 of the *Dialogues*, of an excommunicated wretch who had been buried in the church and was cast out of it by devils. Therefore, let all such people take heed, because according to Blessed Augustine in the *Decretum* 26, question 7, both those who practice witchcraft of this kind and those who are present at it, teach, consent, or believe in it, go to the house of such practitioners or put questions to the spirits that have been raised—all these must be aware that they have fallen away from faith in Christ and have violated their baptismal vow; and by this they have incurred God's anger and his enmity, unless enlightened by the Church's teaching they become through penitence reconciled with God. If such a person is a member of the clergy, he is to be deposed and placed in a monastery; if he is a layman, he is to be excommunicated. And if his case is well known, he is to be denied the Eucharist and other benefits of the Church and is to receive a penance of forty days, according to the canons *De sortilegiis* in the *Extravagantes*.

Notice further that all such offenders are judged to be heretics. For according to Blessed Augustine, a heretic is a person who generates a false teaching about the faith, perseveres in it, and defends it tenaciously; or according to Jerome, it is a person who understands and teaches Holy Scripture, and who tenaciously defends such teaching, in a sense that differs from what the sense of the Holy Spirit requires. But notice that no one is to be considered a heretic unless he perseveres in his false belief and defends it tenaciously. Such a person, whether he remains hidden or is openly known, is automatically excommunicated by the Great Curse, according to Raymundus; and whatever his station may be, he is to be deposed, even if he were the pope. The same excommunications extend to all who protect, shelter, and believe in such heretics.

Therefore, it would be well if all such people desisted from witchcraft and other such forbidden practices because of the danger of excommunication. Excommunication means the actual separation from any kind of permissible communion, and it has two kinds, the greater and the lesser. The first excludes a person totally from receiving the sacraments, from permission to enter a church, and from contact with the faithful. But notice that no one is ever excommunicated unless it be for some mortal sin, nor must the greater excommunication be applied except in case of obstinacy and contempt. The lesser excommunication is for obstinacy and other sins. Excommunication must be feared, both because it is a sharp spiritual sword that separates the soul from God just as a bodily sword separates the soul from the body, and because an excommunicated person is, as it were, captured by his enemies and totally without God's help, and further deprived of the communion of the faithful and of all the good that is available in the Church.

- 195 sit Deus lucem a tenebris." Ad idem eciam figuram habemus Paralipomenon de Iosaphat rege Iuda, qui quia communicavit cum impio rege Achab, Israel periculum mortis incurrit, et post prophetam audire a Deo meruit qui "impio prebens auxilium," etc., "idcirco iram Domini merebaris." In Novo Testamento, Matthei silicet 18, precepit Dominus quod ille qui monitus ab Ecclesia
- 200 Ecclesiam audire contempneret, esset "tamquam ethnicus et publicanus," qui fuerunt a Deo reprobat.
- Igitur huiusmodi supersticiosa sunt omnino fugienda, et ad veram fidem est festinandum. Ipsa enim vitam eternam acquirit iuxta illud Iohannis 11: "Qui credit in me, eciam si mortuus fuerit, vivet." Et quod probatur [f.
- 205 174v] verum, ipsa est carta Christianorum habendi et tenendi libere et quiete regnum celorum, quia sicut qui fideliter habet cartam alicuius domini sibi iuste concessam super aliqua terra vel tenemento, quamdiu ille fideliter faciat servicium suum domino, debite tenetur eum dominus salvare et warrantizare pro quibuscumque aliis. Ita quamdiu fideliter tenemus fidem
- 210 nostram in carta simboli contentam, nec illa ibi conscripta diminuimus nec augmentamus aliter quam Spiritus Sanctus docet, contra omnes inimicorum insultus Christus Dominus noster warrantizabit nos et pro servicio nostro regnum celorum prestabit. Et sic patet quomodo vera fides mundum vincit et celum acquirit.

14 possint] possunt O. pertinent] pertinet C.R. 15 natura . . . naturalem] nullum effectum C; nullam efficaciam naturalem R. 16 Augustinum] add di C. 17 herbas medicinales] herbam medicinalem O. 26 nostri] om O. 31 dignitatem] dignitates O. 36 eveniunt] est veniunt C. 39 quod] add sibi M.R; add si W. venient] evenient M.W; eveniunt R. 41 igne] add similiter M.W; add sicut R. 43 que] qui C. 45 et] in O. 48 phitonici] prohibitonici C. 50 politis] pollicis O (not all clear). 56 qui] add scilicet O. 59 divinare] divina C.M.W. 62 dixerunt] dicunt O. 64 dicitur] all four manuscripts have dr. 65 vel] et C. 67 non] om C.W. 71 eciam] om O. 73 captivatum] captivam O. 79-80 et singula] om O. 83 deos alienos] deum alienum O. 84 incredul] increduli O. 88 enim] om O. 91 si tunc] set tunc C, with tunc canceled. 92 evadit] evadat M.R; vadat W. 94 Moraliter enim] sed moraliter M.W; sic moraliter R. 95 quecumque] add mundi O. 96-97 evadere] invadere C. 99 Deo] add et C. 110 crocitantem] cornicantem O. 114-115 sauciata] saucia O. 118 ergo] om O. 119 alleviare] alienare C. 120 corpus(2)] me O. 121 ponite] add me O. 123 et eiusdem] eiusque O. 125 ibidem] hoc modo O. 127 fuit] om M.W; est meis R. 129 potestas] potencia O. 133 obturata] operata O. 143 hinniens] inhiens C. 146-147 inprecando] deprecando O. 147 ibi] ille O. 150 maleficia] malefacta C. 152 introductos] interdictos C.M(?). 178-204 gladius . . . probatur(204)] on fol. 175, with signe de renvoi at end of fol. 174. The the text continues fols. 174v-175v. 198 prebens] prebes O. 203 est] om O. 205 verum] see note at line 178. 208 faciat] facit O. 212 noster] om O. nos] om O. 213 prestabit] dabit O.

Notice that someone who communicates with an excommunicated person exposes himself to great danger. First to himself, because he does not protect himself against a person who has an infectious disease. Next he harms the excommunicated person also, because he takes from him the remedy for his death, that is, his social stigma that should lead him to repentance and correction; in Ecclesiasticus 4 it is said: "There is a shame that brings glory." Third, he sins against him for whose sake the excommunication occurs, for he robs him of his own. And fourth, he sins against God, whom he scorns and despises in his minister; Luke 10: "He who despises you, despises me." As a type of all this, we read in Exodus 10 that "horrible darkness came over all the land of Egypt," to indicate their separation from God; but "wherever the children of Israel dwelt, there was light." Thus God separated the Israelites from the Egyptians as light from darkness, as a sign that there must be no communion between the good and the wicked, and especially the excommunicated; for in Genesis 1 it is said: "God divided the light from the darkness." We have another type of the same in Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, in Chronicles: when he communicated with the godless king Ahab, Israel was in danger of death, and then deserved to hear the prophet from God, because "by helping the ungodly," etc., "you deserved the wrath of God." And in the New Testament, namely in Matthew 18, the Lord commanded that a person who after being admonished by the Church refuses to listen should be "as a heathen and publican," which were people rejected by God.

Therefore, we must altogether flee from such superstitions and hasten to the true faith, for it brings us to eternal life, after the words of John 11: "He who believes in me, even if he were dead, will live." In proof of this, faith is a charter for Christians to have and to hold the kingdom of heaven freely and in peace. If anyone holds in good faith a charter given to him rightfully by his lord, over some piece of land or fief, as long as he serves his lord faithfully, the lord is held to keep and protect him from all others. In the same way, as long as we keep our faith that is contained in the charter of the Creed and neither take away nor add anything to what is written there, in opposition to what the Holy Spirit teaches us, our Lord Christ will protect us against all the attacks of our enemies and will for our service grant us the kingdom of heaven. Thus it is manifest how true faith overcomes the world and gains heaven.

On the background of this chapter and analogous treatments, see G. R. Owst, "Sortilegium in English Homiletic Literature of the Fourteenth Century," in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. C. Davies (London, 1957), pp. 272-303. 15-16 Perhaps Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XII.25 (CC 48:381). 17-27 Raymundus, *Summa* I.xi.3 (pp. 104-105) and marginal gloss. 21-22 Gratian II.26.5.3 (1:1027-28) and II.26.7.16 (1:1045-46). 25-27 Mark 16.18. 48-50 On this kind of superstition, and the reading

## V.xxxi DE PRUDENCIA CONTRA MUNDUM

[R]estat ergo ostendere quomodo sibi similiter per prudentiam est obviandum et resistendum. Circa quam hoc modo est procedendum: ostendere primo quid sit; secundo, in quibus consistit; tercio, quomodo antiquitus viguit. Est ergo prudentia secundum Tullium in *Secunda rhetorica*, libro 2, rerum bonarum malarumque sciencia. Et ista prudentia in tribus consistit: in memoria preteritorum, in intelligencia presencium, et in providencia futurorum. Unde de tribus istis eius partibus exponi potest illud Exodi 15: "Filii Israel ambulaverunt tribus diebus per solitudinem." Isti ergo filii interpretantur "videntes Deum," ad designandum quod illi qui in so(li)tudine huius mundi per bonam et providam scienciam et discucionem trium predictorum ambulaverunt per tres dies, idest per tria tempora predicta, Deum in fine videre merebuntur.

Si ergo ad memoriam facta preterita reducere velimus, quomodo, si bene an male, vixerimus, oportet librum consciencie diligenter revolvere. Ubi notandum est quia qui super aliquem [f. 175v] librum incorrectum sine cespitatione et defectu legere voluerit, necessario ad lucem habet oculum dirigere, mediante qua poterit scripturam et litteras bene discernere et videre. Si vero oculum ad tenebras advertat, secure non leget nec communiter bene, quantumcumque fuerit litteratus. Set modo ita est quod quilibet nostrum habet pro libro conscienciam propriam, in qua omnia preterita opera sive bona sive mala conscribuntur—set certe, ut timeo, multa plura mala quam bona. De quo Danielis 4 dicitur: "Iudicium sedit et libri aperti sunt." Lux ergo necessario acquiritur ad hunc librum perlegendum. Set illa

*unguibus politis* ("polished fingernails") rather than *unguibus pollicis* ("thumbnails"), see the autobiographical account in John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* II.28 (1:164); and G. L. Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (Cambridge, Mass., 1929), p. 185. **59** A mnemonic verse indicating the lexical difference between *máthesis*, "mathematical knowledge," and *mathésis*, "divination." It can be found in various forms; e.g., *Brito metricus* 1166 (ed. L. W. Daly, Philadelphia, 1968); Hugh of St. Victor, *Didascalicon* II.4 (PL 172:753); Eberhard of Bethune, *Graecismus* X.210 (ed. J. Wrobel, Breslau, 1887). See also *Policraticus* I.9, note on line 19 (1:49). **75** 2 Cor. 12.2, 3. **77–79** Gratian II.26.5.12 (1:1030–31). **82–83** Ps. 118.21. **83** Exod. 20.3. **86–88** Lev. 20.6. **88–89** Acts 1.7. **99–100** 2 Kings 1. **100–103** 1 Sam. 28.19. **104** Exod. 22:18. **107–147** Tubach 2461, from William of Malmesbury, *De gestis regum Anglorum* II (ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series, London, 1887–1889, 1:253). **148–149** Gregory, *Dialogi* II.xx-iii.4–5 (2:206–208) and IV.lii–liv (3:176–180). **150–155** Augustine as quoted in Gratian II.26.7.16 (1:1045–46). **158–159** *Decretals* 5.21.1 (2:822). **160–169** Raymundus, *Summa* I.v.1–6 (pp. 38–41). **160–162** Augustine, *De utilitate credendi* I.1 (CSEL 25:3). **162–164** Cf. Hilarius, *De Trinitate* II.Num. 8 (PL 10:51–52). **187** *Ecclus.* 4.25. **189–190** Luke 10.16. **190–192** Exod. 10.22. **194–195** Gen. 1.4. **196–198** 2 Chron. 19.2. **199–200** Matt. 18.17. **204** John 11.25.

## V.xxxi HOW PRUDENCE FIGHTS AGAINST THE WORLD

Now we must show how the world is likewise to be countered and withstood by prudence. In this I will proceed as follows: I will show, first, what prudence is; second, what it consists in; and third, how it flourished among the ancients. According to Cicero in book 2 of his *Second Rhetoric*, prudence is the knowledge of good and evil. This virtue consists in three aspects: memory of what is past, understanding of what is present, and foresight of what is to come. To these three parts can be applied the words of Exodus 15: "The children of Israel marched three days through the wilderness." "Children of Israel" means "those who see God" and designates those who, after marching with a good and careful understanding and discernment of the aforesaid things in the wilderness of this world for three days, that is, for the three time periods mentioned above, will in the end merit to see God.

If we, then, wish to bring our past deeds back to memory in order to see how we have lived, whether well or badly, we must carefully leaf through the book of our conscience. For this purpose we must consider that whoever wishes to read an uncorrected book without stumbling and fault must needs turn his eye to the light, in which he will be able to distinguish and see the writing and the letters clearly. But if he keeps his eye in the dark, he will usually not read well and with certainty, no matter how well educated he may be. But now it is the case that instead of a book we all have our conscience, in which all our past deeds are written, the good as well as the bad ones—though I fear more of them bad than good. To this conscience Daniel 4 refers by saying: "Judgment sat and the books were opened." It is, therefore, necessary to have

lux lex Dei est, iuxta illud Proverbiorum 6: "Mandatum lucerna, et lex  
 25 lux." Ut ergo sciamus in isto libro quid sit corrigendum et quid non, que  
 eciam sit bona littera et que non, idest que opera sunt meritoria et que  
 non, oportet quod vertamus folia istius libri et quod oculus mentis ad  
 lucem legis Christi dirigamus, intente scilicet cogitando que sunt precepta  
 30 Dei, que concilia, que prohibencia, et cetera huiusmodi, et quomodo ista  
 observamus aut omisimus. Et certe tunc clare poterimus cognoscere que sunt  
 corrigenda et que non, et per confessionis abrasionem, in qua lingua pro  
 cultello habetur, mala corrigere valeamus. Pro isto nota supra particula de  
 preceptis, similiter de contricione et eciam de confessione.

Circa secundam partem prudencie, intellectiva presencium, est sciendum  
 35 quod tempus presens est tempus gracie et misericordie, in quo preterita  
 sunt corrigenda et futura precavenda. In quo eciam insidiatur homo ab  
 inimicis quasi continue, qui sunt mundus, de quo satis nota supra particula  
 4 in principio et infra, et similiter in particula ista, capitulo proximo.  
 Alius inimicus est caro, de qua [f. 176] nota aliquantulum proximo capitulo  
 40 sequente, et maxime particula 7; similiter supra ubi agitur de accidia, et  
 post ubi agitur de gula, que carnis filie sicut luxuria dicuntur. Tercius  
 hostis est diabolus, qui instigat ad superbiam, iram, [et] invidiam, de  
 quibus nota supra particulis 1, 2, et 3 locis suis, et hic post, capitulo  
 45 15. Ab istis ergo est summe precavendum in presenti ne nos seducant ut  
 nituntur.

Circa terciam partem prudencie, que est providencia futurorum, scilicet  
 de morte et iudicio, nota supra: [particula 1, et] parte 4 capitulo 5  
 de morte; de iudicio vero nota supra particula 1. De isto tamen iudicii  
 ait Augustinus: "O, inquit, homo, quid ages, quid dices cum contra te  
 50 loquitur consciencia, te accusabunt elementa, crux Christi, et passio, et  
 Christus per vulnera ligabit, cicatrices loquentur, et claves conquerentur?  
 Revera (dicit ipse Augustinus) angustie erunt undique, nam peccata ibi  
 erunt accusancia, inde demonia nunciancia, intus urens consciencia, extra  
 mundus ardens, subtus horrendum chaos inferni patens, supra iudex iratus,  
 55 et 'vix iustus salvabitur.' Homo ergo peccator sic deprehensus qua parte se  
 vertet? Latere erit impossibile, et apparere intollerabile." Et ideo ait  
 Ieronimus: "Quociens, inquit, diem illum considero, toto corpore contremis-  
 co. Unde sive comedo, sive bibo, sive aliquid aliud facio, semper videtur  
 in auribus meis sonare et canere tuba illa terribilis: 'Surgite, mortui,  
 60 venite ad iudicium!' Quis ergo pavor ille, quis(ve) pudor erit, o anima  
 mea, dum dimissis omnibus quorum tibi presenciam tam iocunda fuerunt, scilicet  
 tam gratus aspectus, cohabitacio tam familiaris, sola ingrediens  
 incognitam regionem, ubi occurrunt tibi turmatim [f. 176v] ruere teterri-  
 ma illa monstra videbis? Quis tibi in tante necessitatis articulo succur-  
 65 ret? Quis te ducet? Quis te consolabitur? Quis te tuebitur a rugientibus

light to peruse this book. But this light is the Law of God, according to the  
 words of Proverbs 6: "The Lord's commandment is a lamp, and his Law a light."  
 Now, in order to know what in this book must be corrected and what not, which  
 letters are right and which are not—that is, which of our deeds are meritori-  
 ous and which are not—, it is necessary to turn the leaves of this book and to  
 direct the eye of our mind to the light of Christ's law, by earnestly reflect-  
 ing on what God's commandments are, his counsels, his prohibitions, and so  
 forth, and how we have either kept or neglected them. Then we will certainly  
 be able to discern clearly what needs to be corrected and what not, and we can  
 correct the errors through the erasure of confession, in which our tongue is  
 used as a pen knife. On this matter see above, in the part about the command-  
 ments, and likewise on contrition and confession.

With respect to the second part of prudence, which is the understanding of  
 what is present, we must know that the present time is a time of grace and  
 mercy, in which we should correct past sins and take precautions against future  
 ones. Also, at this time man is continuously beset by his enemies: first the  
 world, of which I have said enough above in part 4 at the beginning and later,  
 as well as in the present part, the preceding chapter. The second enemy is our  
 flesh, on which something may be found in the following chapter, and especially  
 in part 7; likewise above, in the section devoted to sloth, and later in that  
 on gluttony, which like lechery can be called daughters of the flesh. The  
 third enemy is the devil, who urges us to pride, wrath, and envy, on which see  
 above parts 1, 2, and 3, respectively, and also chapter 15 below in the present  
 part. Against these we must take strong precautions in the present time, that  
 they may not lead us astray as they always try to do.

With respect to the third part of prudence, that is, foresight of what is  
 to come, namely death and judgment, see above, part 1 and part 4, chapter 5, on  
 death; and part 1 above on judgment. Concerning the day of judgment, Augustine  
 says: "O man, what will you do and say when your conscience speaks against  
 you, when the elements accuse you, together with Christ's cross and Passion,  
 when Christ proves his case with his wounds, when his scars speak and the nails  
 lament? Indeed, there will be anxiety everywhere, for on one side will be your  
 sins to accuse you, on the other devils to denounce you, within you your burn-  
 ing conscience, without the whole world in flames, at your feet the horrible  
 chaos of hell gaping wide, and above you your wrathful judge. 'Scarcely the  
 just man will be saved.' Where then shall a sinful man turn who has been thus  
 caught? To hide will be impossible, and to come into the open unbearable."  
 Therefore, Jerome says: "Whenever I think on that day, I tremble all over.  
 Whether I eat or drink or do anything else, that terrible trumpet always seems  
 to sound in my ears and say, 'Rise, you dead, and come to your judgment.' What  
 will then be your dread, what your shame, O my soul, when you must leave all  
 the things whose presence was so joyful, a pleasing sight or friendly company,

preparatis ad escam? Fili mi, '(memorare) hec novissima et in eternum non peccabis.' " Et sequitur: "Adam post unius pomi gustum abscondit se; nos ergo quo ibimus?" Quasi diceret: omnino nescimus.

[Q]uomodo autem illa prudentia apud antiquos viguit, satis patet in  
70 diversis locis. Qui plus de prudentia, que est ut dicitur bonorum malorum-  
que sciencia, quam de toto mundo reputabant. Unde narrat Valerius libro 7  
quomodo Themistodem philosophum consuluit unice filie pater, utrum scilicet  
eam pauperi ornato sciencia et virtutibus an locupleti et parum probato in  
75 talibus collocaret nubendo. Cui philosophus: "Malo, inquit, virum indigen-  
tem pecunia quam pecuniam indigentem dominum." Carentem autem sciencia  
et virtutibus, scire uti rebus non estimavit. Et ideo ait commentator 1 *Ethi-*  
*corum*: "Prudentia, inquit, per se est desiderabilis, que valet et est  
utilis ad multa." Unde Proverbiorum 3: "Beatus vir qui invenit sapienciam  
et affluit prudentia." Et ideo eius gracia philosophi mundum et pecuniam  
80 abiciebant. Unde narrat Valerius quod Crates Thebanus quondam ditissimus  
cum ad philosophandum pergeret, magnum pondus auri abiecit non estimans  
se mundi divicias simul et virtutes possidere. Et ideo Proverbiorum 18 bene  
dicitur: "Quid stulto divicias habere, cum sapienciam emere non possit?"  
Quasi diceret, nichil.

85 Patet ergo quod mundus nos invadens per fidem et prudentiam viriliter  
conculcatur.

2 et] *add sibi O.* 6 et] *om O.* 9–10 *solitudine] sollicitudine C.* 15 *librum] see note on line xxx.178.* 22 *quo] qua O.* 29 *prohibencia] prohibentes O.* 34 *intellectiva] que est intelligencia O.* 47 *particula . . . et] om C.W.* 52 *Augustinus] om O.* 60 *quisve] quis vero C.* 62 *ingrediens] add ruina in C.* 65 *te(3)] om O.* 66 *Fili mi] filioli mei O.* *memorare] nota C.* 75 *dominum] domino R.* 77 *inquit] om O.* 85 *quod] quomodo O.*

### V.xxxii DE PUGNA CUM CARNE

[S]equitur modo de pugna cum carne, que difficilior pugna est aliarum. Omnis enim pugna [f. 177] (aliquorum) hostium ab ipsa provenire et originem attrahere videtur experimentis. Quia sicut omnia flumina a mari effluunt et

and you will go by yourself into an unknown land where you will see black monsters come rushing in crowds against you? Who will come to your aid in such great need? Who will lead you? Who will give you comfort? Who will guard you against those roaring monsters ready to devour you? O my children, 'remember these last things, and you will not sin in eternity.' Adam hid himself after merely tasting an apple; but we, where shall we go?" As if to say: we have no idea.

How much this prudence flourished among the ancients can be seen in various places. They valued prudence—the knowledge of good and evil, as I said earlier—more highly than the whole world. Valerius in book 7 narrates how the father of an only daughter consulted the philosopher Themistocles on whether he should give her in marriage to a poor man who possessed knowledge and virtues, or rather to a rich man who had been little tried in such things. The philosopher answered: "I would rather have a man without money than money without a master." For he reckoned that a man who lacked knowledge and the virtues did no know how to make use of his possessions. Therefore the commentator on the first book of the *Ethics* says: "Prudence is desirable in itself, because it is capable and useful for many things." Hence in Proverbs 3: "Blessed is the man that finds wisdom and is rich in prudence." For her sake the philosophers renounced the world and money. Valerius tells us that when Crates of Thebes, a very rich man, went to study philosophy, he threw away a large amount of gold, thinking that he could not possess riches and virtues together. And therefore it is said in Proverbs 18: "What does it avail a fool to have riches, seeing that he cannot buy wisdom?" as if to say: nothing.

Thus it is manifest how the world that besets us can be manfully overcome through faith and through prudence.

4–5 Cicero, *De inventione* II.liii.60. 8 Exod. 15.22. 22–23 Dan. 7.10. 24–25 Prov. 6.23. 32–33 *FM* III.vii and V.vii–xiv. 37–38 *FM* IV.iv and V.xxix. 39–41 *FM* V.xxxii, VII passim, V.i, and VI passim. 43–44 *FM* I–III and V.xxxv. 47–48 *FM* I.xiii and IV.xi; I.xiv. 49–56 Cf. Ps. Bernard, *De interiori domo* XXII.46 (PL 184:531); also in Anselm, *Meditatio 1* (3:78–79). 55 1 Pet. 4.18. 57–60 Ps.-Jerome, *Regula monachorum* 30 (PL 30:417), based on Jerome, *Ep.* 66 10 (CSEL 54:660). 66–67 *Ecclus.* 7.40. 71–76 Valerius, VII.2.ext.9. 78–79 Prov. 3.13. 80–82 Jerome, *Ep.* 58 2; see *FM* IV.xii.105–108. The story occurs in John of Wales, *Breviloquium* II.2 and III.4. 83 Prov. 17.16.

### V.xxxii THE BATTLE AGAINST THE FLESH

Now follows the battle against our flesh, which is more difficult than the others; for to those experienced in such matters it seems that every battle against the other enemies stems and takes its origin from this one. For just

ad illud refluunt, sic a primis motibus carnis omnes temptationes proveniunt. Et ideo secundum Bernardum diabolus plus confidit in operibus carnis quam in propriis viribus, quia plus nocet hostis domesticus quam ignotus, iuxta illud vulgare dictum: "Inimici hominis domestici eius." Et ideo errant qui dicunt primos motus a suggestione diabolica provenire, cum ipse sit omnino ignarus de cogitationibus humanis n(isi) inde aliquem motum exterius percipit. Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* quod quidam sanctus quesivit a diabolo si sciret cogitationes hominum. Et ille respondit quod sic. Volens ergo vir sanctus ipsum probare dixit: "Cogito nunc; dic michi quid est." Qui cum dixisset et ad(iu)ratus fuisset quomodo hoc scivisset, [respondit]: "Quando, inquit, labia tua movebantur in cogitando, statim per illum motum cogitationes cordis tui percepi." Per quod satis patet quod carnis suggestio forcius inpugnat et facilius devincit. De qua postea particula 7 satis patebit.

1 aliarum] ceterarum O. 2 aliorum] occultorum C. 3 experimentis] expertis O. 9 nisi] nec C.W. 11 ille] om O. 12 ipsum] illum O. 13 adiuratus] admiratus C.M.; longer om W.

### V.xxxiii DE SPE CONTRA CARNEM PUGNANTE

[C]ontra hunc hostem spes se opponit fortiterque pugnans reportat triumphum. Est ergo spes "certa expectatio future beatitudinis ex Dei gracia et meritis propriis proveniens," secundum Magistrum *Sentenciarum*. Et ideo dicit ipse: "Sine meritis aliquid sperare non est spes set presumpcio dici potest." Et nota quod sicut fides ita spes de invisibilibus est. In hoc tamen differunt quod fides est de preteritis et futuris, spes autem de futuris tantum; fides eciam de bonis et malis est, spes vero de bonis tantum; fides eciam de bonis tam sibi quam aliis, set spes de [f. 177v] propriis bonis tantum. Et nota quod spes prout viatorum, hoc est in vita illa exercicium, sic est in certitudine opinionis ut dictum est. Spes autem illorum qui sunt in purgatorio et in limbo est in certitudine sciencie. Set spes que fuit in beato Stephano quando vidit celos apertos, et in Paulo qui dixit: "Scio cui credidi et certus sum," et similiter que fuit in Adam ante peccatum, fuit in certitudine visionis, magis tamen debilis quam est in celo. [Ex quibus patet quod in celo] non est spes set omnium bonorum habitudo simul et tota possessio. Unde ibi nichil est futurum quod speretur. Et nota quod licet sanctis adhuc sit futura resurrectio corporum secundum rem, tamen presens est secundum cognicionem.

Et nota quod effectus spei multiplex est. Quorum unus est quod liberat

as the water of all the rivers comes from the sea and flows back to it, so do all temptations proceed from the first stirrings of the flesh. Hence, according to Bernard, the devil relies more heavily on the deeds of the flesh than on his own powers, for an internal enemy is more harmful than a stranger, according to that common proverb, "A man's enemies are his inmates." Therefore those are wrong who say the first stirrings come from the devil's suggestion, because he is quite ignorant of a man's thoughts unless he perceives an external change caused by them. In *The Lives of the Fathers* there is a story about a holy man who asked a devil if he knew men's thoughts. He replied that he did. Then the holy man wanted to try him and said: "I am thinking. Tell me what it is about." The devil told him; and when he was conjured to tell how he knew that, he answered: "When you were thinking, your lips moved, and from that movement I at once knew the thoughts of your heart." This shows us clearly how forcefully the suggestive power of the flesh attacks us and how easily it can overcome us. We will say more about this later in part 7.

5-6 Cf. *Meditationes piissimae* XIII.35 (PL 184:504). 7 Cf. Whiting E.97. 10-15 Tubach 4844; cf. Augustine, *De eccl. dogmatibus* 48 (PL 42:1221). 17 FM VII.i-xvi.

### V.xxxiii HOW HOPE FIGHTS AGAINST THE FLESH

Against this enemy stands hope, who repels him with force and carries the victory. Hope is "the certain expectation of gaining future bliss, based on God's grace and one's own merits," according to the Master of the *Sentences*. And he says further: "To hope for anything without any merit of one's own is not hope but can be called presumption." Notice that just like faith, hope is about invisible things. But they differ in that faith deals with matters both past and future, whereas hope deals only with future ones. Also, faith is concerned with good as well as evil things, but hope only with good ones. Faith is about things that are good for oneself and for others, but hope is only about what is good for oneself. And notice that insofar as hope is held by people on their pilgrimage through this life, it has the certainty of belief, as was said in the definition. But the hope of souls in purgatory and in limbo has the certainty of knowledge. Whereas the hope that was in Blessed Stephen when he saw the heavens open, and in Paul when he said, "I know whom I have believed, and I am certain," and similarly in Adam before his fall, had the certainty of vision, although it was weaker than it is in heaven. And from this it follows that in heaven there is no hope but the instantaneous, present, and complete possession of all good things; there will be nothing to come in the future for which one can only hope. And notice that although for the



- 20 a tribulacione, sicut patuit de Susanna et Daniele in lacu misso; unde Psalmista: "In te speraverunt et liberasti eos." Spes autem etiam confortat, sicut patuit de sanctis Machabeis, quos mater "sub uno diei tempore conspiciens mori, bono animo ferebat propter spem quam in Deo habebat." Exemplum etiam de David rege qui Goliath devincens ait: "Tu venis ad me cum gladio et hasta, ego autem in nomine Domini," quasi diceret cum Psalmista: "Si exurgat adversum me prelium, in hoc ego sperabo," scilicet in auxilio et in nomine Domini. Et alibi: "In Deo speravi, non timebo quid faciat michi homo." Et ideo Proverbiorum 22 dicitur: "Appone ad doctrinam cor tuum, ut sit in Domino fiducia tua." Set prodolor de desperantibus conqueritur Salvator Ysaie 36 dicens: "Super quid habes fiduciam qui recessisti a me?" quasi dicat Dominus: si de me desperatis, in quo sperare proponitis? Unde Augustinus: "Non enim nostrorum vulnerum multitudo in desperationem nos deprimant, [f. 178] quoniam maior est potencia medici quam magnitudo langoris. Attende ergo, homo (dicit ipse), de qua terra factus es, quia in universo mundo unius talis terre pugillatum non invenies." Figuli enim de terra meliori et tenaciori vasa faciunt, que si in aliquo frangantur, nullo ingenio modo quo prius redintegrantur. Set homo factus de terra si peccando in aliquo mortali crimine quasi frustris dissolvatur, adhuc tamen per unam spem in Domino cum virtute contricionis et confessionis reintegratur, et forte melius quam prius. Est ergo in Domino sperandum, non tamen in spe peccandi, quia "maledictus homo qui peccat in spe." Unde de desperatione nota supra, particula 2, capitulo 6, et similiter de Dei misericordia.

8 bonis] *add* est O. 9–10 exercitium] existencium B1. 16 futurum] futurorum O. 20 unde] *om* O. 23 Deo] domino O. 37 modo quo] ut M.R; *longer om* W. 38 aliquo . . . crimine] M.e (?) M.W; me R. tamen] *om* O.

#### V.xxxiv DE TEMPERANCIA CONTRA CARNEM PUGNANTE

[V]iso vero quomodo spes vera hostem carnis succumbit, iam videndum est quomodo virtus temperancie idem facere non desistit. Et nota quod temperancia secundum Macrobius libro 1 est nichil appetere [penitendi], in nullo legem moderacionis excedere, set sub iugo racionis cupiditatem domare. Item temperancia est racionis [in] libidinem atque in non rectos

5

saints the resurrection of their bodies still remains in the future as a material event, it is already present to them in their knowledge.

The effect of hope is manifold. One is to free us from tribulation, as is shown in Susanna and in Daniel in the lions' den; as the Psalmist says: "They have hoped in you, and you have delivered them." Further, hope gives us comfort, as can be seen in the holy Maccabees: their mother saw them die in the course of one day, yet she bore it well on account of the hope she had in the Lord. There is also the example of King David, who overcame Goliath and said: "You come to me with a sword and a spear, but I in the name of the Lord," as if he were saying with the Psalmist: "If a battle should rise up against me, in this I will have hope," that is, in the help and the name of the Lord. And elsewhere: "In God I have put my trust, I will not fear what man may do against me." Hence it is said in Proverbs 22: "Apply your heart to my teaching, so that your trust may be in the Lord." But alas, the Savior complains to people who despair, in Isaiah 36: "In what do you trust, who are revolted from me?" as if he were saying: if you despair of me, whom else do you propose to set your hope on? Hence Augustine declares: "The large number of our wounds must not put us in despair, for the power of our physician is greater than our sickness. Keep in mind, O man, of what earth you were made, for in the whole universe you will not find a single handful of such earth. Potters make their vessels from better and firmer soil, but if those break, they cannot by any art be restored to what they were before. But man, who is made of earth, if by sinning against me he becomes, as it were, broken into bits, he can still be mended again through one act of hope in the Lord with the power of contrition and confession, and perhaps become even better than before." Therefore, we should hope in the Lord, but not sin at the same time, for "cursed is the man who sins in hope of forgiveness." About despair, and likewise about God's mercy, see above, part 2, chapter 6.

2–9 Peter Lombard, *Sent.* III.xxvi.1–3 (2:159–160). 13 2 Tim. 1.12. 20 Dan. 13 and 6. 21 Ps. 21.5. 22–23 2 Macc. 7.20. 24–25 1 Sam. 17.45. 26 Ps. 26.3. 27–28 Ps. 55.5. 28–29 Prov. 22.17–19. 30–31 Isa. 36.5. 32–35 Cf. Augustine, *En. in Ps.* 102 5 (CC 40:1454–55). 42 *FM* II.iv *passim*.

#### V.xxxiv HOW TEMPERANCE FIGHTS AGAINST THE FLESH

After we have seen how true hope subdues our enemy the flesh, we must now see how the virtue of temperance unceasingly does the same. According to Macrobius, in book 1, temperance means to desire nothing for which one will be sorry and not to go beyond the right measure but to bridle one's desire with reason. Further, temperance means the firm and just rule of reason over one's

impetus animi frena et moderata dominatio. Cuius partes sunt continencia, clemencia, et modestia, secundum Tullium, *Rhetorica prima*, libro 2.

10 Ubi est notandum quod continencia dicitur triplex. Uno modo prout est cohibicio gule et luxurie, de quibus nota post, particulis 6 et 7. Alio modo prout est cohibicio cupiditatis et avaricie, de quibus nota supra, particula 4, capitulo 5. Et tercio prout est cohibicio elacionis et superbie, de quibus nota supra, particula 1.

15 Secunda autem pars est clemencia, que est temperancia animi in potestate ulciscendi vel lenitas superioris ad inferiorem, [f. 178v] ut ait Seneca libro 2 *De clemencia*. Et nota quod ista clemencia quadrupliciter dicitur. Primo in compaciendo affectualiter aliorum infortuniis, et de illa loquitur Valerius libro 5 dicens: "Marcus, inquit, Marcellinus capt(i)s ab eo Syracusan(i)s, cum esset in arce constitutus et fortunam opulentissime urbis tunc afflicte cerneret ex alto et casum lugubrem, fletum cohibere non potuit." Similiter nec Cesar, ut dicitur ibidem, cum capud Pompey aspexisset, pias lacrimas dedit. Et ideo dicit Orosius de Alexandro Darium interfectum ac cathenis aureis ligatum inveniende. Quod eciam patet Regum 1 de David lugente mortem Saulis inimici eius. Alio modo dicitur clemencia in remittendo malefacta, eciam quamvis gravia. De qua Valerius ubi supra ait  
25 quod Pompeius erga regem Armenie quamvis multa contra Romanos gesserat, ipsum tamen vinctum in conspectu suo supplicem iacere non est passus, set benignis verbis recreatus diadema quod abiecerat capiti reponere iussit et in pristinum fortune habitum restituit, eque pulcrum iudicans vincere regem et facere. Similiter et Paulus consul, ut dicitur ibidem, cum audisset  
30 quendam captivum ad se adduci, sibi occurrit et volentem ad genua procumbere dextra sua ipsum allevavit eumque proximum sibi sedere fecit dicens: "Si enim deicere hostem egregium est, non minus laudabile et infelicis scire misereri." Sic enim docet Virgilius libro 6 *Enoydos*, et recitat Augustinus libro 5 *De civitate Dei*, capitulo 13, versus:

35 Tu rege(re) imperio populos R(oma)ne memento.  
Hee tibi sunt artes pacisque inponere mores: [f. 179]  
Parcere subiectos et debellare superbos.

Hoc eciam docet natura brutorum, iuxta illud versus:

40 Parcere prostratis est nobilis ira leonis.  
Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis dominaris in orbe.

Et alibi Ethnicus sic dicit per versus:

desires and the uncontrolled stirrings of one's heart. Its parts, according to Cicero in book 2 of his *First Rhetoric*, are continence, clemency, and modesty.

Continence has three meanings. One is the virtue that controls gluttony and lechery, of which I shall speak later, in parts 6 and 7. The second controls covetousness and avarice, of which I have spoken earlier, in part 4, chapter 5. And the third controls overbearing and pride, of which see above in part 1.

The second part of temperance is clemency, which is the moderation of one's mind with respect to one's power of revenge, or else leniency on the part of a superior toward his inferior, as Seneca says in book 2 of *On Clemency*. Notice that such clemency has four aspects. The first is to feel compassion with other people in their misfortunes. Of this speaks Valerius in book 5 when he says: "When Marcus Marcellinus had captured Syracuse and, from his castle, saw the misfortune and sad fall of that rich city in its affliction, he could not refrain from weeping." Similarly, as is written in the same book, when Caesar saw Pompey's head, he shed tears of compassion. Orosius tells us the same about Alexander when he found Darius killed and bound with chains of gold. And the same can be seen in David, who mourned at the death of his enemy Saul, in Kings 1. Another aspect of clemency is to forgive evil deeds, even grave ones. Of this speaks Valerius in the passage cited above, where he says that although the king of Armenia had done the Romans much harm, yet Pompey would not suffer him to lie bound and on his knees before him, but instead restored him with benign words and had the crown he had cast off his head replaced in order to reinstate him in his former fortune, judging it to be equally fair to overcome a king and to make one. Similarly, as is narrated there also, when the consul Paulus heard that a captive was being brought to him, he went toward him, raised him with his right hand as he was about to fall to his knees, and made him sit next to himself, saying: "If it is a great thing to overcome an enemy, it is no less praiseworthy to know how to have pity on one in his misfortune." Virgil teaches the same in book 6 of the *Aeneid*, and Augustine quotes the passage in *The City of God*, book 5, chapter 13:

But Roman thou, do thou control  
The nations far and wide;  
Be this thy genius, to impose  
The rule of peace on vanquished foes,  
Show pity to the humbled soul,  
And crush the sons of pride.

The nature of wild animals teaches us the same, according to the following lines:

E[*s*]t piger ad penas princeps, ad premia velox.  
 Quique dolet quociens cogitur esse ferox.

45 Tercio modo dicitur clemencia dando indignis bona. De qua narrat Valerius  
 libro (5) quod cum Cartaginencium legati ad captivos redimendos venissent  
 in urbem, protinus hiis sine pecunia reddidit mille marcas septingentos et quad-  
 raginta. "Tantum hostium exercitum dimissum, tantam pecuniam conceptam,  
 tot iniuriis veniam datam legatos obstupuisse arbitror ac secum dixisse: 'O  
 50 munificencia gentis Romane, deorum benignitati equanda!' " Quarto modo di-  
 citur clemencia in condescendo subditis. Nichil enim ita trahit principes  
 caros suis militibus sicut benignitas clemencie. Unde in *Gestis Romanorum*  
 legitur de Troiano imperatore quod cum arguerunt eum amici quod in omnes  
 [ultra] quam deceret esset communis, respondit se velle esse imperatorem  
 55 quem quisquis privatus optasset. De Alexandro eciam dicit Valerius quod  
 cum in tempestate duceret exercitum, milit(e)m confectum senio et frigore  
 obstupefactum conspexit. Unde ipse sedens in sublimi prope ignem, protinus  
 surrexit et manibus suis primum militem in sua sede collocavit.

Pro illa igitur clemencia nota supra de Christi misericordia erga  
 peccatores, particula 2. In ipso enim multo excellencior erat hec virtus  
 60 quam in aliis principibus. Nam quantumcumque eum aliquis offenderet, [f.  
 179v] si peniteat et se emendat, statim pacificatur. In cuius figura dixe-  
 runt viri Samarie ad Benadab dominum suum ab Achab rege Israel victum et  
 effugatum, secundum illud Regum 20: "Reges Israel clementes sunt. Ponamus  
 ergo saccos in lumbis nostris et funiculos in capitibus nostris et egredia-  
 65 mur ad eum. Forte salvabit animas nostras." Moraliter isti reges sunt Pater  
 et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, unus Deus tamen, quia ita clemens vult esse,  
 et propter penam non timeatur set propter clemenciam cicius adametur. De  
 quo Ione 4 dicitur: "Scio quia tu es Deus clemens et misericors." Si ideo  
 istum offendimus, ponamus saccos in lumbis nostris, per quos intelligo  
 70 penitentiam. Exemplum: Sicut enim iste domine mortuis maritis pulcris et  
 nobilibus non utuntur robis, coloratis et preciosis, set veste nigra et  
 vili in signum tristicie et doloris, sic quilibet peccator amittens Chris-  
 tum per peccatum: quoniam autem et dominus et sponsus eius fuerat dulcissi-  
 mus qualis numquam alius erat, debet robam tristicie et penalitatis vesti-  
 75 ri, sicut fecit rex Ninive, Ione 3. Et non tantum hoc set eciam ponamus  
 funiculos in capitibus nostris, hoc est, reddamus nos humiliter Deo et fa-  
 ciamus nobis funiculum de tribus cordulis, scilicet de contricione, confes-  
 sione, et satisfactione, et certe "salvabit animas nostras."

80 Tercia pars prudencie est modestia, que dicitur "sciencia earum rerum  
 que aguntur aut dicuntur loco suo collocandarum," (ut) ait Tullius libro 1  
*De officiis*. Unde de modestia Titi imperatoris legitur quod in morte sua

The noble lion in his wrath still spares the fallen.  
 You do the same when all the world is your dominion.

And elsewhere the heathen poet says:

A prince is slow to punish, quick to give reward,  
 And grieves whenever he is forced to show his fierceness.

The third kind of clemency is to give to the needy. Valerius writes in book 5  
 that when the legates from Carthage came without money to the City to ransom  
 their captives, he gave them at once 1740 marks. "I suppose the legates were  
 dumbfounded at the release of so many enemies, the gift of so much money, and  
 the forgiveness for such great harm, and said among themselves: 'O munificence  
 of the Roman people, equal to the bounty of the gods!' " The fourth aspect of  
 clemency is to stoop to one's inferiors. Nothing makes princes as dear to  
 their soldiers as such benign clemency. Thus we read in *The Deeds of the*  
*Romans* that when his friends reproved the emperor Trajan for making himself  
 more common to everyone than he should, he answered that he wanted to be the  
 kind of emperor that the last foot soldier might desire. And of Alexander  
 Valerius reports that when he was leading his army in a storm, he noticed a  
 soldier exhausted with old age and stiff with cold. Whereupon Alexander, who  
 had been sitting above near the fire, got up at once and with his own hands  
 placed the soldier in his seat.

Concerning this clemency, see also Christ's mercy toward sinners discussed  
 above in part 2. In him this virtue was far more outstanding than in other  
 princes. For however much someone might offend him, if he is sorry and cor-  
 rects himself, Christ is at once reconciled. As a type of this: when Ben-hadad  
 had been defeated and put to flight by Ahab, the king of Israel, his men said  
 the following words of 3 Kings 20 to him: "The kings of Israel are merciful.  
 So let us put sackcloth on our loins and ropes on our heads and go out to him.  
 Perhaps he will save our lives." In moral terms, the "kings of Israel" are the  
 Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God, who wants to be so clement that he is  
 not feared for his punishment but rather loved for his clemency. Of whom Jonah  
 4 says: "I know that you are a gracious and merciful God." If we, then, have  
 offended him, let us put sackcloth on our loins, by which I understand penance.  
 Just as, for example, women in our society do not wear beautiful, expensive,  
 colorful, and precious clothes when their husbands have died, but rather a  
 black and simple dress as a sign of their sadness and mourning, so should any  
 sinner do the same when he has lost Christ through sin. For as Christ had been  
 his most beloved lord and spouse, such as no other had ever been, he should put  
 on a robe of mourning and grief, as did the king of Nineveh according to Jonah

non recoluit ullum factum quod esset puniendum excepto uno, quod tamen nulli innotuit, eo quod omnia modeste egit prout erant agenda.

85 Ad has ergo partes temperancie pro carnis domacione reduci possunt ille partes quas ponit [f. 180] Macrobius libro 1 dicens: "Temperancia[m], inquit, sequuntur verecundia, abstinencia, honestas, moderacio, parcityas, sobrietas." De quibus nota locis suis, etc.

1 vero] autem O. 2 temperancie] add hoc O. 5 in] om C.M. 7 et] om O. 16 illa] ista O. 17 captis] captus C.O. 18 Syracusanis] syracusanus C.O. 24 eciam] et O. 34 versus] om O. 35 regere] regens corr C. Romane] racione C. 38 versus] om O. 39 est] sit (scit) O. 41 sic] om O. per versus] om O. 45 5] 15 C. 52 arguerunt] arguerent O. 53 ultra] om C.M. 55 militem] militum C. 61 emendat] humiliaverit M.R; humiliaverat W. 65 reges] add israel M.w; add simul R. 67 et] quod R.B1; ut Co.Et.Go1. 73 quoniam] quando O. 80 ut] ubi C.R.W. 81 imperatoris] add dicitur et O. 87 etc.] om O.

## V.xxxv DE PUGNA CONTRA DIABOLUM

[S]equitur autem tercio de antiqui hostis inpugnacione, idest diaboli, qui multipliciter humano generi se reddit gravem et nocivum, videlicet sex modis: Primo a facie, quando scilicet nititur nos a bono revocare; secundo a tergo, quando scilicet ad aliqua terrena desideria que dimisimus suadet  
5 redire; tercio a dextris, quando scilicet nos in prosperitate facit superbire; quarto deorsum, quando nos manifeste instigat et intemptat. Unde Augustinus: "Intemptator, inquit, malorum est diabolus et non missor";  
10 Isaie: "Ego (creavi) fabrum sufflantem prunas." Mirandum est ergo quod a brutis animalibus non di(sc)amus, cum ipsa naturaliter hostes suos fugiunt et abhorrent, ut agnus lupum, avis aquilam, columba ancipitrem, et huiusmodi.

Et nota quod diabolus hominem invadens quinque facit sicut solent homines facere quando volunt quiescere et dormire. Nam ne quies turbetur per tumultum, primo ostium camere claudit, secundo lumen extinguit, tercio

3. And not only this, but let us further put ropes on our heads, that is, give ourselves humbly to God and make a rope of three cords, namely from contrition, confession, and satisfaction; then he will certainly "save our lives."

The third part of prudence is modesty, which is said to be the knowledge of what one should do and say in the right place, as Cicero says in book 1 of *On Offices*. Hence we read about the modesty of the Emperor Titus that, when he was dying, he could not think of anything that ought to be punished except one deed; but that was not known to anyone because he always did things modestly, just as they should be done.

To these parts of temperance, which are necessary in ruling our flesh, can be reduced the parts of the virtue which Macrobius enumerates in his first book when he says: "Temperance is followed by shamefacedness, abstinence, propriety, restraint, sparingness, and soberness." These branches are treated in their respective places.

The following material in this chapter occurs also almost verbatim in John of Wales, *Breviloquium*: lines 3–7 (III.1); [the division of 8–12] (III.2); 13–21, 23–57 (III.5); 79–87 (III.6). 3–5 Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* I.viii.7. 5–7 Cicero, *De inventione* II.53. 9 *FM* VI–VII. 10–11 *FM* IV.xii. 12 *FM* I. 13–15 Seneca, *De clementia* II.iii.1. 17–20 Valerius, V.i.4. 20–21 Valerius, V.1.10. 21–22 Paulus Orosius, *Historiae* III.17 (PL 31:831–32). 22–23 2 Sam. 1.11–12. 24–29 Valerius, V.i.9. 29–33 Valerius, V.i.8. 35–37 Virgil, *Aeneis* VI.851–53, and Augustine, *De civ. Dei* V.xii.2 (CC 47:144). 39–40 *Prov* 20668. 42–43 Ovid, *Ex Ponto* I.ii.123–24. 44–49 Valerius, V.i.1. 51–54 Thus verbatim in John of Wales, see above. 54–57 Valerius, V.i.ext.1. 59 *FM* II.iv. 61–65 1 Kings 20.31. 68 Jon. 4.2. 75 Jon. 3.6. 79–81 Cicero, *De officiis* I.xl.142. 81–83 *Policraticus* III.14 (1:230). 85–87 Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* I.viii.7.

## V.xxxv THE ATTACK OF THE DEVIL

In the third place, we turn to the attack of our ancient foe, the devil. He makes himself grievous and harmful to mankind in six different ways: first, from the front, by trying to make us swerve from our good intention; second, from behind, by persuading us to return to the earthly desires we have given up; third, from the right side, by stirring us to feel proud in prosperity; fourth, from below, by inciting and tempting us openly. Whence Augustine says: "The devil does not send us evil but tempts us to do it"; and Isaiah: "I have created the smith that blows the coals." It is astonishing that we should not learn from wild animals: they naturally flee and shrink from their enemies, as the lamb from the wolf, the bird from the eagle, the dove from the hawk, and so forth.

Notice that when the devil attacks man, he does five things similar to what people do when they want to take a rest and sleep. For in order not to have

fenestras obstruit, quarto familiam quiescere precipit, quinto fetencia  
 15 expellit. Revera sic diabolus. Nam primo ostium anime claudit quando os  
 obturatur ne ipsum diabolus qui intus est per peccatum per aperturam con-  
 fessionis inquietetur. In cuius figura Machabeorum 5 dicitur quod obstruxit  
 portam civitatis ne Iudas, idest confitens, transiret ad confessionem. Et  
 20 nota quod os hominis ne confiteatur diabolus obstruit quinque digitis,  
 quorum primus est pudor confitendi, secundus complacencia peccati, tercius  
 spes vite longioris, quartus timor perse- [f. 180v] verandi in bono, quin-  
 tus desperacio venie, gracie, et misericordie. Secundo lumen extinguit  
 divine cognicionis, quando sic hominem execat ne cognoscat peccati sui  
 25 vilitatem et dampnationem; unde Sapientie 2 dicitur: "Excecavit eos malicia  
 eorum." Et nota quod sicut homo de facili magnum pondus levat in aqua nec  
 sentit illius naturalem ponderositatem quousque ad siccum pervenerit, sic  
 quamdiu delectacio que velud aqua cito transit durat, non sentit peccator  
 eius ponderositatem, set certe illa cessante satis bene sentit. Tercio  
 fenestras obstruit ne sol intret aut eius radii, quando quinque sensus  
 30 obturat ne Christus, qui est verus sol iusticie, aut eius gracia aut mise-  
 ricordia, que sunt eius radii, ad animam illuminandam intrent. Et hoc maxi-  
 me facit quando aures ob(t)urat ne verbum Dei audiat homo, et os ne per  
 illud peccatum agnoscat. Et certe hic est ille demon de quo Matthei 8, qui  
 reddit hominem mutum et surdum, quem Dominus curavit ponens digitum in  
 35 auriculam eius in memoriam quinque plagarum. Nota historiam. Quarto famili-  
 am quinque sensuum compescat quando illos bene operari non sinit. Optat  
 enim summe in domo manere ocio vacante. Unde legitur quod intravit hominem,  
 hoc est domum corporis sui, quando invenit scopis peccatorum mundatam,  
 idest vacuatam a virtutibus. Qu(int)o fetores expellit, quando aufert  
 40 homini odorem peccati ne illum senciatur aut peccatum intelligat. Fetidi enim  
 et ebrii non senciunt fetorem. Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* de quodam  
 sancto sene ut corpora mortuorum sepeliret transeunte, cui comitabantur  
 quidam angelus et quidam iuvenis lascivus. Cum ergo ad qu(oddam corpus)  
 fetidum pervenissent et senex nares ob- [f. 181] turasset, ait angelus:  
 45 "Quare hoc corpus non sepelis?" Et ille: "Non possum, inquit, pro fetore."  
 Cui angelus: "Quantum fetet corpus illud in oculis tuis, tantum et multo  
 amplius fetet iuvenis iste peccator in conspectu Dei."

Est ergo diabolus hominem invadendo tamquam adulator qui primo delec-  
 tabilia loquitur, ut postea caucius decipiat. Similiter sicut ille qui  
 50 muscas capere proponit primo ollam melle linire facit °. Et similiter sicut  
 piscator qui ut pisses decipiat hamo abscondito escam [pro]ponit. Est etiam  
 sicut aquila qui oculos prede primo eruit et postea totum corpus dilacerat.  
 Unde Crisostomus omelia 50 in *Inperfecto*: "Intrans, inquit, in hominem  
 (supple diabolus) non statim ducit ad peccatum, set prius quempiam delectat  
 55 malis et desideria carnis alligat et postea ducit ad peccatum et furatur

one's rest disturbed by noise, one first closes the door of the room, then  
 extinguishes the light, thirdly shuts the windows, fourthly tells the household  
 to keep quiet, and fifthly casts out anything that smells bad. The devil does  
 the same. First he closes the door of the soul by stopping man's mouth so that  
 the devil, who is within through sin, may not be disturbed by its being opened  
 in confession. As a type, it is said in Maccabees 5 that the people barred the  
 gate of the city so that Judas, whose name means "confessing," might not pass  
 on to confession. Notice that in order to prevent a person from confessing his  
 sin, the devil stops his mouth with five fingers: shame to confess, pleasure in  
 sinning, the hope of a long life, fear to be unable to persevere in a good  
 life, and despair of gaining forgiveness, grace, and mercy. Next, he extin-  
 10 guishes the light of the knowledge of God, by making man so blind that he does  
 not see the vileness of his sin and his damnation, as is said in Wisdom 2:  
 "Their own malice has blinded them." And notice that in water one can lift a  
 heavy weight easily, nor does one feel its normal weight until one is outside  
 the water; in the same way, a sinner does not feel the weight of his delight—  
 which passes as quickly as water—as long as it lasts, but when it is gone he  
 certainly notices how heavy it is. Third, he shuts the windows so that the sun  
 or its rays may not enter, by stopping a man's five senses so that Christ, who  
 is the true sun of justice, or else his grace and mercy, which are its ray,  
 cannot come in to enlighten him. This he does especially by stopping man's  
 20 ears so that he may not hear God's word, and his mouth so that he may not  
 acknowledge his sin through it. This is surely that demon of whom Matthew 8  
 says that it caused that man to be deaf and dumb whom the Lord healed by put-  
 ting his finger in his ear, in memory of his five wounds. Explain this story.  
 Fourth, he makes his household of the five senses be quiet by not allowing them  
 to be active. For he wants above all else to be absolutely idle in his house.  
 Therefore we read that the devil entered man, that is, the house of his body,  
 when he found it swept with the broom of sins, that is, emptied of virtues.  
 And fifth, he casts out bad smells by taking from man the smell of sin, so that  
 man can no longer smell or notice sin. For people who are dirty or drunk have  
 no sense of smell. In *The Lives of the Fathers* there is a story about a holy  
 desert father who went about burying the bodies of the dead and was accompanied  
 by an angel and a lecherous young man. When the desert father came to a body  
 that smelled very badly and he stopped his nose, the angel asked him: "Why are  
 you not burying this body?" He replied: "I cannot, for its stench." Then the  
 angel said: "As much as this body smells to your senses, so much and even more  
 does that sinful young man smell before God."

When the devil wants to invade man, he behaves like a flatterer, who  
 begins by telling a person delightful things so that he can later deceive him  
 more craftily. Or he acts like a man who plans to catch flies and smears honey  
 on a pot. Or else like a fisherman who deceives the fish by hanging bait on

vestimenta virtutum, (aurum intellectus), argentum divinorum eloquiorum, linthiamina graciaram, ceter[ar]umque virtutum divicias tollens mendicum facit et nudum." Et Bernardus in quadam meditatione ait: "Hic est, inquit, qui iugiter machinatur malum, (argute) loquitur, artificiose suggerit, 60 callide decipit, motus inflat illicitos, venenatas cogitaciones inflammat, movet bella, nutrit odia, incitat gulam, inducit luxuriam, desideria carnis instigat, peccati occasiones parat, et mille nocendi artibus corda hominum temptare non cessat." Hec ille.

Et nota quod ipse precipue solitarios temptat. Exemplum de Eva, quam 65 solam existentem primo aggressus est, Genesis 3. Item Regum 17 de Goliath petens certamen singulare. Item de Christo existente in deserto, Matthei 4. Unde Crisostomus omelia 13: "Nos adinvicem continue congregare debemus, ne facile capiamur [f. 181v] a diabolo, quia tunc maxime instat ubi viderit solitarios." Exemplum: Sicut avis non congregatim volans cito ab ancipitre 70 capitur, et acies dispersa ab hostibus suffocatur, atque animal brutum extra armentum cicius strangulatur a lupo, sic solitarius a diabolo.

Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* de quodam adolescente qui quasi invito patre monachabat. Qui sancte conversante vix post ab abbate optinens licentiam heremum petebat, quem duo monachi conducebant qui in via nimio estu 75 fatigati dormire coacti sunt. Et ecce aquila veniens illos ali(s) excitavit et recessit aequaliter ab eis. Qui evigilantes dixerunt socio: "Angelus tuus est. Sequere eum." Quibus valedictis illum sequebatur. Post autem horas tres divertit aquila ad dexteram partem sequentis et statim disparuit. Qui illuc respiciens vidit tres arbores palmarum fontemque aque ac 80 speluncam modicam, et ait: "Ecce, locus quem preparavit michi Dominus." Et morabatur ibi annis sex solitariam vitam ducens. De eius autem conversatione sancta diabolus invidens quodam die sibi apparuit in similitudine cuiusdam abbatis. Quo viso timens procidit ad pedes eius et adoravit. Cum ergo didicit diabolus quod per sex annos ibi fuisset, respondit: "Cogitavi 85 hic manens quod vicino habitares quod irem ad te hominem Dei tecum de nostrarum animarum salute conferre. Et hac de causa, quia nichil hic proficimus in cellis sedentes eo quod corpus Christi non sumimus." Et sic illum excitavit ultra ad tria miliaria exire quasi ad quoddam monasterium habens presbiteros, ut corpus Christi sumeret. Quo cum perduxisset, disparuit. 90 Cum autem a fratribus cognovit quod diabolus esset, facta communione cum fratribus ad cellam [f. 182] rediit. Cui in brevi aparuit diabolus in habitu seculari sibi nuncians mortem patris et matris et quod pater sibi totam hereditatem dimisisset et omnia sua bona. Et sic eum ad seculum reduxit vivente patre et de exitu graviter illum arguente. Cum ergo non multum post in fornicacionem et alia vicia quamplurima incidisset, tandem inpenitens vitam hanc miserrime consummavit. 95

Nota etiam hic narrationem pro diaboli temptatione que habetur in *Vita*

his hook. Or further like the eagle who first pecks out the eyes of his prey and then tears its body to pieces. Hence Chrysostom says in Homily 50 of his *Imperfect Work*: "When he (that is, the devil) enters into a person, he does not at once lead him to sin but first lets him take pleasure in sin and binds him with carnal delight; then he leads him to sin and robs the clothes of his virtues, the gold of his understanding, the silver of God's words, the linen of his graces, and the riches of his other virtues, and thus leaves him a naked beggar." In one of his meditations Bernard says: "This is the one who engineers evil smoothly, who speaks cleverly, suggests craftily, deceives smartly, who breathes into us illicit stirrings and kindles poisonous thoughts, who stirs up war, fosters hatred, spurs on to gluttony, induces lust, instigates the desires of the flesh, prepares the occasions for sin, and never desists from tempting men's hearts with a thousand harmful skills."

Notice that he tempts especially those who live alone. An example is Eve, whom he approached first when she was by herself, in Genesis 3. Another is Goliath, who asked for single combat, in Kings 17; and similarly Christ when he was alone in the desert, Matthew 4. For this reason, Chrysostom says in Homily 13: "We must constantly keep company with others so that we may not be lightly captured by the devil; for he attacks most keenly where he sees people living by themselves." Other examples are: the bird who does not fly in a flock is quickly caught by the hawk; or when an army is scattered it gets wiped out by its enemies; or a beast outside its herd is more readily strangled by the wolf. In the same way, people in the solitary life become more easily a prey to the devil.

There is a story in *The Lives of the Fathers* about a young man who became a monk against his father's will. As he led a holy life, he soon went into the desert with his abbot's permission. Two monks led him on the way, but they were so exhausted by the heat that they had to rest and sleep. Then, lo, an eagle came, woke them with his wings, and then stood a little back from them. When the companions woke up, they told the monk: "It is your angel; follow him"; and he took his leave and followed the eagle. After three hours the eagle flew to the right of the monk who was following him and then disappeared. The monk looked after him and saw three palmtrees, a spring, and a small cave, and said: "Lo, the place which the Lord has prepared for me." And there he lived in solitude for six years. Now, as the devil was envious of his holy life, he appeared to him one day in the likeness of an abbot. When the monk saw him, he fell at his feet in fear and worshipped him. As the devil learned that he had been there for six years, he said: "As I live close by, I thought that since you are my neighbor I would come to you, a man of God, and talk with you about the salvation of our souls. The point is that we make no progress sitting here in our cells because we do not partake of the Body of Christ." Thus he blinded him into traveling more than three miles to a monastery where



100 *beati Andree*, quomodo quidam demon in specie cuiusdam mulieris pulcherrime quemdam episcopum temptavit in die sancti Andree, cuius festum omni anno devote celebrabat, et quomodo veniente sancto Andrea in specie peregrini ad portam elemosinam petente proposuit tres questiones. Prima hec: "Quid est minus spacium in quo Deus facit maius miraculum?" Et ipse respondit: "In facie hominis." Remisit aliam proponens questionem utrum alcius esset celum quam terra. Respondit quod terra, propter Christi humanitatem. Tercio adiecit, quantum distabat celum a terra. Qui cum respondisset ipsum melius scire eo quod diabolus erat et de celo ad terram et eciam ad infernum cadendo mensus fuisset, disparuit, et sic episcopum ab eius temptatione liberavit.

110 Item nota narrationem in *Vitas Patrum* de diabolo cui quidam senex obviabat in veste cribrata, ubi in quodam nodo pendeat ampulla. Asseruit in qualibet fuisse special(em) decoctio[nem] pro diversis peccatis; in una pro superbia, in alia pro ira, et sic de singulis.

115 [E]st autem de diabolo hominem invadente et ad plus instigante sicut de venatore pullos tigridis furanti inventos. Venator autem ille sibi tria specula pro- [f. 182v] vidit magna et rotunda et vadit ad locum ubi pulli commorantur. Cum ergo mater illorum perrexerit pro alimento querendo, venator illos capit et fugit. Set timens adventum matris cum sit animal velocissimum et forte, unum speculum proicit in via. Ad quod cum ipsa venerit et similitudinem in illo viderit, credit pullos [secum] habere. Set postea sciens se deceptam venatorem persequitur. Et ille secundum speculum, similiter et tercium in via proiciens ipsam ut prius decipit et sic occidendo pullos illesus ab ea trans(i)t.

120 Moraliter per istud animal tam forte et velox cum pullis suis intelligitur homo cum operibus virtuosis. Venator autem diabolus est, qui continue "circuit querens quem devoret." Ipse semper nititur furari pullos bonorum operum. Set homo est ita fortis quod contra voluntatem peccare per diabolum co(g)i non potest. Exemplum: Si enim aliquis applicaret gladium ad pectus alterius nec plus posset nocere, si tunc alius gratis curreret super gladium et se interficeret, certum est quod ipsemet sui interitus causa fuerit principalis, quamvis alius occasionalis. Revera sic diabolus non potest plus facere nisi offerre et applicare delectabilia ad sensus. Unde si homo huiusmodi admittat, ipsemet est causa sui interitus. Set quid facit diabolus contra hominem tam fortem? Revera utitur cautelis. Nam quando homo redit ad se cogitans de vita sua mala et de bonis operibus que incaute  
135 omiserat, cepit dolere. Statim proicit sibi primum speculum, hoc est, facit sibi unam rationem: "Tu es iuvenis et ideo adhuc potes stare in peccato et in senectute satis tempestive te corrigere." Ex cuius suggestione frequenter homo subtrahitur a bono. Set si [f. 183] talis homo cogitet apud se quod iuvenes moriuntur sicut senes, dicens apud se: "Hic non morabor, set

there were priests, so that he could receive the Body of Christ. And when he had led him there, he disappeared. Now, when the monk learned from the brethren that it was the devil, he received communion there and then returned to his cell. But a short while later the devil appeared to him again in secular clothing and reported the death of his father and mother, and that his father had left him the whole inheritance and all his possessions. And so the devil led him back to the world while his father was yet alive and criticized him sharply for leaving him. And not long afterwards he fell into fornication and many other sins, and at last he ended his life without repentance.

Notice here also a story about the devil's temptation which is found in *The Life of Blessed Andrew*. A demon tempted a certain bishop in the form of a very beautiful woman on the day of Saint Andrew, whose feast day the bishop used to celebrate devoutly every year. Also, when Saint Andrew arrived at the gate in the form of a pilgrim asking for alms, he put to him three questions. The first was: "What is the least thing in which God works the greatest miracle?" He answered, "In man's face." Then he asked another riddle and question, whether the sky was higher than the earth. He answered that it was the earth, because of Christ's human nature. And as the third question he added, how far heaven was from the earth. Then he answered that he knew this one quite well because he was the devil and had measured the distance when he fell from heaven to earth and further to hell; and with this he disappeared and left the bishop free of temptation.

Notice also the story in *The Lives of the Fathers* about a devil who met a desert father. He wore a garment full of holes, in each of which hung a vial, and he claimed that in each vial was a special potion for a different sin: one for pride, another for wrath, and so forth.

When the devil invades man and tries to stir him to sin, he acts like a hunter who tries to steal a tiger's cubs. Such a hunter takes three large round mirrors with him to the place where the cubs are. When their mother goes out in search of food, the hunter grabs the cubs and flees. But as he fears the mother's return, who is a very swift and strong animal, he places one mirror in her way. When she comes to it and sees her image in it, she believes her cubs are with her. But as she finds out that she has been deceived, she pursues the hunter. Then he puts the second and third mirrors similarly in her way to deceive her as before; and so he kills the cubs and gets away without harm.

Morally interpreted, this strong and swift animal and her cubs stand for man and his virtuous deeds. The hunter is the devil, who constantly "goes about seeking whom he way devour," for he is always trying to carry off the cubs of good deeds. But man is so strong that he cannot be forced by the devil to sin against his will. For example, if one person were to put a sword against another's chest without being able to do him any real harm, and the

- 140 adhuc pullos bonarum virtutum insequer," statim proic(it) aliud speculum  
dicens: "Tu es satis potens et omnia habes ad votum. Unde si Deus foret  
tibi offensus, non fieret ita bene tecum." Si ergo tunc cogitaverit penes  
se quod "divites moriuntur sicut et pauperes, ergo sic non possum manere,  
set ultra pullos virtutum sequ(ar)," statim diabolus proicit tertium specu-  
145 lum dicens: "Cogita de misericordia Dei, nam illi qui quondam erant pecca-  
tores maiores in terris, sicut Petrus, Paulus, et Magdalena cum ceteris,  
modo alciores regnant in celis." Et sic facit hominem dormire in peccatis  
et tandem finaliter interire.

- Modo restat ostendere quod ille rationes non concludunt. Quarum prima  
150 fuit: "Tu es juvenis, ergo," etc. Contra quam ait Bernardus: "Non est,  
inquit, aliquid in mundo quod ita accelerat (iudicium) sicut peccatum." Et  
ideo ait Psalmista: "Non dimidiabunt dies suos," supple peccatores. Et  
posito quod possent vivere diu eciam usque ad mille annos, adhuc quanto in  
155 malo diucius permanent, tanto magis (iudicium) aggravant et suam penam  
accumulant. Exemplum de sagittante, qui quanto alcius et forcius sagittam  
trahit, tanto gravius percutit et vulnerat. Quod eciam secunda ratio non  
valet, scilicet "Tu es dives," probat beatus Gregorius dicens: "Continuus  
successus temporalium bonorum divine reprobacionis est indicium." Exemp-  
160 plum de medico qui dat infirmo (de quo desperat) omnia que appetit aut placent  
sibi. Quod autem tertia ratio non valet, que fuit: "Cogita de misericordia  
Dei," probat ille qui ait: "Maledictus homo [f. 183v] qui peccat in spe."  
Et hic nota supra capitulum de misericordia Dei et de desperatione satis et  
alia ut placet.

2-6 sex . . . intemptat] *all MSS read sex. M has the following marginal addition: a sin-*  
*istris quando in adversis blasvemare et resistere facit; de sursum quando in beneplacitis et*  
*celestibus(?) facit gloriare et presumere(?) iactare. Group z reads the first three ways as C*  
*and then continues: quarto a sinistris quando facit hominem de adversitate nimium mur-*  
*murare; quinto a sursum quando facit hominem de bono opere nimium gloriari; sexto a de-*  
*orsum quando nos manifeste instigat et intemptat. 5 facit] movet O. 8 creavi] teram*  
*C.O; text B1 and source. 9 discamus] differamus C.M.W. suos] om O. 24 unde] om*  
*O. 28 satis bene] om O. 32 obturat] obdurat C. 39 Quinto] quando C.R.W. 42 com-*  
*mitabantur] comitabatur O. 43 quoddam corpus] quendam C. 46 multo] om O.*  
*50 proponit] add et O. facit] add et postea viscum C. sicut] om O. 56 aurum intel-*  
*lectus] ut aurum vitemus et C. 57 ceterarumque] ceterumque C.M.W. 59 argute] argu-*  
*mentive C. 67 Nos . . . debemus] oportet nos adinvicem continue congregari O.*  
*75 alis] alios C; animalis W. 77 illum] illam R.W. 83 timens] add alius O. 85 ma-*  
*nens] add iuxta O. quod] quia O. 86 hac de] hec O. 89 sumeret] sumeretur C.*  
*94 de] add suo O. arguente] corripiente O. 96 miserrime] om O. 100 veniente] adve-*  
*niente O. 102 spacium] om O. facit] fecit O. respondit] respondens O. 104 Re-*  
*spondit] qui respondens O. 106 et(2)] om O. 111 specialem decoctionem] specialis*  
*decoctio C. 122 transit] transiit C; pertransit O. 124 virtuosus] add sive viciosus O.*  
*127 cogi] conari C.M.W. 131 sensus] add nostros O. 135 omiserat] comiserat O.*  
*138 subtrahitur] retrahitur M.W; trahit se R. 140 proicit] proiciens C. 142 fieret] foret*

other then rushed onto the sword and killed himself, certainly the second person would be the principal cause of his death, even if the first were responsible for providing the occasion. In similar fashion, the devil cannot do any more than offer and hold up pleasing objects to our senses. If man accepts the offer, he himself is the cause of his death. But what does the devil do against man who has this much power? Well, he uses tricks. For when man comes to himself and thinks of his evil life and the good deeds which he had failed to do in his negligence, he begins to be sorry. Then the devil quickly puts the first mirror before him, that is, he rationalizes with him: "You are still young and may live in sin a little longer; when you are old, you can correct yourself fast enough." Such a suggestion often causes a man to withdraw from the good. But if he then thinks by himself that young people die as fast as old ones, he says: "I won't stay here but still follow my cubs of good virtues." Then the devil puts up the second mirror and says: "You are strong enough and have everything at your will. If God were angry with you, things would not go so well for you." If he then thinks within himself that, "The rich die just as the poor; therefore I cannot remain here, but I will follow the cubs of my virtues," the devil at once puts up the third mirror and says: "Think of God's mercy, for those who once were the greatest sinners on earth, such as Peter, Paul, Magdalene, and others, now reign the higher in heaven." And thus he causes man to sleep in his sins and finally to perish.

We now need to show that these arguments are invalid. The first was: "You are still young; therefore," and so on. Against this Bernard says: "Nothing in the world hastens judgment as much as sin does." Therefore, the Psalmist declares: "They shall not live out half their days," add: the sinners. Even if we assume that they could live as long as a thousand years, still the longer they lead an evil life, the heavier their judgment will be, and the greater their punishment. This is like shooting with bow and arrow: the more one draws the arrow, the more heavily it strikes and wounds. That the devil's second argument, "You are rich," is equally invalid is shown by Blessed Gregory when he says: "A continuous success in temporal matters is a sign of divine reprobation." An example for that we find in the physician who gives his patient everything he craves for or that pleases him, when he despairs of his recovery. And that the third argument, namely, "Think of God's mercy," is also invalid, is proven by him who says: "Cursed is the man who sins in hope." On this matter you can find more above in the chapter on God's mercy and on despair.

7 Cf. James. 1.13. 8 Isa. 54.16. 17-18 Perhaps 1 Macc. 5.47. 24-25 Wisd. 2.21. 33-35 Mark 7.31ff. 37-38 Matt. 12.43-45. 41-47 Tubach 2559, from VP VI.18 (PL 73:1014). 53-58 Ps.-Chrysostom, *Opus imperfectum*, hom. 51 (PG 56:925). 58-63 *Meditationes piissimae* XIII.35 (PL 184:505). 65 Gen. 3.1-5. 65-66 1 Sam. 17.8. 66 Matt. 4.1-10. 67-69 Chrysostom, *In Matthaeum*, hom. 13, 1 (PG 57:209).

O. 144 sequar] sequatur C. 146 Petrus] add et O. et] om O. cum ceteris] etc O. 147 modo] iam O. 149 ille] iste O. 151 iudicium] in deum C(?).M.W(?). 154 iudicium] in deum C(?).M.W(?). 158 bonorum] om O. 159 de quo desperat] desperato C. 160 sibi] om O. autem] eciam O.

### V.xxxvi DE CARITATE CONTRA DIABOLUM PUGNANTE

[C]ontra ergo hunc hostem caritas constanter se opponit et devincit, que secundum Augustinum est dulce vinculum quo sola mens ligatur, cuius dulcedo tanta est quod si eius minima gutta in infernum caderet, tota eius amaritudo in dulcedinem verteretur. Unde de ea pulcre ait Hugo *De laude caritatis*: “O, inquit, caritas, magnam vim habes. Tu enim sola Deum trahere potuisti ad terram. O ergo, quam forte est vinculum tuum, quo et Deus ligari potuit et homo ligatus vinculis tuis vincula iniquitatis dirupit.” Ista ergo caritas consistit in dilectione Dei, sui, et proximi, ita quod Deus diligatur supra [omnia; et postea anima propria supra omnia; et postea anima proximi supra] omnia temporalia; et tandem amicum in Deum, et inimicum propter Deum. Et certe tunc bene ordinatur caritas in homine iuxta illud Canticorum 2: “Ordinavit in me caritatem.”

Fertur autem in *Gestis Romanorum* quod cum semel a diis suis fuit quesitum quamdiu civitas illa in sua nobilitate duraret, responsum erat quod tamdiu ROMA litteris transversis apud eam maneret. Veritas autem hanc dictionem ROMA et tunc habebis AMOR, quasi diceret: quamdiu verus amor durat apud vos, n(umquam) corruet civitas vestra set capud et domina omnium aliarum permanebit, et e contrario; destructo enim amore, et civitas illa destruetur. Quo audito depinxerunt ymaginem Amoris ad modum puelle pulcherrime habentis capud discoopertum et hillarem vultum, omnibus pretendens pomum gestans in manu sic inscriptum: “Longe et prope,” quasi diceret: verus amor numquam deficit sive homo longe et a remotis [f. 184] partibus fuerit sive prope. In pectore vero dicte ymaginis scribebatur “Vita et mors,” quasi diceret: verus amor numquam deficiet neque in vita neque in morte. Quo facto sibi per ordinem hec quatuor offerebant: Primo aquilam, que alcius volat, in signum quod Deus super omnia ut predicatur sit diligendus. Secundo offerebant leonem, qui forte animal est, in signum quod peccatis resistendo teipsum fortissime diligis. Tercio optulerunt olivam virentem, in signum quod sicut arbor illa numquam marcessit, sic nec amor tuus erga proximum in caritate Dei. Et quarto pavonem, cuius natura est quod in maiori eius pompa glorians de pulcritudine pennarum saturam, quando scilicet prouior est ad vindictam, set cum tunc aspiciat pedes, tota sua pompa ac appetitus vindicte cessat; in signum quod quamvis in corde contra inimicum exaltatus fueris vindictam optans, si tunc oculum cordis ad pedes et terram defixeris, intime scilicet cogitans quod terra es sicut ipse, mox

72–96 VP V.24 (PL 73:897–900). 97–108 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, pp. 20–21. 109–112 VP III.61 (PL 73:769). 113–122 A widespread tale, from Ambrose, *Exameron* VI.iv.21 (PL 14:265). 125 1 Pet. 5.8. 152 Ps. 54.24. 162–163 FM V.xxxv and II.iv.

### V.xxxvi HOW CHARITY FIGHTS AGAINST THE DEVIL

Against this enemy, charity opposes herself firmly and overcomes it. According to Augustine, it is the sweet bond which binds the mind, and its sweetness is so great that if the smallest drop of it fell into hell, all hell’s bitterness would turn into sweetness. Hugh, in *The Praise of Charity*, speaks of it beautifully: “O charity, you have great power. You alone could draw God to earth. Oh how strong is your bond, by which even God could be bound, and man, once he was bound with your bonds, has broken the bonds of sin.” This charity consists in loving God, oneself, and one’s neighbor, so that God is loved above all things, and after him our own soul above all other things, and then the soul of our fellow man above all earthly goods, and finally our friend in God and our enemy for God’s sake. Then is charity surely well ordered in man, according to the words of Canticles: “He set in order charity in me.”

In *The Deeds of the Romans* it is reported that once when the gods had been asked how long the City would last in its glory, they answered: “As long as the name ROMA with its letters reversed remains with the City.” Reverse the word ROMA and you will get AMOR, as if the oracle were saying: as long as true love endures among you, your city will never fall but remain the head and queen of all others. And conversely, when love is destroyed, the City too will be destroyed. When they heard this, they painted an image of Love, like a beautiful maiden, with her head bare and a joyful face, offering to all an apple in her hand on which was written, “Far and near,” as if to say that true love never fails, whether one is far away or near. On the breast of this image was written, “Life and death,” to indicate that true love will never fail in life or in death. And then they offered her these four: first an eagle, who flies higher than other birds, to show that, as was said earlier, we must love God above anything else. Next they offered a lion, who is a strong animal, to show that you should love yourself most strongly by resisting sin. In the third place, they offered a green olive tree, to show that as this tree never withers, so must your charitable love for your fellow man not diminish. And in the fourth place they offered a peacock, whose characteristic is as follows: when in its glory it takes pride in its feathers—that is, when it is ready to work vengeance—, if it then looks at its feet, all its glory and desire for revenge goes away; and this indicates that however incensed you might be against your enemy and thirst for revenge, if you then direct the eye of your

perversa voluntas cessabit et inimicum diliges propter Deum, qui pro inimicis suis Patrem orabat dicens: "Pater, ignosce illis, quia nesciunt quid faciunt." Et nota quod si caro pavonis cocta et ad plenum assata fuerit, cito tamen post, puta in biduo aut triduo, cruda invenitur, in signum quod  
 40 quamvis coctus aut assatus fueris per ignem ire et vindicte erga inimicum, propter tamen Christum emollir(i) debes usque ad sanguinis effusionem, qui propter te in cruce sanguinem suum effudit. Et certe si sic feceris, tunc gestas coronam de quadrifolio fidelis amoris.

[þow loue God ouer all þing.  
 45 Syþyn þy selfe withowte synnyng.  
 Syþyn þy frende as kynd þe teche.  
 þan þy foo withouten wreche.]

Habita ergo hac caritate dictum hostem levissime devinces. Nichil enim est quod tantum timet sicut caritatem, secundum Hugonem super *Regulam sancti Augustini*, ubi dicit sic: "Si enim [f. 184v] distribuerimus totum quod habemus, hoc non timet diabolus quia ipse nichil possidet. Si ieiaverimus, hoc non timet, quia cibum non capit. Si vigilaverimus, inde non terretur, quia sompno non utitur. Set (dicit ipse) si caritate coniungimur, inde vehementer expavescit, quia hoc solum tenemus in terra quod ipse in  
 55 celo servare contempsit." Hec ille. Unde apud poetas fuit antiquitus solempne proverbium: "Amor vincit omnia, quia vincit Pana." Pana autem apud eos fingebatur Deus omnium vel Deus tocus, quem t(amen) fingunt ipsi poete captum et devictum amore Syrynge, cuiusdam puelle pulcherrime, ad modum quo dicimus Filium Dei devictum amore humane nature. Unde de caritate  
 60 Christi erga genus humanum nota satis parte 3, capitulo 4.

Patet ergo quomodo pre ceteris hec est forcior et maior. Quod tali poe(s) confirmare potestis. Fertur autem quod versus orientem in Lerna pal(u)de erat quidam serpens qui solo flatu omnem infecit aerem. Unde homines transeuntes intoxicabantur. Cum ergo semel quidam pastor serto coronatus et illesus pertransisset, et alius didicerat quod virtute illius serti sic evasit, idem rapuit, et statim pastor mortuus est. Quod audiens Mercurius a raptore sertum abstulit et ad pastorem mortuum accessit, in cuius ore flores illius singillatim imposuit. Et sic tandem virtute unius a morte surrexit. Moraliter in vita, mundi palude, manet serpens gravis humani generis hostis precipuus, scilicet diabolus, ex cuius flatu et malicia  
 70 omnes quasi per illum transeuntes inficiuntur. Quod advertens vir iustus sertum sibi facit de optimis floribus bonarum virtutum, quarum virtute [f. 185] ab eius malicia et veneno ill(es)us pertransit. Quod si casu sertum amiserit vel a se ablatum fuerit, per quod quasi spiritualiter moritur, venit Mercurius, Christus Filius Dei, et dictum sertum reducit et diversis  
 75

heart to the ground and to your feet, thinking within yourself that you are earth as he is, then your wrong desire will go away and you will love your enemy for God's sake, who prayed to God for his enemies, saying: "Father, forgive them, for they do not know what they are doing." Notice also that the peacock's flesh, though it has been cooked and fully broiled, shortly afterwards, namely in two or three days, is found to be raw again, as a sign that although you have been cooked or broiled in the fire of wrath and vengeance against an enemy, yet for Christ's sake you should become soft to the point of shedding your blood, for he has shed his blood on the cross for you. If you do this, then indeed you wear a crown of the quatrefoil of true love:

Love God above all other things,  
 Yourself next without sin,  
 And next your friend as nature wants,  
 Your en'my then without sting.

If you have this love, you will overcome your enemy the devil most easily. For he fears nothing so much as charity, according to Hugh in his comment on *The Rule of Saint Augustine*, where he says: "If we were to give away all we have, the devil is not afraid of that because he owns nothing. If we were to fast, he does not fear that either, because he takes no food. Nor if we were to wake is he afraid of that, because he does not use to sleep. But if we are joined in charity, of that he is violently afraid, because we have on earth the only thing which he refused to keep in heaven." For this reason, the ancient poets had a renowned saying: "Love conquers all, for love conquers Pan." Pan, among them, was held to be "the god of all" or "the god of everything." Yet the ancient poets imagine him as captured and overcome by his love for Syrinx, a most beautiful maiden, in the same way as we say the Son of God was overcome by his love for human nature. On Christ's charity toward mankind see part 3, chapter 4.

Therefore it is clear how among all the virtues charity is the strongest and greatest. This you can prove by the following poetic fable. It is said that in the swamp of Lerna in the East there was once a serpent who with its breath alone infected all the air so that men who passed by were poisoned. Now when once a shepherd who wore a wreath on his head passed by without getting hurt, and another shepherd understood that he had escaped the danger by virtue of that wreath, he took the wreath from him and the first shepherd died at once. When Mercury heard this, he took the wreath from the thief and went to the dead shepherd, into whose mouth he put flowers from it one by one. And thus he at last rose from death by the virtue of a single flower. In spiritual terms: In the swamp of this world lives the dangerous serpent, the foremost enemy of mankind, namely the devil, by whose breath and malice nearly all who

floribus illius per os cordis reficit illum, quia modo floribus humilitatis, modo floribus pietatis, modo floribus castitatis, et cetera huiusmodi. Si vero ad plenum per illos flores non revixerit, iterum apponit flores fidei et spei, et si nec tunc revixerit, tandem apponit flores caritatis, 80 ex cuius contactu statim ad vitam revertetur, eo quod ipsa caritas sit maioris virtutis omnium aliarum virtutum, iuxta illud Corinthiorum 13: "Nunc autem manent fides, spes, caritas, tria hec; maior autem horum est caritas."

Et nota quod per huiusmodi caritatem leviter diabolus vincunt et a se 85 expellunt, et hoc quadrupliciter. Primo cordis contricione et lacrimarum effusione, sicut mastivus de coquina aqua calida; Psalmista: "Contribula(s)ti capita draconis in aquis multus." Sic enim eieci erant de Magdalena septem demonia, idest septem peccatorum mortalium incitamenta, ut patet Luce 7. Secundo enim deicient fumo devocionis ex consideracione dominice 90 passionis. Non enim audet diabolus ibi remanere ubi vidit vexillum eius a quo devictus est, ad modum quo naturaliter solent homines odisse arma illa quibus parentes aut amici interfecti sunt. Et hic nota supra parte de nomine Iesu. Tercio, per opera penitencie et carnis afflictione, sicut ribaldus eicitur de hospicio magnatis; Proverbiorum 21: "Virga discipline 95 effugabit illam." Quarto, per ieiunium, sicut lupus per famem a (nemore); Matthei 18: "Hoc genus demoniorum non potest eici nisi in oracione et ieiunio." Et quinto per invocacionem nominis divini, sicut per incantacionem eicitur coluber de caverna; Matthei ultimo: "In nomine meo demonia eicient."

12 2] om O. 15 tamdiu] dummodo O; add hec dicio O. 16 tunc] istam M; om R; ista W. 17 numquam] nos C. 20 et] om O. 22 partibus] om O. 28 diligis] diliges O. 33 in(2)] om O. 37 orabat] exorabat O. 41 emolliri] emollire C. 42 effudit] fudit O. 44-47] [pov . . . wreche] text from R. Verse 51, in B1.B3.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 50 sancti] beati M.W; om R. 52 timet] metuit O. 57 tamen] tm C; om R. 59 quo] add nos O. 61-83 Patet . . . caritas] the whole passage had already been used in III.vi; om in R with reference usque ad finem. 62 poesi] poet. C.M; poete. 63 palude] pallide C; palide M.W. 66 evasit] evasisset M.W. 73 illesus] illius C. 75 et(2)] add de M.W. 84 vincunt] vincent O. 85 expellunt] expellent O. quadrupliciter] quintupliciter R. 86-87 Contribulasti] contribulanti C.R; conturbasti R; conturbati W. 88 incitamenta] om O. 95 nemore] venatore C. 96 potest eici] eicitur O. 99 eicient] add et hic nota de nomine iesu O.

pass by are infected. A just man who notices this makes for himself a wreath of the finest flowers of good virtues, by whose virtue he passes without being hurt by the devil's malice and poison. But if he perchance loses this wreath or it is taken from him, so that he as it were dies spiritually, Mercury comes, namely Christ, the Son of God, and brings the wreath back and heals him with its different flowers through the mouth of his heart, now with flowers of humility, now of piety, now of chastity, and thus with all the others. When he then has not yet fully revived through their virtue, he again gives him the flowers of faith and hope, and if he still does not come back to life, he finally gives him flowers of charity; as soon as he is touched by them, he returns to life, for charity has greater power than all the other virtues, according to Corinthians 13: "But now remain faith, hope, and charity, these three; but charity is the greatest of them."

And notice that through such charity they will easily overcome the devil and expel him from themselves, and this in four ways. First, by heartfelt contrition and the shedding of tears, as the mastiff is driven from the kitchen with hot water. The Psalmist says: "You crushed the heads of dragons in many waters." In this way the seven demons were cast out of Magdalene, that is, the urges of the seven deadly sins, as can be seen in Luke 7. Second, they will cast out the devil with the smoke of their devotion, by meditating on the Lord's Passion. For the devil does not dare remain where he sees the banner of him by whom he was defeated, just as men naturally hate the weapons with which their relatives or friends were killed; see above on the name of Jesus. Third, he is cast out through works of penance and mortification of the flesh, just as a bum is thrown out of a nobleman's household; Proverbs 21: "The rod of correction shall drive it away." Fourth, he is cast out through fasting, just as a wolf is driven from the wood by hunger; Matthew 18: "This kind of demons cannot be cast out except by prayer and fasting." And fifth, the devil is cast out through invoking God's name, as a snake is driven from a cave by an incantation; Matthew, near the end: "In my name they shall cast out demons."

2-7 See above, III.vi.22-31. 5-7 Hugh of St. Victor, *De laude caritatis* (PL 176:974). 12 Cant. 2.4. 13-19 Tubach 4123 (unique). 19-25 This image with inscriptions occurs also in: Bromyard, "Gratitudo," G.IV.9; Bromyard, *Distinctiones* (MS Bodley 859, fol. 109); and elsewhere. See B. Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1960), p. 180, n. 1; F. Saxl, "A Spiritual Encyclopaedia of the Later Middle Ages," *JWCI* 5 (1942), 100 and illustrations. 37-38 Luke 23.34. 43-47 The verses and the image of *quadrifolium amoris* were already used in III.ix.52-56. 50-55 Hugh of St. Victor, *Expositio in regulam beati Augustini* 1 (PL 176:883); from Gregory, *In Ezechielem*, hom. 1, viii.7 (CC 142:105). 55-83 Already used in III.vi.32-60. See notes to that chapter. 60 FM III.vi. 86-87 Ps. 73.13. 87-89 Luke 8.2. 92-93 FM III.vii. 94-95 Prov. 22.15. 96-97 Matt. 17.20. 98-99 Mark 16.17.



### V. xxxvii DE FORTITUDINE CONTRA DIABOLUM PUGNANTE

[A]d istum hostem igitur devincendum sicut domina ca- [f. 185v] ritas iam accedit virtus fortitudinis, que secundum Macrobius libro 1 est “(animum) s(uper) metum agere nichilque nisi turpia timere, fortiter tollerare adversa et prospera.” Cuius extrema sunt audacia et pusillanimitas, ut patet ex diffinitione 3 *Ethicorum* in fine, ubi dicit sic in opposito: “Fortitudo, inquit, est habitus medio modo se habens circa timores et audacias patienter sufferens.” Et nota quod aliquando videntur aliqui in principio adversorum nimis temerarii, audaces, et presumptuosi, sicut erat beatus Petrus, qui primo dixit Christo: “Si oportuerit me mori tecum, non te negabo,” et tamen paulo post imminente Christi passione unius ancille voce perterritus ter Dominum suum negavit. Similiter et “relicto eo omnes fugerunt,” sola Beata Virgine per triduum permanente fortiter in fide. De talibus ergo bene dicitur:

Acriores in principio franguntur in fine.

15 Et ideo iuxta consilium Sapientis: “Qui se existimat stare, videat ne cadat,” etc.

Set hic nota quod quidam sunt fortes corpore tantum, que fortitudo frequenter magis obest quam prodest, sicut patet in istis hastiludiantibus, luctantibus, et huiusmodi, ubi pro (parva) vana gloria exponunt se extremis periculis. Contra quos Ysaie 1: “Fortitudo vestra quasi favilla stuppe.” Et tamen fortes spiritu non sunt, quia nichil pro Deo et propria salute sustinere possunt. Et certe huiusmodi fortitudo non est virtus, set potius debilitas spiritus et occasio viciorum. Contra quod Corinthiorum: “Quando infirmor,” scilicet corpore, “tunc forcior sum,” scilicet mente; “nam virtus in infirmitate perficitur.” Verumptamen si una alteri copuletur, laudabilior est condicio. Qualis fuit David qui dicebat: “Fortitudinem meam ad te custodiam,” scilicet, ante adventum inanis glorie illam confirmavi.

Et certe huiusmodi fortitudo reddit hominem magna- [f. 186] nimum, patientem, perseverantem. Magnanimum quidem corde, ore, opere, que patent in detestando vilitatem, in profitendo veritatem, et in aggrediendo arduitatem. Exemplum autem magnanimitatis, scilicet in detestando vilitatem, ponit Seneca in quadam epistola dicens: “Est, inquit, proprium hominis habere excelsum et gloriosum spiritum querentem ubi honeste vivat, non ubi tutissime.” Per quod patet quod maxime debet homo dedignari subici vilibus et maxime peccatis; unde alibi dicit idem Seneca: “Si, inquit, scirem deos ignoscituros et homines ignoraturos, ego peccare dedignerer quia,” ut ait *Epistula* 48, “ad maiora natus sum quam ut sim mancipium corporis mei.” Hec ille. Exemplum secunde magnanimitatis, silicet in profitendo veritatem,

### V. xxxvii HOW FORTITUDE BATTLES AGAINST THE DEVIL

In order to overcome this enemy, as Lady Charity does, the virtue of strength also comes to our aid, which according to book 1 of Macrobius is the courage to act in danger without fear, to dread nothing but shameful things, and to bear bravely with ill as with good fortune. Its opposite extremes are foolhardiness and cowardice, as one can see from the definition given at the end of book 3 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, where its author says: “Strength is the habit that lies in the middle between fear and foolish bravery, enduring all things patiently.” Notice that sometimes people appear to be very courageous, brash, even presumptuous at the beginning of their misfortune, as Peter was when he first said to Christ, “If I had to die with you, I will not deny you,” and yet a little while later, when Christ’s Passion was threateningly close, he denied his lord three times, frightened to death by a word from a servant girl. In the same way, “they all left him and fled,” except for the Blessed Virgin, who remained firm in her faith during the three days. Of such people it is well said:

Those who are keenest at start yet break in the end.

Therefore, according to the counsel of the wise man, “He who thinks that he is standing, let him take heed lest he fall,” and so forth.

But notice that some people are strong only in their bodies. This kind of strength is often more a spiritual disadvantage than an advantage, as one can see in people who fight in tournaments or wrestle and the like, where they expose themselves to extreme dangers for the sake of a little vainglory. Against them it is said in Isaiah 1: “Your strength shall be as the ashes of tow.” And yet these are not strong in the spirit, for they cannot suffer anything for God and their own salvation. This kind of strength surely is not a virtue but rather a spiritual weakness and an occasion for sin. Against such people it is said in Corinthians: “When I am weak,” namely in the body, “then am I more powerful,” namely in my spirit, “for power is made perfect in infirmity.” But when both kinds of strength are joined together, then a man’s state is most praiseworthy. David was such a person, who said: “I will keep my strength to you,” that is: I have established it before the coming of vainglory.

Such strength surely makes a person magnanimous, patient, and persevering. Magnanimous in his heart, mouth, and deed, because he will scorn everything base, profess the truth, and bravely tackle difficult tasks. An example of magnanimity in scorning what is base is given by Seneca in a letter where he says: “It is proper for a man to have a high-minded and noble spirit that seeks where he may live in honor rather than in the greatest security.” Therefore a person must refuse absolutely to subject himself to baseness and especially to sin. For this reason Seneca says elsewhere: “Even if I knew that



patet eo quod cicius antiqui maluerunt dicendo veritatem mori quam tacita  
 40 veritate vivere. Unde Valerius libro 6 narrat de quadam muliere inmerito  
 dampnata a Philippo rege temulento, que dixit: "Provocarem ad Philippum,  
 set ad sobrium." Qua voce excussit ei crapulam et coegit facere sibi sen-  
 tenciam iustiore causa diligencius inspecta. Idem eciam narrat de quadam  
 45 muliere pro incolumitate Dionisii tyranni orante, omnibus aliis eius mortem  
 optantibus. Qui cum quesisset ab ea quo merito sui hoc fecisset, respondit:  
 "Cum puella essem et haberem gravem tyrannum, eo carere cupiebam. Quo  
 interfecto gravior arcem occupavit, set et eius mortem optavi. Quo eciam mor-  
 tuo, tercium inportuniorum habere cepimus. Timens ergo ne si tu assumptus  
 fueris cum omnium predictorum pessimus es, deterior te succedat." Exem-  
 50 plum terci magnanimitatis, scilicet in arduorum aggressione, satis patet in  
 istis sanctis patribus, martiribus, confessoribus, virginibus, qui propter  
 Christum et fidem mori non timebant, etc.

[f. 186v] Secunda pars virtutis fortitudinis est paciencia, que secun-  
 dum Tullium, *Prima rhetorica* libro 2, est honestatis aut utilitatis causa  
 55 rerum arduarum voluntaria perpessio. Et huiusmodi paciencia in hiis quatuor  
 specialius consistit, scilicet in sustinencia contumeliarum in verbis, in  
 longanimi perpessione penarum in corporibus, in remissione iniuriarum in  
 molestacionibus, et in moderacione disciplinarum in correctionibus. [Exem-  
 plum primi libro 3 *De nugis philosophorum* de Augusto Cesare, cui cum quidam  
 60 diceret: "O tyranne!" pacienter respondit dicens: "Si esset, non diceres."] Item  
 ibidem narratur quod Aristopus cuidam sibi maledicenti respondit: "Ut  
 tu lingue tue, sic ego aurium mearum dominus sum," quasi diceret: sicut tu  
 potes lingua tua mala loqui, sic ego pacienter auribus meis audire possum.  
 Ibidem e(ciam) legitur quod Anticanes respondit cuidam sibi maledicenti:  
 65 "Facile est in me maledicere, et ego didici maledicta contempnere." Item  
 libro 5 *De nugis philosophorum* dicitur quod Alcibiade Socratem interrogante  
 quare uxorem suam iurgiosam non cohercebat, respondit: "Cum, inquit, talem  
 domi perpetior, insuesco et excercitor ut ceterorum iniuriam facilius  
 feram, et ideo illam domi molestam sustineo." Secundo paciencia consistit  
 70 in penarum perpessione in corporibus, sicut satis patuit in sanctis marti-  
 ribus, quibus propter spem future glorie mors, que est ultimum terribilium,  
 erat desiderabilis. Item eciam patuit antiquis temporibus, prout recitat  
 Valerius libro 6 de Theodoro Cyreneo quem cum Lis[i]machus misisset cruci-  
 figi respondit: "Terribile hoc fuit purpuratis tuis. Ossa mea autem nichil  
 75 interest ° humi an in sublimi putrescere." Idem eciam narrat libro 3 de  
 Cleonide nobili Sp(artano), qui cum trecentis civibus tantum pugnavit cum  
 Xerse rege Persarum pro libertate paterno, quos alacri animo exhortatus est  
 ipso prandente dicens: "Commilitones mei, prandete tamquam [f. 187] apud  
 80 inferos cenaturi," quasi diceret: nichil restat nisi mors; ideo pacienter  
 sustinete. Hec ille. Tercio paciencia consistit in iniuriarum remissione.

the gods would forgive me and that men would never know about it, I would still  
 refuse to sin because," so he says in *Letter 48*, "I was born for greater things  
 than to be the slave of my body." An example of magnanimity in professing the  
 truth can be found in that the ancients would rather die for telling the truth  
 than live by hiding it. Hence Valerius, in book 6, reports of a woman who was  
 unjustly condemned by King Philip as he was intoxicated. She said: "I would  
 challenge Philip, but when he is sober." With this word she brought him back  
 to soberness and forced him to give her a more just judgment after examining  
 her case more carefully. The same writer tells of a woman who prayed for the  
 well-being of the tyrant Dionysius when everyone else was asking for his death.  
 As Dionysius asked her for what reason she did so, she replied: "When I was a  
 girl and lived under a harsh tyrant, I wanted to be rid of him. When he died,  
 another one took his castle who was even harsher, and again I wished for his  
 death. Now when this one was dead, we got an even more cruel one. So now I am  
 afraid that if you, who are the worst of the ones we have had, are taken away,  
 another may follow who is even worse." And an example of the third kind of  
 magnanimity, that is, in tackling difficult tasks, can be easily found in our  
 holy fathers, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, who were not afraid to die for  
 Christ and their faith.

The second aspect of the virtue of strength is patience; according to  
 Cicero, in book 2 of the *First Rhetoric*, it is the voluntary endurance of  
 hardships for the sake of honor and usefulness. Such patience consists espe-  
 cially in four things: in sustaining verbal offenses, in the long-suffering  
 endurance of bodily pains, in forgiving one's injuries and harm, and in being  
 lenient when giving punishment. An example of the first occurs in book 3 of  
*The Philosophers' Trifles*: when someone said, "O you tyrant!" to Caesar Augus-  
 tus, he patiently replied with: "If I were a tyrant, you would not tell me  
 so." In the same book it is reported that Aristoppus replied to someone that  
 was cursing him: "As you are master of your tongue, so am I of my ears,"  
 meaning: as you can speak evil with your tongue, so can I hear it patiently  
 with my ears. And we read further in the same book that Anticanes replied to  
 one who was cursing him: "It is easy to curse me, and I have learned to scorn  
 curses." And in book 5 of *The Philosophers' Trifles* it is said that when Alci-  
 biades asked Socrates why he did not chastise his shrewish wife, he answered:  
 "As I suffer from her at home, I get used and ready to bear the offenses of  
 others abroad more easily, and thus I bear with my shrewish wife at home." The  
 second aspect of patience, the suffering of pains, can be found in the holy  
 martyrs, to whom death, the last of all fearful things, was desirable because  
 of their hope for future glory. Such virtue also appeared in ancient times, as  
 Valerius reports in book 6 about Theodore of Cyrene: when Lysimachus ordered  
 him to be crucified, he said: "This may be terrible for you in your purple,  
 but my bones do not care whether they rot in the earth or on the gallows." The

Unde Cithoro de laude Cesaris ait quod nichil solet Cesar oblivisci nisi iniurias. Et secundum Augustinum, *Epistula 5*, non solum obliviscitur sapiens iniuriarum set negat illas sibi illatas. Unde Seneca libro 3 *De ira* narrat de Socrate quod cum iret per civitatem et esset c(ola)pho percussus, nichil amplius fertur dixisse nisi quod molestum esset quia nescirent homines quando cum galea aut sine deberent prodire. Ibidem etiam dicitur de Diogene causam agente cum Lentulo, et ipse attracta saliva in fronte eius (media) quantum poterat spuisset, pacienter faciem abstersit dicens: "Affirmabo, inquit, omnibus, o Lentule, falli eos qui te os habere negant."

85  
90 Quarto paciencia in disciplinarum moderacione in correctionibus. Unde Valerius libro 4 ait quod Architas Tarentinus cum advertisset eius rura per negligenciam villici corrupta et deperdita, intuens illum: "Supplicium, inquit, sumpsissem a te nisi essem iratus." Maluit enim ipsum inpunium dimittere quam propter iram iniuste gravius punire. Ista ergo de fortitudine et paciencia et huiusmodi quamplura nota in *Breviloquio* Valensis, nota supra, parte 4, capitulo satis.

Tercia autem pars virtutis fortitudinis est perseverancia, que secundum Tullium *Prima rhetorica* est in racione boni constituta stabilis et perpetua permansio. Et per hanc fit homo immobilis, ut non frangatur adversitatibus nec extollatur in prosperitatibus nec terreatur comminacionibus nec flectetur (pro)missionibus. Unde secundum expositorem Boecii *De consolatione Philosophie*, philosophi antiquitus posuerunt duo dolia in limine domus dei Iovis, de quibus utroque op(orteba)t intrantes bibere vinum amarum et aliud dulce. Moraliter hec domus mundus est, duo [f. 187v] dolia prosperitas et adversitas, de quibus necesse est ubicumque mundum intrantes gustare. Quam ergo necessaria est perseverancia ostendit Crisostomus dicens: "Tolle, inquit, perseveranciam, nec obsequium mercedem habet nec beneficium gracias nec laudem." Quia secundum Bernardum perseverancia est summi regis filia singularis, virtutum finis, et consummatio. Matthei 8 dicitur: "Qui (autem) perseveraverit usque in finem," supple in bono, "hic salvus erit," et per consequens per illam diabolus vincit.

105  
110  
115 Ex predictis ergo satis patet de accidia et eius contrario, scilicet de occupacione sancta, similiter de bello spirituali contra mundum, carnem, et diabolus, de quibus iam dicta ad presens sufficiunt. Et sic terminatur quinta pars huius libelli.

1 igitur] ergo O. 2-3 animum] omnium C. 3 super] sic C.R.W; sine M. 5 ubi] ut O. 19 parva] una C. 27 ante] om O. 28-31 magnanimum . . . arduitatem] in M and W arranged as a schema of three coordinated triads; but the following development shows that the second and third triads (ore in profitendo . . . , opere in detestando . . . ) also apply to magnanimum rather than to patientem and perseverantem respectively. 30 et] om O. 32 quadam] om O. 35 idem] om O. 38 secunde] similiter O. 52 etc.] om O.

same writer tells in book 3 of the noble Spartan Leonidas, who with his three hundred citizens fought against Xerxes, king of the Persians, for the freedom of his country; he exhorted his troops with cheerful heart, saying: "Eat, my comrades, as if you were dining in the underworld," as if to say: nothing is left but death, therefore endure it with patience. The third aspect of patience is the forgiveness of our injuries. Cicero, in his praise of Caesar, says that Caesar used to forget nothing except his injuries. And according to Augustine in *Letter 5*, a wise man not only forgets his injuries but denies that he ever received any. Thus, Seneca in book 3 of *On Anger* tells of Socrates that, when he was walking through the city and received a blow in his face, he reportedly said nothing further than that it was tedious not to know when one should go out with a helmet. In the same book we read that when Diogenes conducted a lawsuit against Lentulus, the latter spat as hard as he could in the middle of his face; Diogenes patiently wiped his face and said: "I shall affirm before everybody, O Lentulus, that those are mistaken who declare you have no mouth." And the fourth aspect of patience is to be lenient in giving punishment. Valerius in book 4 says that Archytas of Tarent, when he realized that his fields were ruined and destroyed through the negligence of his steward, looked at him and said: "I would give you a hard punishment if I were not so angry." For he would rather let him go unpunished than punish him severely in unjust anger. This and more material on strength and patience and the like can be found in the *Breviloquium* by John of Wales, and also above, part 4.

The third aspect of the virtue of strength is perseverance; according to Cicero in his *First Rhetoric*, this is the virtue of remaining firm and stable in pursuit of the good. Through it, a person becomes unmoveable so that he is neither broken by adversity nor made proud by prosperity, and neither frightened by threats nor bent by promises. According to the commentator on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, in ancient times two vats were placed at the threshold of the temple of Jupiter, and all who entered had to drink from both, some bitter wine as well as some sweet. Morally interpreted, this temple is the world, and the two vats are prosperity and adversity, from both of which it behooves all who come into this world to drink. How much, then, it is necessary to have perseverance, Chrysostom shows us when he says: "Take perseverance away and obedience will have no merit, nor will a good deed get thanks or praise." For according to Bernard, perseverance is the unique daughter of the king on high and the end and consummation of the virtues. And in Matthew 8 it is said: "He who perseveres unto the end," add: in the good, "he shall be saved," and therefore he overcomes the devil through perseverance.

Thus we have learned about sloth and its opposite virtue, namely holy activity, and likewise about the spiritual combat against the world, the flesh, and the devil, of which enough has now been said. And thus ends part 5 of this book.

57 longanimi] longanima O. 58 et] om O. 61 quod] om O. 64 eciam] et C.  
 68 ceterorum] add fore M.W; fero R; foris B1. 70 in corporibus] om O. 75 interest]  
 add et C. 76 Spartano] sportivo C. 77 Xerse] exerse O. paterno] paterna R; patrie  
 B1. 78 ipso prandente] om O. 83 illas] eas O. 84 colapho] calopho C. 88 media] in  
 eo C. 89 Lentule] lentille O. 90 in correctionibus] om O. 94 iniuste] iuste M.R; iusto  
 W. 99 immobilis] corr from immortalis C; immortalis O; immobilis B1. 101 promissionibus]  
 commissionibus C. 103 oportebat] optabant C; oportebant W. 110 autem] ait  
 C.

The following material in this chapter occurs also almost verbatim in John of Wales, *Breviloquium*: lines 2–7, [28–29], 29–49 (IV.1); 53–69 (IV.3); 69–70, 71–79 (IV.4); 80–89 (IV.5); 90–94 (IV.6). 2–4 Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* I.viii.7. Some MSS add here definitions from *Ad Herennium* and Cicero's *De inventione*. 6–7 Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* II.3 (1105a). 9–10 Matt. 26.35. 10–11 Matt. 26.69–75. 11–12 Matt. 26.56. 15–16 1 Cor. 10.12. 20 Isa. 1.31. 23–25 2 Cor. 12.10. 26–27 Ps. 58.10. 35–36 This quotation is often, as here, coupled with the following and attributed to Seneca; e.g., Chaucer, *Parson's Tale* 144–45 and its source, Raymundus, *Summa* III. xxxiv.9 (p. 443); Roger Bacon, *Moralis philosophia*, ed. F. Delorme and E. Massa (Zurich, 1953), p. 56. 37 Seneca, *Ep. morales* LXV.21. 40–43 Valerius, VI.ii.ext.1. 43–49 *Ibidem*, ext.2. 54–55 Cicero, *De inventione* II.53. 59–61 *Policraticus* III.14 (1:227). 61–62 *Ibidem* (1:223–24). 64–65 *Ibidem* (1:224); the text combines several separate quotations from *Policraticus*. 66–69 *Ibidem*, V.10 (1:327). 73–75 Valerius, VI.ii.ext.3. 76–80 *Ibidem*, III.ii.ext.3. 81–82 Cicero, *Oratio pro Q. Ligario* 35, cited by Augustine, *Ep. 138* II.9 (PL 33:529). 84–86 Seneca, *De ira* III.xi.2. 86–89 *Ibidem*, III.xxxviii.2. 91–94 Valerius, IV.i.ext.1. 95 See above, headnote to this chapter. 96 The reference must be to *FM* IV.vi–vii. 98–99 Cicero, *De inventione* II.53. 101–104 Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* II, pr. 2, 13 (CC 94:20). 107–108 Bernard, *Ep. 129* 2 (7:323). 108–109 Bernard, *De diversis* XLI.10 (6.1:251). 110–111 Matt. 10.22.

## PARS VI

### De gula

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#### VI.i DE GULA

[C]ompleta autem particula 5 de accidia, que est prima filia carnis, et de occupacione sancta eius contraria ac illam extirpante cum suis membris, restat iam sexto pertractare de domina Gula, secunda filia carnis, primo, et secundo de contrario, scilicet de abstinentia. Circa autem vicium  
5 gule sic consequenter intendo procedere: primo, quid sit gula et quomodo diffinitur; secundo, que sunt eius species ex quibus cognoscitur; tercio, quare contemptibilis est et iuste contempnitur.

Est autem gula secundum Hugonem *De sacramentis*, libro [2, parte] 13, capitulo 2, “immoderatus appetitus edendi,” quam necessario evacuare oportet si virtutes meritorias affectamus. Dicit enim *Glossa* super Matthei 4:  
10 “In pugna Christi primo contra gulam agitur, quia nisi prius hec refruentur, frustra contra alia vicia laboratur.”

#### VI.ii DE SPECIEBUS GULE

Eius autem species in hiis versibus connotantur:

Prepropere, laute, nimis ardentem, studiose.  
Sic Ionathas, populus, Sodomita, Seyrque sacerdos.

Prima species est prepropere, hoc est, tempore indebito et extra horam,  
5 sicut fecit Ionathas, de quo Regum 14, pro quo maledictionem patris incurrit et morti addictus est. [f. 188] Nec tamen ultra comedit nisi quod summitate virge in melle intinxit. Quid ergo de gulosis dicendum est qui

## PART VI

### Gluttony

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#### VI.i THE NATURE OF GLUTTONY

After completing part 5 on sloth, the first daughter of the flesh, and its opposite virtue which uproots her, that is, holy activity and its members, we now turn in part 6 to Lady Gluttony, the second daughter of the flesh, and then to her opponent, Abstinence. Concerning the vice of gluttony I plan to proceed as follows: first to see what it is and how it is defined; second, what its branches are by which it can be recognized; and third, why it is contemptible and how it is rightly to be scorned.

According to Hugh in *On the Sacraments*, book 2, part 13, chapter 2, gluttony is “the intemperate desire to eat,” of which we must necessarily rid ourselves if we wish to gain meritorious virtues. For the *Gloss* says on Matthew 4: “Christ’s first battle is against gluttony, for unless we bridle this vice first, we struggle in vain against the others.”

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9 Hugh of St. Victor, *De sacramentis* II.xiii.1 (PL 176:526). 11–12 *Glossa ordinaria* on Matt. 4.2 (5:15v.E).

#### VI.ii THE KINDS OF GLUTTONY

Gluttony’s branches are listed in the following lines:

Too soon, too rich, too eagerly,  
And food too well prepared:  
Thus Jonathan, the Israelites,  
Sodom, and Seyr the priest.

The first branch is eating too soon, that is, at an improper time or other than the set hour. Thus did Jonathan, in Kings 14, and thereby incurred his father’s

diebus abstinentie ieiunia frangunt, et hoc non tantum bis vel ter in die, set de vespere usque ad mediam noctem? Revera iuxta propheciam Ysaie 5 merces talium est hec: "Ve, ve, qui surgitis mane ad ebrietatem sectandam et vinum potandum usque ad vesperam." Istud ergo "ve" hortatur precavendum Ecclesiasticus: "Cogitavi in corde meo abstrahere vinum a carne mea." Nam per nimiam gulam vini adquiritur corporis corruptio. Nam ° corpus corrumpit quicquid infunditur, sicut vas corruptum liquorem reddit ° fetidum aliquatenus e(i) infusum, quod per exitum gustus aperte probatur; Ioelis 2: "Ululate qui bibitis vinum in dulcedine; perit enim ab ore vestro." Inde enim est quod plus fetet os gulosi quam maximus fimarius, iuxta illud Apocalipsis 9: "Ascendit fumus pute(i) abissi ut fumus fornacis magne." O quam abhominabile et mirabile quod voluptas gutturis, que tanti hodie estimatur, vix duorum digitorum habet latitudinem, nec durat delectatio nisi quantum durat transitus ille! Unde Proverbiorum 23: "Ne intuearis vinum quando fla(v)escit cum splenderit in vitro; ingreditur enim blande" ° —ecce pacificus ingressus— "set in fine mordebit ut coluber," etc.

Secunda species est nimis laute pasci, sicut fuit de populo Israel, ut patet Numeri 11, ubi dicitur quod cum haberent in deserto copiam manne omne delectamentum habentis, adhuc optabant substanciam carnis, porra, (pepones), et huiusmodi. Et ideo de istis Psalmista ait: "Adhuc esce eorum [f. 188v] [erant] in ore ipsorum, et ira Dei ascendit super eos."

Tercia species est nimis ardentem et nimis avidem comedere, sicut fecerunt Sodomite, quorum ruina ab ocio et nimi(a) habundancia incepit. Unde ex hoc proprie accidit crapula, scilicet quando quis sumit plus quam possit bene et congrue digerere. Per quod contingit frequenter vomitum facere; Ysaie 28: "Omnes mense eorum replete sunt vomitu."

Quarta species gule est nimis studiose cibaria preparare, sicut fecit Seyr aut Esau, de quo Genesis 25 legitur quod propter edulium lentis vendidit primogenita sua, quod avidissime comedit.

Et tamen iuxta Psalmistam tales "famem patientur ut canes." Unde Ieronimus: "Voluptas, inquit, habita famem non saturitatem parit." Et hoc est quod dixit filius prodigus: "Fame perego," Luce 10. Ad litteram enim verum est de illo qui se inebriat vespere, quod necessario siciet in sequenti mane; unde Proverbiorum 23 dicitur: "Quando evigilabo et rursus vina reperiam?" etc. Deinde scitit [usque] ad prandium nisi prius bibat. Idem etiam accidit de esurie. In prandio enim non cessat esuries, eo quod non habet que vellet vel preparata ut vellet. Unde Augustinus: "Ubi cumque enim caro querit refectionem, invenit defectionem." Nam etsi habuerit quantum ad cibaria que, quanta, et qualia optat, tunc deficiet sibi venter aut saccus. Et nota quod nulla ratione potest talis esse sine fame. Nam ex defectu famis, quando venter eius nimium repletur, tunc oportet ire spaciatum, ut sic esuriat et famem querat et quasi (venatur); Ecclesiastici 28: "Noli

curse and was condemned to death, and yet he did not eat anything more than what little honey he had gotten with the tip of his staff. What then shall we say of those gluttons who break their fast on days of abstinence and eat not only twice or three times a day but from evening till midnight? Indeed, according to the prophecy in Isaiah 5, their reward is this: "Woe to you that rise up early in the morning to follow drunkenness, and to drink till the evening." Against this "woe" Ecclesiastes warns us as follows: "I thought in my heart to withdraw wine from my flesh." For too much wine leads to the body's ruin. The body ruins whatever one puts into it, just as a bad container gives the liquid poured into it a bad smell, as one can clearly experience by its aftertaste; Joel 2: "Mourn, all you who drink sweet wine; for it is cut off from your mouth." For that reason the mouth of a glutton reeks worse than the biggest dunghill, according to Revelation 9: "The smoke of the bottomless pit arose as the smoke of a great furnace." Oh how abominable and astonishing it is that the lust of the palate, which nowadays is held in such esteem, hardly extends over two fingers' breadth and lasts just as long as it takes food to pass by it! Hence Proverbs 23: "Look not upon the wine when it is yellow, when it shines in the glass; it goes in pleasantly"—behold, a peaceful beginning—"but in the end it will bite like a snake."

The second branch is eating food that is too rich, as the people of Israel did. This can be seen in Numbers 11, where it is reported that although they had plenty of manna in the desert, full of all delight, they still hankered after meat, leeks, cucumbers, and the like. And therefore the Psalmist says of them: "As yet their meat was in their mouth, and the wrath of God came upon them."

The third branch is eating too eagerly and too avidly, as the Sodomites did, whose destruction began with their idleness and an overabundance of food. From this branch comes overindulgence, that is, taking more food than one can easily and naturally digest. This vice frequently leads to vomiting; Isaiah 28: "All their tables are full of vomit."

The fourth branch of gluttony is to prepare one's food too elegantly, as Seyr did, or else Esau, of whom we read in Genesis 25 that he sold his birthright for a dish of lentils, which he ate most eagerly.

And yet, according to the Psalmist, such people suffer hunger like dogs. Hence Jerome says: "When our desire is fulfilled, it does not lead to satiety but to more hunger." It is for this reason that the Prodigal Son said: "I perish with hunger," Luke 15. This is literally true of a person who gets drunk at night: the next morning he will naturally be thirsty. Whence it is said in Proverbs 23: "When shall I awake and find wine again?" And thereafter he suffers thirst until dinner unless he drinks before that. The same also applies to hunger; for hunger does not cease when one is eating, because one does not get what one wants or as one wants it prepared. Therefore Augustine

- 50 *avidus esse in omni epulacione.*” Cuius aviditatis signa sunt hec: avide sumere cibum, tremore manuum arripere cibum, frustrum tenere in manu aut bolum, et effusio vultus hinc inde super cibum, sorbere immasticatum.
- [f. 189] Et revera tales sunt, ut dicit Apostolus Ad Ephesios 3, “quorum deus venter est, et gloria in confusione.” Et adverte: Solent enim
- 55 antiquitus homines diis suis templa construere, altaria erigere, ministros ad serviendum ordinare, sacrificia immolare, thura concremare, et oraciones fundere. Revera sic ad propositum templum sive ecclesia dei ventris et gule est coquina. Campane in illa sonantes sunt pueri coquorum assaturam proclamantes ac cocturam et huiusmodi. Altare est mensa. Calix cum phialis est
- 60 ciphus cum ollis et tancardis. Ministri sunt ipsimet socii. Sacrificia sunt pecudes immolate et similiter carnes assate et cocte. Fumus incensi est sapor et odor ciborum. Oracio vero duplex: una autem ante saturitatem est hec: “Utinam dupplicem ventrem haberem!” et alia post, quando venter fere rumpitur, et est hec: “A, bely, mercy, bely, mercy!”
- 65 Set forte dicis: “Cuius figure est iste deus ventris et gule?” Revera, ut videtur, bene potest formari et depingi cum capite porci primo, nam sicut porcus in omnibus fedis capud et os ponit, sic gulosi omnia volunt temptare, quia modo vinum, modo servisiam, modo medonem, et frequenter, velud sus, feces calidatas. Secundo depingitur cum ventre sanguissuge,
- 70 cuius natura est quod cicius frangitur quam saciatur. Et ideo, ut videtur, in ventre eorum est ignis ille “qui numquam dicit ‘sufficit’ ” set omnia consumit, Proverborum 30. Et tercio depingitur cum posteriore parte asini, qui est animal luxuriosissimum, in signum quod luxuria est finis et conclusio gule. Et de luxuria una aliam sequitur sicut uxor virum. Quia cum tales
- 75 fuerint inebriati, tunc oportet visitare prostibula et omnem angulum ville circa mulieres tam uxoratas quam solutas, nec curant nisi ut vilissima eorum libido compleatur. Et sic generant hanc prolem (male)dictam: liti-gium, fur- [f. 189v] tum, mendacium, homicidium, periurium, contemptum Dei, et negligenciam sui. Quorum autem angelus diabolus, “et sunt potentes a
- 80 seculo viri famosi,” Genesis 6. Unde congrue dicitur Ieremie 5: “Saturavi eos et mechati sunt.” “Quamdiu,” ut dicit Ieronimus, “Eva in paradiso abstinuit se, virgo fuit. Quamcito preceptum Domini comedendo de vetito violavit, corruptionem sensit.” Et hoc est quod dicit Augustinus: “Minus, inquit, nobis nocet princeps extorquendo pecuniam quam venter suscipiendo
- 85 escam,” supple voluptuose. Ipse enim extorquendo nos alleviat, iste vero suscipiendo nos inflat et inflammat. Et qui vult temptacionibus carnis resistere, faciat sicut cocus providus facit quando olla bullit. Ipse vero ne pinguedo exeat, materiam ignis retrahit. Sic tu materiam luxurie retrahere, idest superfluitatem ciborum. Vel sicut facit nutrix quando vult puerum
- 90 ablactare, ponit super mammillam aliquod amarum. Sic qui luxuriam vult resecare, amaritudinem abstinentie adhibeat, etc.

says: “Wherever our body seeks refreshment, it finds something lacking.” For even if we have gotten the food we want, in the right quantity and kind, our stomach or sack will still fail us. Such a person can in no way suffer to go without hunger. For when he is not hungry because his stomach is too full, he must go for a walk in order to get hungry and to look for hunger as if he were hunting for it. Ecclesiasticus 28: “Be not greedy in any feasting.” The signs of such avidness are as follows: reaching for food greedily, snatching the cup with trembling hands, holding a morsel or cake in one’s hand, glaring at the wine this way and that, and swallowing one’s food without chewing it.

Indeed, as the Apostle says in Ephesians 3, these are the people “whose god is their belly, and whose glory is in their shame.” And notice that in ancient times people used to build temples for their gods and erect altars for them, ordain ministers for their worship, bring sacrifices, burn incense, and offer up prayers. Applying this to our topic, we can say that the temple or church of the god of the belly and of gluttony is the kitchen. The bells ringing in it are the kitchen boys who call out what roast or cooked dish is served. The altar is the dining table. Their chalice with its vials is the bowl with cups and tankards. The priests are their boon companions; their sacrifices, the slaughtered beasts and their roasted and boiled flesh; their incense, the smell and savor of the food. And they have two prayers: one before they are full, which goes, “Oh, if only I had two stomachs!” the other when their belly nearly bursts: “Ah, belly, have mercy; belly, mercy!”

But perhaps you say: “What does this god of the belly and of gluttony look like?” Well, it seems that he may be imagined and depicted first with the head of a pig, for just as a pig pokes its head and snout into everything, even the garbage, so gluttons want to try everything—now wine, now beer, now mead, and often like a pig the stale dregs. Second, he may be depicted with the body of a leech, whose characteristic it is to burst rather than be satisfied. And thus it seems that in the gluttons’ belly is that fire which never says “Enough!” but devours everything, according to Proverbs 30. And third, he may be depicted with the hindquarter of an ass, which is a very lecherous animal, to indicate that the end and result of gluttony is lechery; for one follows the other as a woman follows her man. When such people are drunk, they must visit the brothel and every corner of the village in search of women, both married and single, and they do not care where they may fulfill their shameful lust. And then they bring forth this cursed offspring of quarreling, theft, lies, manslaughter, perjury, contempt of God, and neglect of themselves. Their angel is the devil, and they are “the mighty men of old, men of renown” referred to in Genesis 6. Therefore, Jeremiah 5 says fittingly: “I fed them to the full, and they committed adultery.” “As long as Eve in paradise was abstinent,” Jerome says, “she was a virgin. But as soon as she broke the Lord’s command by eating the forbidden fruit, she experienced corruption.” And for this reason



Narratur eciam de quodam qui attente rogabat diabolus pro expedicione unius. Qui respondit: "Si feceris quod peto a te, iuvabo." Cum ergo ipse spondidisset facturum, ait diabolus: "Elige tibi unum ex istis: utrum velis  
 95 suspendi, vel concumbere cum matre, vel occidere patrem, vel semel inebriari." Qui cum cogitasset ebrietatem esse peccatum levius, illam concessit. Iste ergo quadam die ivit ad tabernam ut pactum compleret, et inebriatus est. Veniens ergo domum et matrem fessam super lectum conspexit, illam  
 100 violenter oppressit. Superveniens ergo pater at illum graviter corripuens, illum occidit. Mox clamor attollitur et homicida capitur, et incontinenti ad suspendium ducitur. Ecce quot peccata ex ebrietate oriuntur.

[f. 190] Merito ergo illam vitare debemus, non tantum propter pericula illam sequencia, verum eciam propter penam ad quam ducit. Exemplum nota supra de divite epulone, parte 5, ubi agitur de elemosina, capitulo 11. Set  
 105 forte dicit [ali]quis: "Oportet me comedere et bibere, quia aliter vivere non possum, eo quod naturale est. Quomodo cibum aut potum vitare possum?" Revera respondeo: Bene autem volo quod eciam comedas et bibas, set adverte quod tanta sit necessitas quantam ostendis; quia licet non posses vitare, vivere tamen potes—et eciam melius—si non excedas. Et ideo consulo ut  
 110 comedas sicut ratio docet, non sicut venter appetit. Quia si permittas ventrem dominari, ad miseriam et confusionem te ducet. Exemplum de istis heredibus qui omnia expendunt in tabernis et coquinis, quos non oportet diabolus temptare sicut temptavit Christum dicens, "Dic ut lapides isti panes fiant," eo quod ipsi ex lapidibus castrorum et aliorum edificiorum  
 115 illa vendendo in pane et vino et aliis cibis et potibus voluptuose consumunt. Unde tandem miserrime et quasi fame moriuntur. In cuius figura Regum 2 legitur quod Naas Amonites, cum Iabes Galaad obsedisset et illi ab eo fedus petissent, respondit: "In hoc, inquit, feriam vobiscum pactum ut eruam vobis oculos dextros." Iste enim Naas signat deum ventris qui super  
 120 gulosos imperare dedignatur nisi eruat oculos rationis eorum, et non tantum illos verum eciam oculos corporis, quia ad litteram ut pluries tantum comedunt et bibunt quod lumen oculorum amittunt, ac eciam pedes et capud cum memoria et intellectu, etc.

2 Prepropere] propere O. 4 Prima] add autem O. prepropere] propere O. 6 quod] add in O. 7 intinxit] tinxit O. 11 vinum] om O. 12 Ecclesiasticus] ecclesiastes O. 13 Nam] add igitur C. 14 reddit] add corruptum C. 15 ei] est C. 18 putei] M corr from puteus; puteus C.R.W. 22 flavescit] flammescit C. blande] add ut quidem delectatio diu duraret desiderabit longum guttur ut grus C. 26–27 pepones] pipionis pavones C. 30 nimia] nimis C. 36 quod] quam O. 37 pacientur] paciuntur O. 42 etc.] om O. 46 quanta] quantum O. 48 famis] add quia O. 49 venatur] venenatur C. 53 Ephesios] philippenses M.W. 55 altaria] add sibi O. 73 luxuria] iuxta O. 74 una] add enim O. 76 nisi ut] ubi O. 77 maledictam] benedictam C. 92 rogabat] rogavit

Augustine says: "A lord who extorts our money does us less harm than our stomach when it takes food," add: greedily. By robbing our money the former makes us light, but by taking food the latter swells us up and inflames us. Therefore, whoever wants to resist the temptations of the flesh must do as the  
 100 circumspect cook when the pot is boiling: lest the broth boil over, he pulls out some of the firewood. In the same way, you must reduce the fuel for lechery, that is, your abundance of food. Or else, when a nurse wants to wean a child, she puts something bitter on her nipples. In the same way, whoever wants to reduce the lust of his flesh must give it the bitterness of abstinence, and so forth.

There is a story about someone who earnestly prayed to the devil for success in some enterprise. The devil said to him: "If you do what I ask, I will help you." When the man had promised him that, the devil said: "Choose one of the following: to be hanged, or to sleep with your mother, or to kill your father, or to get drunk once." Thinking that drunkenness was a very small sin, he chose that. So, one day he went to a bar to fulfill his promise and got drunk. But coming home, when he saw his mother lying tired out on her bed, he raped her. As his father surprised him and chastised him severely, he killed him. Soon an outcry arises and the murderer is caught, and at once he is led to the gallows. Lo, how many sins come from drunkenness!

We must therefore rightly avoid it, not only because of the dangers that come from it, but also because of the punishment to which it leads us. Notice the case of the rich man who dined splendidly, in the section above on almsgiving, part 5, chapter 11. But perhaps someone objects: "I have got to eat and drink, for that is natural, and otherwise I cannot live. How could I possibly go without food and drink?" To that I reply: of course I want you to eat and drink, but be sure that your need for food is as great as you make it out to be; for while it is true that you cannot go without food, you certainly can live—and even better—if you do not eat more than necessary. Therefore I advise you to eat as reason teaches, not as your stomach desires. For if you give your stomach the upper hand, it will lead you to misery and confusion. We see an example in those people who spend all their inheritance on bars and the kitchen; they do not need to be tempted as Christ was when the devil said to him, "Command that these stones be made bread," because they change the stones of their castles and other buildings by selling them for bread and wine and other food and drink which they consume lustily. And in the end they die in great wretchedness as of hunger. As a type of this we read in Kings 2 that when Nahash the Ammonite laid siege to Jabesh-Gilead and they asked for a truce, he replied: "On this condition will I make a covenant with you, that I may pluck out your right eyes." Nahash stands for the god of the belly, who will not deign to rule over gluttons unless he tears out their eyes of reason,

O. 95 vel(3)] aut O. 98 conspexit] *add* statim instigante dyabolo O. 106 possum(2)]  
potero O. 108 vitare] *om* O. 109 tamen] *om* O. ut] quod O. 113 temptavit] fecit O.  
117 2] 11 M.W.; 21 R. 120 imperare] *add* non *exp* C; *add* non M.W.

### VI.iii QUARE GULA EST CONTEMPTIBILIS

[E]st ergo istud peccatum detestandum propter predicta ac eciam plura  
que producit. Ex isto igitur primo generatur spiritualis intelligencie  
oblivio; Osee 13: “Saturati sunt et elevaverunt cor suum, et obliiti sunt  
mei.” Unde [f. 190v] Augustinus: “Si modum inmoderate excedis, si precioso

5 potu te ingurgites, quantaslibet laudes lingua resonat, vita blasphemat.”  
Et Ieronimus: “Qui luxuriatur, vivens mortuus est, et qui inebriatur, mor-  
tuus et sepultus est,” quia “rationis vile sepulcrum est ebrietas.” Nam il-  
la sepulcrum est quasi quedam submersio spiritualis, in qua enim aliquociens  
quemquam sepeliri est submergi. Et ideo talis nimietas, ex quo spiritum  
10 infatuat et sic inhebetat, subiectum stultum reddit.

Secundo gula est detestabilis eo quod est divini contemptus terribilis  
provocacio. Ab illis enim despicitur Deus. Ancipiter enim famelicus cum a  
domino suo reclamatur, confestim omnibus dimissis ad ipsum venire festinat,  
set non saturatus; similiter et homo abstinent. Set gulosus diebus eciam  
15 festivis clamorem ecclesie aut campanarum pulsaciones audire contempnit,  
quando cicius petit tabernam quam ecclesiam, [cicius] mensam quam missam,  
cicius ut cibus superfluis ingurgitet ventrem quam ut cibus spiritualibus  
impleat mentem. Et ideo, ut predicatur, bene dicitur venter eorum deus,  
quia secundum Augustinum hoc ab homine colitur quod pre ceteris diligitur.

20 In hoc ergo quod ventrem tantum honorant, deterior est quam ydolatria paga-  
norum. Pagani enim honores impendunt auro, argento, lapidibus preciosis, et  
huiusmodi, set gulosus honorat ventrem, qui est vilissimum sterquilinum et  
feda latrina. Unde merito dici possunt peregrini diaboli. Exemplum: Pere-  
grini enim Dei vadunt ad sanctos, ut usum membrorum perditorum recipiant.

and not only them but their bodily eyes as well, for they often eat and drink  
so much that they literally lose their eyesight as well as their feet and head  
with their memory and reason.

2–3 On these verses see Introduction, pp. 5–11. 5–7 1 Sam. 14. 10–11 Isa. 5.11.  
12 Eccles. 2.3. 16 Joel 1.5. 18 Rev. 9.2. 21–23 Prov. 23.31–32, and cf. 1 Sam.  
16.4 and 1 Kings 2.13. 25–27 Num. 11.4–9. 27–28 Ps. 77.30. 30 Cf. Ezek.  
16.49. 33 Isa. 28.8. 35–36 Cf. Gen. 25.27–34. 37 Ps. 58.7. 38 Cf. Jerome on  
Hos. 4.10–12 (CC 76:42) and on Eccles. 2 (PL 23:1076). 39 Luke 15.17. 41–  
42 Prov. 23.35. 44–49 The Augustine quotation and its context also in Peraldus,  
*Summa vitiorum* II.i.6. 49–50 Ecclus. 37.32. 54 Phil. 3.19. 54–57 Hugh of Folieto,  
*De claustro anime* II.19 (PL 176:1072). 71 Prov. 30.16. 79–80 Gen. 6.4. 80–  
81 Jer. 5.7. 81–83 Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo 144 in app.* 1 (PL 39:2026), said of  
Adam. 92–101 Tubach 1816. The story occurs with summarizing verses in Latin and  
English in MS Harley 2316, fol. 15. 104 *FM* V.xxiii.24–102. 113–114 Matt. 4.3.  
117–119 1 Sam. 11.1–2.

### VI.iii WHY GLUTTONY IS TO BE SCORNE

This sin, then, is worthy to be despised for the evil consequences I have  
just mentioned, as well as for others. For from it comes, first of all, that  
we forget our spiritual knowledge; Hosea: “They were filled and lifted up  
their heart, and they have forgotten me.” Hence Augustine says: “If you go  
beyond the reasonable measure, if you gorge yourself with costly drink, your  
life denies whatever praises your tongue sings.” And Jerome: “Whoever lives  
in luxury is dead in his life; and whoever is drunk is dead and buried, for  
drunkenness is the base grave of our reason.” Drunkenness is a grave as if it  
were a drowning of the spirit; to bury someone in it is to drown him. Hence by  
stupefying and weakening the mind such excess renders a man a fool.

In the second place, gluttony is to be detested because it is a terrible  
provocacion of God’s contempt. For God is despised by gluttons. When a hungry  
hawk is called back by his master, he at once leaves everything and hurries to  
him; so does a person who is abstinent. But a glutton scorns to listen to the  
appeal of the Church or the ringing of the bells on feast days, as he goes to  
the tavern instead of the church, seeks his table instead of the altar, and  
crams his belly with an abundance of dishes instead of his mind with spiritual  
food. Therefore, as we said earlier, their belly is fittingly called their  
god, for according to Augustine man worships what he loves before all else.  
Insofar as they give such great honor to their belly, their worship is even  
worse than pagan idolatry. For the pagans pay homage to gold, silver, precious  
stones, and the like, but a glutton pays homage to his belly, which is a most  
vile dunghill and a dirty cloaca. Whence they may rightly be called pilgrims  
of the devil. God’s pilgrims travel to certain saints that they may regain the

25 Set gulosi ad tabernam peregrinantur, ut sensum ibi amittant ac usum membrorum que[m] prius habuerunt. Nam illuc perdunt visum, gressum, cerebrum, et omnia membra rationis. Et ideo de illis bene ait Sapiens Proverbiorum 23: "Cui ve, cuius patri ve, cui rixe, cui fovee, cui sine causa vulnera, cui suf- [f. 191] fossio oculorum? Nonne hiis qui morantur in vino et  
30 student in calicibus epotandis?" Et sequitur: "Vinum autem blande ingreditur, set in novissimo mordebit ut coluber, et sicut regulus venena diffundet."

Tercio est detestabilis quia est iterate esurie inmoderatio; Osee 4: "Comedent et non saturabuntur." Et Psalmista: "Famem, inquit, paciuntur ut  
35 canes." Et vocatur illa infirmitas bolismus, idest caninus appetitus, qui numquam fere satiatur; Proverbiorum 31: "Iustus comedet et replet animam suam, venter autem impiorum insatiabilis." Merito ergo cavenda et vitanda est.

Narratur de quodam ceco provid(um) valde ductorem habente, qui in  
40 omnibus magistrum suum bene duxit in quibus sibi voluit consentire. Euntes ergo semel per viam, contigit cecum esurire. Rogat ergo ductorem ut undique respiceret ut forte locum perciperet ubi manducare possent. Respondit puer quod non erat hora comedendi et quod multum impediret eos si tali hora a via declinarent, ex quo multum haberent ire, et addidit viam esse tortuosam, unde nisi illum caucius duceret, faciliter cespitare posset et illum  
45 ledere. Cum ergo puero adquiescere nollet set ductorem oculos girare compulisset, interim cespitavit, ita quod fere fregit sibi collum. Venientes ad locum prandii ubi eis dabatur [crudus] et insanus cibus set delectabilis, premunivit illum puer ne ex illo commederet. Et ille: "Habeo, inquit,  
50 optimum stomachum," et sic nimis avide devorans se ipsum confundit. Moralter per istum cecum intelligo voluntatem hominis sive appetitum, qui nichil cognoscit nisi per virtutem intellectivam. Ductor eius ratio est, que hanc voluntatem ducit in via versus celum. Omni autem die si meritorie proficiat, expedit se de una dieta. Tunc ergo voluntas mane esurit [f. 191v]  
55 quando ante horam debitam comedere appetit. Si ergo pro tunc importune compellat ratio[nem] cogitare et providere nimis sollicitate quod comedendum, quid bibendum, revera quando ratio circa huiusmodi giratur et occupatur, voluntas quasi cecus in ausencia ductoris cespitat. Similiter, quando est hora comedendi, si contra consilium rationis in qualitate aut quantitate  
60 nimis comedat, seipsum intoxicat. Non ergo excusari potest homo de gula dicendo, "Nescio quid, quale, aut quantum michi comedere expedit," quia in omnibus si velit adquiescere, ratio sibi dictabit.

Narrat etiam Alexander *De naturis rerum* quod erat quidam comes illustris in armis et strenuus et sanguine generosus, qui cotidie epulabatur  
65 splendide sicut dives epul(o), de quo Luce 15 ut supra, parte 5, capitulo 11, tractatur. Cui successit filius optimus, pauperum solacium, viduarum et

lost use of their members. But gluttons make their pilgrimage to the tavern so that they may there lose their senses and the former use of their members; for there they lose their sight, their ability to walk, their brain, and the use of the other parts of their reason. Therefore the wise man says well of them, in Proverbs 23: "Who has woe? whose father has woe? who has contentions? who falls into pits? who has wounds without cause? who has red eyes? Is it not those that pass their time in wine and study to drink off their cups?" And he adds: "For wine goes in pleasantly, but in the end it will bite like a snake and will spread abroad poison like a basilisk."

In the third place, gluttony is to be detested because it leads to even greater hunger; Hosea 4: "They shall eat and not be filled." And the Psalmist says: "They shall suffer hunger like dogs." That disease is called bolismus, a dog-like appetite which hardly ever gets quenched; Proverbs 31: "The just man eats and fills his soul, but the belly of the wicked is insatiable." Therefore, gluttony must justly be guarded against and avoided.

There is a story about a blind man who had a very circumspect guide, who would guide his master well as long as he would agree with him. Once as they were walking along, the blind man got hungry. He asks his guide to look around if perhaps he could find a place for them to eat. The boy replied that it was not yet time to eat and that it would slow them down very much if they went off the road just then, for they still had a long way to go; and he added that the road was very uneven, so that unless he guided him carefully, he might easily stumble and get hurt. As the blind man would not listen to the boy but insisted that he cast his eyes all about him, he stumbled and nearly broke his neck. Then they came to an eating-place where they were given delicious but raw and unhealthy food; so the boy warned the blind man not to eat any of it. But he said: "I have a first-class stomach" and ate greedily and so made himself sick. Morally interpreted, the blind man stands for a man's will or appetite, who has no understanding except by way of his intellectual faculty. The guide is his reason, which leads this will on the way toward heaven. Every day that it walks with spiritual profit, it advances as much on its journey. But the will gets hungry in the morning when it wants to eat before the set time. If it then compels reason to think and cast about too eagerly what it should eat and what it should drink—when in other words our reason revolves around and busies itself with such matters—, then our will stumbles like the blind man when his guide is absent. Similarly, if at the meal hour it acts against the counsel of reason by not eating the right kind or amount of food, it poisons itself. A man can therefore not excuse his gluttony by saying, "I don't know what kind of food and how much is good for me to eat," for his reason will clearly instruct him in every respect, if he will only listen to it.

Alexander in *On the Nature of Things* reports that once there was an illustrious count, strong in arms and of noble blood, who ate splendidly every

orphanorum refugium. Qui sepius sepulcrum patris cum devocione et lacrimis visitare consuevit. Cum ergo quadam die quamplures proceres ad convivium convocasset et cum illis ante prandium dictum sepulcrum visitasset, spiritu  
 70 Dei iussit lapidem amoveri. Et ecce vidit bufonem teterrimum collum patris pedibus amplectantem. Quo viso cum lacrimis [clamans] ait: "O pater mi, quam solempnes epule per hoc collum in stomachum descenderunt. Set heu, qualis inhoneste crapule remuneracio!" Et hiis dictis et lapide reposito, mundum reliquit et paupertati et abstinentie totaliter se dedit. Unde  
 75 <Ecclesiastici> 10 dicitur: "Cum dormierit homo, hereditabit bestias, serpentes, et vermes." Ad litteram enim dicitur quod de corpore humano post mortem nascuntur tria genera vermium: de capite enim et collo nascitur bufo, de spina dorsi scorpio, et [de] ventre et stomacho gurgullo.

Et nota [f. 192] quod gulosus nititur omnes sensus inebriare. Delectatur enim visus in claritate vini ac pulcritudine aliorum ciborum et potuum,  
 80 tactus vero in potuum frigiditate et ciborum caliditate, gustus in sapore, nasus in odore. Et quia nichil est in calice quod posset auditum delectare, ideo assumit liram et tympanum, per que miserabiles appetitus in voluptatis aviditate acuit. Et tamen per hec omnia anima miserabilis post vitam confunditur. Et nota ad litteram quod qui de sero se inebriat os habet fetidum  
 85 de mane. Et ideo bene sepulcro comparatur iuxta illud Psalmi: "Sepulcrum patens est guttur eorum." Nota eciam quod <caro> hominis potest dici terra pessima et fetidissima. Ceteris autem terris apponuntur stercora ut fructificent, set econtra terra corporis hominis appositis cibariis delicatissimis nichil fructificat nisi stercora, et quanto preciosiora sunt cibaria, tanto  
 90 ad secessum perveniencia sunt viliora. Nota eciam secundum Augustinum quod ebrietas aufert memoriam, dissipat sensum, confundit intellectum, concitat libidinem, involvit linguam, corrumpit sanguinem, omnia membra debilitat, et omnem salutem exterminat. Unde Gregorius: "Ebrietas, [inquit,] est blandus demon, dulce venenum, suave peccatum, quam qui habet, se  
 95 non habet; quam qui facit, non tantum facit peccatum set totum est peccatum, quia attrahit sibi omnia peccata." Et ideo Apostolus ad mensuram instigans ait Ad Romanos 12: "Non plus sapere quam oportet sapere," etc. De qua quidam sic metrice ait:

100 Sicut ad omne quod est mensuram ponere prodest,  
 Sic sine mensura deperit omne quod est.

2 igitur] ergo O. 3 13] om O. 8-9 aliquociens quemquam] aliquem O. 10 sic inhebetat] hebetat O. 13 omnibus] ceteris O. 14 set . . . saturatus] om O. 26 quem] que C.W. 27 omnia] cetera O. 34 paciuntur] patientur O. 37 cavenda et] om O. 39 pro-

day, like the rich man of Luke 15, of whom we spoke above in part 5, chapter 11. He was succeeded by his son, a very good person, comfort of the poor and refuge of widows and orphans. He often used to visit his father's tomb with devotion and tears. Now, as one day he invited many noble citizens to a banquet and before dinner visited his father's tomb with them, inspired by God's spirit he had the tomb slab removed. And behold, there was a very black toad clasping his father's throat with its feet. When he saw that, he cried out with tears: "O my father, what splendid banquets went through this throat into your stomach. But alas, what vile reward for your overindulgence!" Having said this and replaced the slab, he left the world and gave himself completely to a life of poverty and abstinence. Therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus 10: "When a man dies, he will inherit beasts, serpents, and worms." They say that after death three kinds of vermin are literally born of a human body: a toad from his head and throat, a scorpion from his spine, and a weevil from his body and stomach.

And notice that a glutton strives to inebriate all his senses. For his sight is charmed by the splendor of the wine and the beautiful sight of other food and drink; his touch, by chilled drinks and hot food; his taste, by their savor; his smell, by their aroma. And since there is nothing in a glass that might appeal to his ear, he takes the lyre and the tambourine with which he goads his wretched appetite into hot desire. And yet, through all these his wretched soul will come to ruin after this life. Notice that it is literally true that a person who gets drunk at night has bad breath next morning. Therefore he can well be compared to a sepulcher, after the words of the Psalm: "Their throat is an open sepulcher." Notice also that man's body can be called an absolutely worthless and ugly piece of land. For other pieces of land are given dung so that they may produce fruit; but when the land of man's body, in contrast, has been given the most dainty food, it produces no fruit but dung, and in fact, the more precious the food is, the more vile what goes down the privy. And notice further that according to blessed Augustine drunkenness takes away one's memory, blurs the senses, confuses the mind, stirs up lust, ties the tongue, poisons the blood, weakens all the limbs, and destroys one's health altogether. Hence Gregory says: "Drunkenness is a smiling fiend, a sweet poison, a soft sin; who has it loses himself; who engages in it does not only commit a sin but becomes completely sinful, because it draws all other sins to itself." Therefore the Apostle admonishes us to keep the right measure when he tells us, in Romans 12, "not to be more wise than it behooves," and so on. Of this subject someone has said in verse:

As it is useful to take all things with due measure,  
 So all things will perish if taken without it.

vidum] provido C. 51 istum] hunc O. 56 rationem] ratio C; rationi M. 64 et] om  
O. 65 epulo] epulio C; epulone M. ut] et O. 75 Ecclesiastici] actuum C. 87 caro]  
terra C. 90 nichil] nec O. 91 secundum] add beatum O.

#### VI.iv A QUIBUS ABSTINENDUM EST

- [A]d hoc ergo vicium extirpandum iam procedit sobrietas et abstinentia  
ut audax athleta illud [f. 192v] constanter aggrediens. Quam pulcre commen-  
dans et describens ait Augustinus: "Abstinentia, inquit, tota est utilis et  
formosa. Salvat enim memoriam, acuit sensum, sincerat mentem, dirigit vul-  
5 tum, integritat pudorem, mitigat vicium, exornat cerebrum, expedit linguam,  
explicat sermonem, confirmat sanguinem, nutrit medullam, contempnit libidi-  
nem, recreat corpus, propagat senectutem." Hec ille. De qua sic procedam:  
primo, a quibus est abstinendum; secundo, de differentia abstinentie;  
tercio, de eius utilitate.
- 10 Circa primum est sciendum quod a tribus est specialiter abstinendum.  
Primo a superfluitate cibi et potus, de qua capitulo de gula supra proximo  
satis dictum est. Secundo abstinendum est de mala societate. Vulgariter  
enim dicitur: "Qui tangit picem, inquinabitur ab ea." Et ideo ait Psalmis-  
ta: "Cum sancto sanctus eris," etc. Et ideo Sapientie 2: "Dicunt impii de  
15 viro iusto, abstinet a viis nostris tamquam ab inmundiciis." Et Proverbio-  
rum 4 dicitur: "Ne delecteris in semitis impiorum, nec tibi placeat malorum  
via. Fuge ab ea et non transeas per eam." Et Ecclesiastici 7: "Discede ab  
iniquo et discedant a te mala." Tercio abstinendum est a peccatis et vici-  
is; Tymothei 5: "Teipsum castum custodi. Noli adhuc aquam bibere, set modi-  
20 co utere vino." Ubi *Glossa*: "Vult, inquit, Deus prudenter serviri ne nimie-  
tate abstinentie debiliores ad bene operandum fiant homines et post medico-  
rum suffragia requirant." Unde Bernardus: "Holocaustum, inquit, de rapina  
facit qui corpus suum immoderate affligit, scilicet aliqua egestate (cibi  
supple necessarii) aut penuria sompnii." Et Seneca: "Hanc vitam sanam  
25 tene, ut scilicet tantum corpori indulgeas quantum est valetudinis." Quia,  
ut dicit Gregorius, dum caro plus restringitur, ad execu- [f. 193] cionem  
boni operis enervatur. In cuius figura Numeri 30 dicitur: "Si voverit  
mulier et iuramento se constrinxerit ut per ieiunium ac ceterarum rerum  
abstinentiam affligit animam suam, in arbitrio viri sui erit." Sic penitens  
30 in arbitrio discreti sacerdotis, ut per se tantam penitentiam aut tam

3-4 Hos. 13.6. 4-5 Augustine, *En. in Ps. 146* 2 (CC 40:2122). 6-7 Jerome, *Ep. 69* 9  
(CSEL 54:696). 7 This commonplace is, in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* II.i.5, attributed  
to "Rabanus." 19-23 Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* II.i.3. 28-32 Prov. 23.29-32.  
34 Hos. 4.10. 34-35 Ps. 58.7. 36-37 Prov. 13.25. 39-50 Also in MS Harley 7332,  
fol. 44v. 63-74 Tubach 4880; also in Bromyard, "Mors," M.XI.121. The same motif  
occurs in the tales about usurers in *FM* IV.vii.107-127. 65-66 *FM* V.xxiii.24-102.  
75-76 *Ecclus.* 10.13. 86-87 Ps. 5.11. 92-94 Also in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum*  
II.ii.1. 94-97 *Ibidem.* 98 Rom. 12.3. 100-101 *Prov* 29566.

#### VI.iv FROM WHAT WE MUST ABSTAIN

To uproot this vice, soberness and abstinence steps forward like a brave  
champion and attacks it firmly. Augustine praises and describes this virtue  
beautifully when he says: "Abstinence is all useful and beautiful. For it pre-  
serves our memory, sharpens the wit, keeps the mind firmly set, composes the  
features, guards integrity, weakens any propensity to vices, strengthens the  
brain, frees the tongue, generates eloquence, cleanses the blood, nourishes the  
marrow, depresses lust, refreshes the body, and leads to a healthy old age."  
In treating it I will proceed as follows: first, I will discuss from what things  
one must abstain; second, of the different kinds of abstinence; and third, of  
its usefulness.

With respect to the first point, we must know that one is to abstain from  
three things in particular: first from taking too much food and drink, of which  
I have said enough in the preceding chapter. Second, we must abstain from bad  
companionship. For the popular proverb says: "He who touches pitch gets dirty."  
And the Psalmist declares: "With the holy, you will be holy," and so  
forth. And Wisdom 2: "The wicked say of the just man: 'He abstains from our  
ways as from filthiness.'" And in Proverbs 4 it is written: "Take no delight  
in the paths of the wicked, neither let the way of evil men please you. Flee  
from it and do not pass on it." And in Ecclesiasticus 7: "Depart from the  
unjust, and evils will depart from you." And third, we must abstain from sins  
and vices; Timothy 5 advises: "Keep yourself chaste. Do not still drink  
water, but use a little wine." On which the *Gloss* comments: "God wants that  
people serve him with prudence so that they do not, through their excessive  
abstinence, become too weak to do good deeds and afterwards need medical help."  
Whence Bernard says: "A person who mortifies his body without moderation, that  
is, by depriving himself of food (add: which he needs) or sleep, makes a burnt  
offering from stolen goods." And Seneca advises: "Observe this rule for a  
healthy life: that you grant your body as much as it needs for its well-being."  
For as Gregory says, when our flesh is held in too strict bonds, it grows too  
weak to carry out its good work. This rule is prefigured by what is said in

asperam accipiat, aut etiam ipse sacerdos iniungat, quod desperando illam non deserat, sicut stultus est qui iumentum suum sic onerat quod sub illo cadat et illum amplius non portat. Unde legitur in *Vitas Patrum* quod quidam frater interrogabat abbatem Pastorem dicens: "Feci grande peccatum. Volo ergo per triennium penitere." Cui abbas: "Multum est." Et ille: "Iubes 35 quadraginta dies?" Et senex: "Multum est. Set credo quod si ex toto corde penituerit homo et non apposuerit iterum peccare, quod triduanam penitentiam suscipiet Deus, qui dicit, 'Nolo mortem peccatoris set ut magis convertatur et vivat.'" Et ideo Ecclesiastici 4 dicitur: "Sapiens cor et intelligibile abstinet a peccatis." Unde hanc abstinentiam approbat Bernardus 40 dicens: "Tunc preclara est apud Deum abstinentia, cum animus a viciis ieiunat. Quid enim prodest corpus attenuari abstinentia si animus intumescat superbia?" Et Ambrosius: "Quid enim prodest ieiunare visceribus et luxuria-ri veneribus, abstinere cibis et errare peccatis?" quasi diceret, nichil, 45 set potius nocet. Unde Augustinus dicit: "Qui a cibis abstinent et numquam male agere desistunt, demones imitantur, quibus carnalis cibus non est set iniquitas semper inest." Et ideo Gregorius dicit: "Qui se ab alimentis abstinet sectando iusticiam, a culpa ieiunat," etc.

1 hoc] istud O. 5 integritat] integrat O. 12 de] a O. 14 ideo] add sapiens ait O. 18 discedant] discedent O. 23-24 cibi . . . necessarii] supple sibi necessaria C. 37 peccare] add ut penitentiam agat O. 44 veneribus] venatibus O. 47 inest] om O. dicit] ait O. 48 etc.] om O.

## VI.v DE DIFFERENCIIS ABSTINENCIE

[C]irca differentiam abstinentie est sciendum quod illa est multiplex iuxta illud (metricum): [f. 193v]

Abstinet eger, egens, cupidus, gula, symea, virtus.

5 Quia hee sunt differentie abstinentie. Nam aliquando abstinet eger, quia non potest comedere vel propter medicinam; Matthei 9: "Venient dies quando auferetur ab eis sponsus, et tunc ieiunabunt." Aliquando abstinet egens,

Numbers 30: "If a woman has vowed and bound herself by oath to afflict her soul by fasting or abstinence from other things, it shall depend on the will of her husband." Similarly a penitent must subject himself to the judgment of a discriminating priest, so that he may set for himself just so much penance, or such a hard one, or else that the priest may enjoin just so much penance on him, that he will not despair and give it up; as it would be foolish for a man to put such a load on his beast of burden that it breaks down under it and cannot carry it any further. In *The Lives of the Fathers* we read that a brother was asking Abbot Pastor, "I have committed a great sin; I want to do three years' penance for it." The abbot replied: "It is too much." And the brother said: "Then will you give me forty days?" And the desert father: "It is too much. But I believe that if a person is sorry with his whole heart and intends not to sin again, if he then does penance, God will accept a penance of three days, for he says: 'I do not desire the death of the sinner but rather that he turn from his way and live.'" And thus it is said in Ecclesiasticus 4: "A wise heart which has understanding will abstain from sins." Bernard approves of this kind of abstinence and says: "That abstinence is excellent before God when one's mind fasts of vices. For what good does it do to weaken our body with abstinence if our mind at the same time swells with pride?" And Ambrose: "What good is it to fast in one's bowels and delight in one's hunt, to abstain from food and wander about in sins?" meaning: it is no good at all, but rather does harm. And Augustine says: "People who abstain from food but never stop doing evil are followers of demons, who do not use fleshly food but always practice wickedness." And therefore Gregory says: "He who abstains from food and follows a life of justice fasts from sin."

13 Cf. Eccles. 13.1. 14 Ps. 17.26. 14-15 Wisd. 2.16. 16-17 Prov. 4.14-15. 17-18 Eccles. 7.2. 19-20 1 Tim. 5.22. 20-23 *Glossa ordinaria* on 1 Tim. 5.22 (6:221.A). 24-25 Seneca, *Ep. morales* VIII.5. 27-29 Num. 30.14. 33-39 *VP* V.x.40 (PL 73:920). 38-39 Ezek. 33.11. 39-40 Eccles. 3.32. 41-43 In Peraldus, *Summa virtutum* III.v.11.6, attributed to Jerome. 43-44 Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo 146 in app.* 1 (PL 39:2029). 45-47 In Peraldus, loc. cit., attributed to Isidore.

## VI.v DIFFERENT KINDS OF ABSTINENCE

With respect to the different kinds of abstinence, we have the following verse:

The sick man fasts, the needy, and the miser,  
As does the glutton and the ape, and also true virtue.

These are the various form of abstinence. For sometimes a sick person abstains because he cannot eat, or he does so as a cure; Matthew 9: "The days will come



quia non habet quod comedat; Matthei 15: "Dixit Iesus discipulis suis: 'Misereor super turbam, quia non habent quod manducent.'" Aliquando cupidus, ut postea plura rapiat; Ecclesiastes 5: "Vir cui donavit Dominus divicias et scienciam non tribuit potestatem ut comedat." Moraliter autem  
 10 loquendo, tales fame fere periunt <u>t divicias congregant. Et eciam ad litteram, ut patet. Aliquando eciam abstinent gulosi, et hoc primo ut post[ea] avidius comedant, et certe tales preveniunt vigiliam dei ventris. Isti enim diu ieiunant, set tunc querunt cibaria magis delicata de quibus  
 15 ma(gis) comed<u>nt quam aliis temporibus, duobus diebus extra ieiunium. Et certe tales tantam gratiam faciunt deo ventri acsi darent sibi duos obulos pro uno denario, quod credo non facerent Iudeo aut Saraceno. Et secundo isti gulosi ieiunant sic quod per tres dies plus comedunt quam si non ieiunarent. Nam die ieiunii precedente dicunt: "Comedamus hodie fortiter, cras enim ieiunabimus." In die sequente ieiunium dicunt: "Hodie oportet  
 20 forcius comedere propter ieiunium hesternum." Set ipsomet die ieiunii omnino excedere nituntur ne forte fame deficerent in sero. Et certe tales defraudant deum suum eo quod pro duobus obulis non reddunt [nisi] denarium. Contra quos dicitur Ysaie 15: "Nolite ieiunare [sicut] usque ad hanc diem."  
 25 Aliquando abstinent symee, idest ypocrite, ut laudentur, et illud ieiunium est <van>itatis. Luce 18 dicitur de Phariseo: "Ieiuno bis in sabbato," cum tamen vix per annum ieiunant unum tantum diem sabbati. [f. 194] De quibus satis nota supra, parte 5, capitulo 10, et parte 1, capitulo 4. Et ideo de illis dicitur Matthei 6: "Cum ieiunatis, nolite fieri [sicut] ypocrite, tristes." <Set> sexto et ultimo ieiunant virtuosus, ut inde meritum capiant.  
 30 Et illud tantum valet. De quo dicitur 1 Petri 1: "Administrare in fide vestram virtutem, in virtute autem conscienciam, in consciencia vero abstinentiam." Et sic patent differencie.

2 metricum] quidam metricus ponit tales versus C. 11 ut] et C. 14 diu] dupliciter(?) M; duo M. 15 magis] maius C. comedunt] comedant C. 17 non] om O. secundo] tercio R.W. 21 ipsomet] ipsimet O. 23 duobus] tribus O. 26 vanitatis] pravitatis C. 27 diem sabbati] sabbatum O. 30 Set] etc. C.

## VI.vi DE UTILITATE IEIUNII ET ABSTINENCIE

[D]e utilitate vero veri ieiunii et abstinentie ait Leo papa, de ieiunio decimi mensis dicens: "In omni, inquit, tempore et vita huius seculi ieiunia contra peccata nos faciunt forciores. Ipsa enim concupiscen-

when the bridegroom will be taken away from them, and then they will fast." Sometimes a needy person abstains, because he has no food; Matthew 15: "And Jesus said to his disciples: 'I have compassion on the crowd, because they have nothing to eat.'" Sometimes a greedy person abstains, in order to grab more later on; Ecclesiastes 5: "The man to whom God has given riches and knowledge, God has not given him power to eat." Morally speaking, such people nearly perish with hunger in order to gather riches; but they also do so literally, as one can easily observe. Sometimes even gluttons abstain. This they do first in order to eat more eagerly afterwards; such people anticipate the vigil of the god of the belly. For they fast for a long time, but then search for more dainty food and eat of it more than at other times, two days for each fast day. Surely, such people are so generous to the god of their belly as if they were giving him two dollars for one dime, which I believe is not what they would give to a Jew or Saracen. And secondly, these gluttons fast in such a way that over three days they eat more than if they were not fasting at all; for on the day before their fast they say, "Let us eat plenty today, for tomorrow we shall be fasting"; and on the day after their fast they say, "Today we must eat more because of yesterday's fast." But on the very fast day they tend to consume more lest they be overcome by hunger in the evening. But surely these cheat their God, for instead of two dollars they give him only a dime. Against them are spoken the words of Isaiah 15: "Do not fast as you have done until this day." Sometimes also apes abstain, that is to say, hypocrites, in order to be praised, and that is the fasting of vanity. In Luke 18 the Pharisee is reported to say: "I fast twice on the Sabbath," whereas in fact they fast hardly a single Sabbath in the whole year. On these hypocrites see further above, in part 5, chapter 10, and part 1, chapter 4. Concerning them it is said in Matthew 6: "When you fast, be not as the hypocrites, sad." But the sixth and last group of people who fast are the just, and they do so in order to gain merit. This is the only valid kind of abstinence. Of it is said in 1 Peter 1: "Minister in your faith virtue; in virtue, knowledge; and in knowledge, abstinence." Thus the different kinds of abstinence are clear to see.

3 In 210; Prov 222a. 5-6 Matt. 9.15. 7-8 Matt. 15.32. 9-10 Eccles. 5.18. 24 Isa. 58.4. 26 Luke 18.12. 28 FM V.xvii.97-147 and I.vii.5-38. 29-30 Matt. 6.16. 31-33 2 Pet. 1.6.

## VI.vi THE USEFULNESS OF FASTING AND ABSTINENCE

With respect to the usefulness of true fasting and abstinence, Pope Leo says, in speaking of the fast of the tenth month: "In every time and life of this world, fasting makes us stronger against sins. For it overcomes our

- 5 cias vincunt, temptaciones repellunt, superbiam inclinant, iram mitigant,  
et omnis bone voluntatis effectus ad maturitatem tocius virtutis emittunt.”  
Unde Bernardus in *Sermone de Quadragesima* ait: “Ieiunium non solum est  
ablucio peccatorum, set etiam extirpacio viciorum, et non solum optinet  
veniam, set etiam meretur gratiam.” Item Augustinus: “Ieiunium, inquit,  
10 purgat mentem, carnem spiritui subicit, cor facit tribulatum et humiliatum,  
quod Deus non spernit.” Hec ille. In cuius figura Moyses ieiunando quadra-  
ginta diebus cum Domino loquitur familiariter, ut patet Exodo. Similiter  
Helias quadraginta diebus ieiunando perrexit ad montem Dei Oreb cum Domi-  
no locuturus, Regum 19. Similiter Hester post ieiunia invenit gratiam coram  
rege Assuero, ut patet Hester. Similiter apostoli orantes et ieiunantes  
15 Spiritum Sanctum acceperunt, ut patet Actuum 1.  
Et (ista de) gula et abstinencia ad presens iam dicta sufficiunt, et  
sic terminatur sexta pars principalis huius libelli.

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7 ablucio] absolucio O; abolitio source. 15 acceperunt] susceperunt O. 16 ista de] de  
ista C. 17 pars] particula O.

fleshly desires, drives back temptations, bends down our pride, softens anger,  
and leads every stirring of goodwill in us to the full maturity of virtue.”  
Therefore Bernard says in his *Sermon on Lent*: “Fasting not only brings for-  
giveness for sins but also uproots our vices; it not only gains mercy but also  
deserves grace.” And Augustine likewise: “Fasting purifies the mind, places  
the flesh under the rule of the spirit, and makes a heart troubled and humble,  
which God does not scorn.” As a type of this, Moses fasted for forty days and  
talked with the Lord intimately, as is seen in Exodus. Likewise, Elijah fasted  
for forty days and then went to Horeb, the mountain of God, to talk with the  
Lord, Kings 19. Further, Esther after her fasting found grace before King  
Ahasuerus, as we see in Esther. And finally, the apostles prayed and fasted  
before they received the Holy Spirit, as seen in Acts 1.

This much suffices about gluttony and abstinence for now, and thus ends  
the sixth part of this book.

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1–5 Leo the Great, *Sermo 15* 2 (PL 54:175). 6–8 Bernard, *In quadragesima sermo* 6, 1  
(4:368). 8–10 Augustine, *Sermo 73 in app.* 1 (PL 39:1887). 10–11 Exod. 34.28.  
12–13 1 Kings 19.1–8. 13–14 Esther 3–5, esp. 3.16. 14–15 Cf. Acts 2.13–15.

## PARS VII

### De luxuria

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#### VII.i DE LUXURIA

[U]ltimo iam sequitur pertractare de luxuria, que tercia filia carnis est et pessima, cum suis membris. Ipsa autem tamquam publica meretrix cum nullo veretur commiseri; unde merito execrabilis iudicatur. Secundo de eius contrario, scilicet de continencia et puritate cum suis membris. Circa

5 [f. 194v] luxuriam primo sic intendo procedere: primo, quid sit et quomodo diffinitur; secundo, de eius occasionibus [et ex quibus oritur]; tercio, que sunt eius species illam consequentes; quarto, quare illam execrantur Dominum timentes.

10 Circa primum est sciendum quod a diversis diversimode diffinitur. Quidam enim dicunt primo sic: "Luxuria est anime perverse amantis corporeas voluptates neglecta temperancia." Secundo alius sic: "Luxuria est incontinen-  
15 cia corporis ex pruritu carnis nascens vel originem habens." Tercio per alium sic: "Luxuria est concubitus desiderium supra modum et contra rationem effluens." Quarto, Bernardus: "Luxuria est sitis ebria, deflacio momentanea, amaritudo eterna; lucem odit, tenebras appetit, totam hominis depre-  
datur mentem." Hec ille.

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9 diversimode] *add* sic O.

#### VII.ii DE OCCASIONIBUS LUXURIE: VISUS

[C]irca autem eius occasiones est sciendum quod secundum quosdam quinque sunt occasiones inducentes in hoc versu contente:

Visus et alloquium, contactus et oscula, factum.

## Part VII

### Lechery

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#### VII.1 THE NATURE OF LECHERY

Now, in the last place, we pass on to deal with lechery, the third and worst daughter of the flesh, and its members. Like a public whore, this vice is not ashamed to lie with anybody; whence it is rightly deemed to be accursed. Following it, we will deal with its opposite virtue, namely continence and purity, and its members. Concerning lechery I plan to proceed as follows: first, I will discuss what it is and how it is defined; second, its occasions and from where it originates; third, the species that follow it; and fourth, why those who fear God curse it.

On the first point we should know that lechery is variously defined by various authors. Some say: "Lechery is the failure to observe moderation in a soul that perversely loves bodily pleasures." Another author says: "Lechery is bodily incontinence which is born of or has its origin in the itching of our flesh." Yet another definition is this: "Lechery is the desire to have sex which rises beyond measure and against reason." And a fourth definition, according to Bernard, declares: "Lechery is drunken thirst, a momentary outburst, eternal bitterness; it shuns the light, seeks darkness, and entirely plunders man's mind."

#### VII.ii THE OCCASIONS OF LECHERY: SIGHT

With regard to the occasions of lechery we should know that according to some authors there are five occasions that lead to this vice; they are listed in the following verse:

Sight and speech, touching and kisses, finally the deed.

5 Circa primum est sciendum secundum Augustinum quod concupiscencia ocu-  
lorum est vana et curiosa cupiditas experiendi visa per carnem. In cuius  
figura Genesis 38 legitur quod cum uxor Pharaonis oculos misisset in Ioseph,  
illum statim concupiscens ait: "Dormi mecum." Nota historiam. Idem  
eciam patet Regum 11 de rege David et Bersabee. Nota historiam. Ideo magis  
10 timendus est visus talis inordinatus quam hostium vibratus gladius, imo  
magis quam basiliscus qui, nisi prius hominem videat, ipsum non interficit.  
Set econtra dicit Ysidorus quod mulier, sive videat sive videatur, et visum  
et videntem interficit. Et ideo Ecclesiastici 9 dicitur: "Averte faciem  
tuam a muliere compta." Et sequitur: "Speciem mulieris aliene multi admira-  
15 ti sunt, et reprobi facti sunt." Unde Gregorius: "Deprimendi sunt, inquit,  
oculi a lascivia suarum voluptatum, qui sunt quasi quidam raptores ad  
culpam. [f. 195] Non enim (dicit ipse) Eva lignum tetigisset nisi prius  
incaute in illud respexisset."

Et nota quod tres assignantur cause quare visum inordinatum restrin-  
gere debemus. Primo quia oculi veloces valde sunt ad nocendum anime.  
20 Propter quod preonibus comparantur; Trenorum 4: "Oculus meus depredatus  
est animam meam." Et ideo ait Augustinus: "Impudicus oculus impudici cordis  
est nuncius, quia frequenter cordi mala et feda denunciat," puta carnales  
voluptates et similia. Quibus a corde receptis, et cor ipsa ad portam oris  
transmittit discutienda per verba luxuriosa, que prolata et discussa ut  
25 communiter ad actum tendunt. Exemplum: sicut enim per fumum qui de domo  
exiit cognoscitur quod ignis est intus, sic per verba luxuriosa exterius  
cognoscitur quod ignis luxurie latet interius. Unde narrat Ambrosius libro  
3 *De virginitate* de quodam adolescente gentili mire pulcritudinis; cum  
percepisset se sua pulcritudine mulierum oculos sollicitare, vultum stigma-  
30 tibus exaravit. Maluit enim deformem facie esse quam causam libidinis alio-  
rum. Narrat eciam Boecius *De consolacione* de quadam meretrice speciosissi-  
ma, quam videntes discipuli Aristotelis super eius pulcritudinem admirati  
illam Aristoteli deduxerunt. Qua visa dixit: "O, inquit, fatui! Si, inquit,  
linxos oculos haberetis, quam turpe esset quod tam pulcrum esse vide-  
35 tur!" Concludit ergo Philosophus quod hominem natura pulcrum non facit set  
infirmas oculorum; Proverbiorum 3: "Fallax gracia et vana est pulcritu-  
do."

Secundo debemus visum restringere eo quod a remociori nocent quam alii  
sensus. Gustus enim et tactus sunt eorum que sunt inmediate, set visus non  
40 sic, set eorum (que mediate) consistunt. Unde Seneca: "Sagittarii et balis-  
tarii, qui per oculum diriguntur, magis timentur." Unde Seneca: [f. 195v]  
"Intelligendum, inquit, est partem innocencie esse cecitatem. Hinc enim  
oculi adulterium demonstrant, hinc incestum considerant, hinc domum quam  
concupiscis. Incitamenta sunt viciorum et duces scelerum." Hec ille. Prop-  
45 ter quod quidam oculos inimicos suos vocant pessimos. Unde narratur in

With regard to the first, we must know that according to Augustine the "lust of  
the eyes" is our vain and curious desire to experience carnal sights. As a  
type of this, we read in Genesis 38 that when the wife of Pharaoh cast her eyes  
on Joseph, she at once lusted for him and said, "Come to bed with me." Expound  
the story. The same can be seen in Kings 11 with respect to King David and  
Bathsheba. Tell their story. Therefore, such disorderly looking must be  
feared more than the brandished sword of our enemies, indeed more than the  
basilisk, who does not kill a person unless he sees him. In contrast, as  
Isidore says, a woman, whether she looks or is looked at, kills both the one  
who looks at her and the one she has looked at. Hence it is said in Ecclesiasticus  
9: "Turn your face away from a woman who is dressed up." And after-  
wards: "Many have admired the beauty of another man's wife and have become  
reprobate." Whence Gregory says: "Our eyes must be turned aside from the  
unbridled enjoyment of what gives them pleasure, for they draw us forcefully to  
sin. Eve would not have touched the tree if she had not first looked at it  
without caution."

Notice that three reasons can be given why we must restrain our undis-  
ciplined sight. First, our eyes are very quick to harm our soul. For that  
reason they are compared to thieves; Lamentations 4: "My eye has wasted my  
soul." And therefore Augustine says: "A shameless eye is the messenger for a  
shameless heart; it often announces evil and ugly things to the heart," that is  
to say, carnal desires and the like. When these are admitted into the heart,  
the latter sends them to the mouth to take audible form in lecherous words, and  
when these have been pronounced and broadcast, they often lead to a lecherous  
deed. As an example: by the smoke that issues from a house one knows that  
there is a fire inside; in the same way, by lecherous words that are spoken one  
recognizes that the fire of lechery is hiding inside. In book 3 of *On Virgini-  
ty*, Ambrose reports of a young nobleman who was strikingly beautiful that, when  
he realized that his beauty attracted the eyes of women, he disfigured his face  
with wounds, for he preferred having a deformed face to becoming an occasion  
for lust to other people. Boethius, too, in *The Consolation of Philosophy*,  
tells of a most attractive whore whom Aristotle's disciples, when they saw her  
and admired her beauty, brought to their master. But seeing her Aristotle  
said: "Oh you fools! If you had the eyes of a lynx, how vile would that be  
which seems so beautiful!" Therefore the Philosopher concludes that it is not  
nature that makes a person beautiful but weakness in the eyes that behold him;  
Proverbs 3: "Favor is deceitful, and beauty is vain."

In the second place, we must bridle our sense of sight because it is  
struck from farther away than our other senses. For taste and touch respond to  
things in direct contact, but not so our sight, which is affected by objects  
through some intermediary. Therefore Seneca says: "Archers and artillerymen  
are feared more because they are guided by their eyesight." Hence he says:

*Vitas Patrum* quod cum quidam senex cum alio fratre laudabili vita vineam excolendam intrasset, accidit ut unus ramunculus oculum eius evulsit. Quod videns socius contristatus valde flevit. Quod videns senex ait: "Ne doleas, frater, set potius gaude, quia pessimum inimicum amisi. Duos enim capitales prius habui, set iam—laudetur Deus—unum perdidit. Si vero ambos perdidissem, de salute anime satis securus essem."

Et nota quod inter omnia que ad custodiendum innocenciam sunt necessaria precipue videtur custodia oculorum. Exemplum: Quando enim inter duo regna aliqua guerra suscitatur, tunc loca que sunt in marchiiis precipue debent muniri, et maxime infirmiora loca, [ut] patet. Sic inter regnum anime, ubi princeps est recta ratio, et regnum mundi, cuius princeps est diabolus, (est) continuum bellum in bonis hominibus °. Et sensus nostri ad regnum anime pertinent, set ea que movent ad delectacionem et motus illicitos ad regnum mundi pertinent. Set isti sensus, ut videtur, sunt quasi in marchia duorum regnorum. Ergo super sensus istos debet esse diligens custodia. Set inter omnes sensus visus est infirmior, quia minimo pulvere confundi potest ac vento. Ergo ibi custodia precipue est necessaria, et ad hoc videtur ipsa natura nos monere. Nam Philosophus 13 *De animalibus* capitulo 7 dicit quia natura oculi creata est ex humiditate, quod ideo summe indiget diligenti custodia. Unde naturaliter omne animal claudit oculum ne aliquid extrinsecum in illum cadat, et maxime homo. [f. 196] Dicitur ergo Numeri 15: "Non sequamur cogitationes nec oculos per res varias fornicantes."

Tercio debemus visum restringere quia usus eorum valde necessarius est et per consequens abusus valde timendus. Licet enim valde sit lingua corrupta, tamen longo tempore includi potest et sic cessando ab eius usu impediri; set oculi non (cessant) videre quantum in eis est, ergo nec peccare; (Petrus): "Oculos habentes plenos adulterio." Unde et de Alexandro narrat Vigésius libro 6 quod cum virgo quedam nimie pulcritudinis tradita esset ei cuidam principi prius desponsata, summa abstinentia pepercit ut nec illam aspiceret set ad sponsum remisit. Hec ille. Unde Ecclesiastico dicitur: "Oculo nequius quid creatum est?"

Et ideo refrenandi sunt oculi ab illicitis aspectibus, eo quod sunt quasi due partes corporis nostri quibus si dominetur diabolus similiter esset dominus tocius corporis, sicut qui occupat dominum portarum castri de residuo securus est. Unde Iob 31: "Pepigi fedus cum oculis meis," etc. Narratur de quodam sancto ancillis Dei in via occurrente, quibus visis extra viam divertit. Cui abbatissa: "Tu, inquit, si perfectus monachus es, sic non respexisses ut sic agnosceres quod femine eramus." Unde per hoc patet quod visus omnino est refrenandus.

6 misisset] iniecisset O. 27 quod . . . luxurie] ignis luxurie qui (que W) O. 30 facie] corr from faciei C; faciei O. 32 pulcritudinem] pulcritudine O. 34 esset] add in natura

"We must understand that innocence consists partially in blindness. It is one's eyes that point to adultery, that look at incest or the house one desires. They goad us on toward vices and lead us to crimes." For this reason some call their eyes their worst enemies. There is a story in *The Lives of the Fathers* about a hermit who went to cultivate his vineyard with another brother of praiseworthy life. It happened that a small branch pierced his eye. When his companion saw that, he grew sad and wept a great deal. But the hermit said to him: "Do not grieve, brother, but rather rejoice, for I have lost a grievous enemy. I have had two main enemies and now, God be praised, I have lost one. If I had lost both, I could be quite sure of my soul's salvation."

Notice also that among all the things that are necessary for the protection of one's innocence, guarding one's eyes is the foremost. To illustrate: if war breaks out between two countries, places along the border have to be fortified, and especially weak places, as is evident. Thus, within good people there is a constant war between the realm of the soul, whose prince is right reason, and the realm of the world, whose prince is the devil. Our senses are part of the realm of the soul, but what moves them to delight and to illicit stirrings is part of the realm of the world. But these senses, so to speak, lie on the border between the two realms. Therefore they must be diligently guarded. Now, among all our senses sight is the weakest, for it can be ruined by the least bit of dust and wind. Therefore its safeguarding is particularly necessary. Nature itself seems to admonish us to do that. For the Philosopher says, in chapter 7 of book 13 of *On Animals*, that since the eye is made of liquid, it needs to be guarded most diligently. For this reason every living being closes its eye so that no foreign object may fall into it, and this is especially true of man. Therefore it is said in Numbers 15: "Let us not follow our thoughts and eyes that go astray after divers things."

In the third place, we must bridle our sense of sight because we need it so very much, and consequently its misuse is much to be feared. For if our tongue is evil, it can be kept shut up for a long time and prevented from misuse by not being used at all; but our eyes, as far as it lies in their power, cannot refrain from seeing and hence from sinning; as Peter says: "Having eyes full of adultery." Vegetius in book 6 tells us that Alexander was given an extremely beautiful maiden who had earlier been betrothed to some prince. Alexander observed the greatest degree of abstinence in that he did not even look at her and sent her back to her husband. Whence it is said in Ecclesiasticus: "What is created more wicked than an eye?"

Therefore, our eyes must be restrained from illicit looks, because they are, as it were, two parts of our body which, if the devil rules over them, he will likewise be lord over our whole body, just as when one holds the master of the castle gates, one can be sure of the rest of the castle. Therefore Job 31 says: "I made a covenant with my eyes," and so on. Of some saint it is

non crederetis C; add videretis M.—C's reading seems to be unique, perhaps a scribal attempt to make sense of the syntax (cf. M) in light of the following sentence. 35 Philosophus] philosophia M.W; plurima R. 40 que mediate] immediate C. 44 concupiscis] concupiscas O. ille] seneca O. 56 est] om O. 57 est] et C. hominibus] add suscitatur C. 60 istos] om O. 62 ad] om O. 63 13] 12 M.W; om R. 68 usus] visus O. eorum] illorum O. 71 cessant] cessantes C.M.W. 72 Petrus] per C.R.W; proverbiorum M.—B1.Co. Et.Go1.Go2 have some form of 2 Petri 2. 73 nimie] eximie O. ei] om O. 78 partes] corr to porte M. 79 castris] add et O. 82 monachus] add nos O.

### VII.iii COLLOQUIA

[S]ecunda occasio luxurie est in colloquiis impudicis. Unde illud: "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava," et maxime quando fiunt colloquia inter hominem vanum et mulierem impudicam, iuxta illud Proverbiorum 7: "Mulier cum ornatu meretrico irritavit iuvenem multis sermonibus, et blandimentis labiorum contraxit illum." Et Proverbiorum 9: "Mulier stulta et clamorosa sedet in foribus domus sue vocans transeuntes per viam"; et multi voci eius obediunt, dicentes illud Psalmi: "Paratus sum et non sum turbatus." Nam quamvis prius in bona volun- [f. 196v] tate fuerunt, tamen auditis colloquiis et confabulationibus earum sicut inconstantes devincuntur omnino carnem sequentes et non spiritum. Et nota quod multi [sunt] qui quamvis in via ad celum ducente fuerint penitentiam agendo, levi tamen instigatione deviare possunt et dicunt in animo suo: "In via hac ulterius non vadam set revertar in terram in qua natus sum," Numeri 10, quasi dicat: penitentiam ac viam consciencie dimittam et ad carnis desideria redibo. Caro enim est terra de qua nati sumus, quia secundum Evangelistam "quod natum est ex carne, caro est."

Et de talibus sicut de quodam monstro marino nomine (lolligo), cuius natura est quod quandoque habet societatem cum avibus et quandoque cum piscibus. Unde cum aquas et pisses fastidierit, alis pennigeris se levat in aerem, ubi cum avibus ethera scandit. Cum ergo flatus ventorum sustinere non potest, ad aquas cogitur redire, et sic ibi labitur in profundum. Revera spiritualiter loquendo sic est de pluribus hominibus qui omnino instabiles dici debent, eo quod modo se in profundum voluptatum inmergunt, et cum illis satiati fuerint, fingunt se erigere per ieiunia et oraciones et huiusmodi opera penencie. Set cum senciunt modicum ventum temptacio-

reported that he met some nuns on his way and that, when he saw them, he went off the road. Then the abbess said to him: "If you were a perfect monk, you would not have looked at us in this way to find out that we were women." This shows us that our sight must be bridled altogether.

3 In 20651; Prov 33816, 33818–19, etc. 6–7 Gen. 39.7. 10 Isidore, *Etym.* XII.iv.6. 12–13 Ecclus. 9.8. 13–14 Ecclus. 9.11. 14–17 Gregory, *Moralia* XXI.ii.4 (PL 76:190). 20–21 Lam. 3.51. 21–22 Augustine, *Ep.* 211 10 (PL 33:961). 27–31 Cf. the same story from Valerius, in *FM* VII.xviii.62–66. 31–36 Boethius, *De consolatione Philosophiae* III, pr.8, 10 (CC 94:48). 36–37 Prov. 31.30. 40–44 Also in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.ii.4, but the first image is not attributed to "Seneca." 63–64 Aristotle, *De animalium generatione* V.1 (779b); *De anima* 3 (425a.4); *De sensu* 2 (438a.5 ff.). 66–67 Num. 15.39. 72 2 Pet. 2.14. 72–75 Tubach 138. 76 Ecclus. 31.15. 80 Job 31.1. 81–83 VP V.62 (PL 73:872).

### VII.iii LECHERY IN CONVERSATION

The second occasion for lechery lies in unchaste conversation. Hence the saying: "Evil conversation corrupts good manners," especially if it takes place between a vain man and a shameless woman, according to the saying of Proverbs 7: "In her harlot's attire the woman entangled the young man with many words and drew him away with the flattery of her words." And in Proverbs 9: "A foolish and clamorous woman sits at the door of her house, calling those that pass by the way"; and many follow her voice, saying these words of the Psalm: "I am ready and am not troubled." For even if before they had had a good intention, after they hear their talk and chatter, they are overcome in their lack of steadfastness and follow their flesh every way rather than their spirit. Notice that many people who by doing penance have been on the way that leads to heaven can yet go astray with a little seduction and tell themselves: "I will not go further in this way but return to the country where I was born," Numbers 10, as if to say, I will leave penance and the way of conscience, and will return to the desires of the flesh. For the flesh is the country where we all were born, for according to the Evangelist, "what is born of the flesh is flesh."

Such people are like a sea creature called flying fish, whose nature it is to live sometimes with the birds and sometimes with the fish. Thus, when it gets bored with the water and the fish, it lifts itself on feathered wings into the air, where it flies up high with the birds. But when it cannot stand the wind's blowing, it is forced to return to the water, and thus it sinks into the depth. Spiritually speaking, the same applies to many people who must be said to be totally unstable, because now they submerge themselves in the depth of their desires, and when they are sated, they pretend to rise up through fasting



nis, hoc est verba inprudica et ad peccata allectiva, mox in pristinam miseriam relabuntur. Unde de talibus Psalmista ait: "Ascendunt usque ad celos et descendunt usque ad abissos." Unde Proverbiorum 5 dicitur: "Favus distillans labia meretricis, etc.; novissima eius amara et quasi gladius biceps," hoc est binos capiens in pena, videlicet lecatorem et meretricem. Merito ergo est fedum alloquium fugiendum. Unde de illo nota supra, parte 1, capitulo 3 de superbia oris.

1 illud] add apostoli O. 2 fiunt] add huiusmodi O. 4 meretrico] meretricio R. 17 Et] add ideo O. loligo] bolingo C; lolico R. W. 19 fastidierit] fastiderit O. 25 senciant] senserint O. 27 Unde de talibus] de quibus O. 31 de] pro O.

#### VII.iv TACTUS

[T]ercia occasio luxurie est tactus, de quo Ad Corinthios 7: "Bonum est viro non tangere mulierem." Et causa assignatur (Proverbiis): "Qui tangit picem," etc. Et ideo Crisostomus: [f. 197] "Sicut, inquit, ligatur latro ut suspendatur, sic peccator amplexibus mulieris ad infernum ducitur." Et ideo Ecclesiastici 9 dicitur: "Cum muliere aliena non sedeas, nec accumbas cum ea super cubitum." Quod bene perpendebat sacerdos ille de quo in *Dialogis* dicitur quod ante ordinationem sacerdotalem habuit concubinam, quam postea relinquens quasi sororem habebat caste vivendo. Qui cum usque ad mortem egrotasset et ipsa illum palpare voluisset, utrum spiritus eius recessisset an non, dixit: "Recede a me, mulier, et tolle (paleam). Adhuc viget igniculus." Unde illud Proverbiorum 6: "Numquid quis potest abscondere ignem in sinu suo ut vestimenta eius non ardeant?" quasi dicat, nullo modo.

Cum igitur ex predictis patet quod luxuria sit quasi ignis, sic ergo contra eam quasi contra ignem materialem triplex remedium apponendum est cum ceperit exardescere, scilicet aque infusio, lignorum subtractio, aut sui ipsius elongatio. Verbi gratia: si enim olla iuxta ignem ebulliat, ne effundatur quod in ea continetur, tunc enim unum istorum trium fieri consuevit, quia vel aqua frigida infunditur, vel de lignis subtrahitur, vel ipsa olla ab igne elongatur. Revera sic qui peccato luxurie temptatur, ad litteram valet aqua frigida super te proiecta, vel saltem spiritualiter recurras ad aquam lacrimarum vel ad aliam huiusmodi penitentiam, sicut subtrahendo aliquam porcionem cibi vel potus. Et precipue illa cibaria retrahenda sunt que ipsam luxuriam incitant, cuiusmodi sunt forcia vina acuti saporis et huiusmodi, que sunt nutrimenta luxurie sicut ligna ignis. Vel tandem elongant se totaliter ab ipsa luxuria et eius occasionibus; Corinthiorum 6: "Fugite fornicacionem." Ut dicit Ambrosius: "Cum alii

and prayers and other such works of penance. But as soon as they feel a little breeze of temptation, that is, unchaste words that entice them to sin, they soon fall back into their former wretchedness. Of these the Psalmist says: "They mount up to the heavens, and they go down to the depths." And Proverbs 5: "The lips of a harlot are like a honeycomb dropping, and her end is bitter and as a two-edged sword," that is, always catching two in its punishment, namely, the lecher and the whore. Thus it is right to flee from dirty conversation. See further on this topic above, in part 1, chapter 3, on pride of the mouth.

2 1 Cor. 15.33. 4-5 Prov. 7.10, 21. 5-6 Prov. 9.13-15. 7-8 Ps. 118.60. 12-13 Num. 10.30. 16 John 3.6. 27-28 Ps. 106.26. 28-30 Prov. 5.3. 31-32 FM I.iv.

#### VII.iv LECHERY IN TOUCHING

The third occasion for lechery is touching; of it is said in Corinthians 7: "It is good for a man not to touch a woman." The reason for this is given in Proverbs: "He that touches pitch," and so forth. Therefore Chrysostom says: "Just as a thief is bound in order to be hanged, so is a sinner carried to hell in the arms of a woman." And thus it is said in Ecclesiasticus 9: "Do not sit with another man's wife, nor lie on the bed with her." These words were well heeded by that priest who in the *Dialogues* is reported to have had a mistress before his ordination, from whom he afterwards detached himself, living with her chastely like brother and sister. When he fell sick unto death and she wanted to touch him to see whether he was still alive, he said: "Step back, woman, and take the straw away. The spark is still glowing!" Hence the words in Proverbs 6: "Can a man hide fire in his bosom, and his garments not get burned?" as if to say: certainly not.

Since it is clear from what has been said that lechery is like fire, we must therefore apply a threefold remedy against it when it begins to burst into flame, just as if it were a material fire, namely: pour on water, withdraw the wood, and step back from it. For instance, if a pot is boiling on the fire, one does one of these three so that the contents of the pot may not boil over: one either pours on some cold water, or takes some of the firewood away, or takes the pot itself off the fire. In the same way, when one is tempted by the sin of lechery, it is helpful literally to pour cold water over oneself, or else spiritually to have recourse to the water of one's tears or some other penitential practice, such as withdrawing a little of one's food and drink. And especially those foodstuffs are to be withdrawn which kindle lust in us, such as strong and spiced wines and the like, which nourish lechery as wood nourishes a fire. Or finally one must detach oneself completely from lechery and its occasions; Corinthians 6: "Fly fornication." As Ambrose says: "Other

nempe potest expectari viciis conflictus, set hanc fugite ne appropinquat,  
quia melius quam [f. 197v] [per fugam] dimitti non potest." Exemplum habemus  
30 Genesis 39 de Ioseph, cui cum dixit domina sua, uxor scilicet Putiphar-  
ri, "Dormi mecum," relicto pallio in manu eius fugit. Unde Augustinus:  
"Mundus, inquit, et mulieres non melius quam fugiendo vincuntur." Et Grego-  
rius: "Contra luxuriam fugam arripe si vis victoriam optinere." Et iterum  
ait Augustinus: "Numquid aliquis mortalium iuxta viperam securum capit  
35 sompnum, que etsi non percuciat, certe sollicitat? Securius ergo (dicit  
ipse) est non perire posse quam iuxta periculum non perisse."

Et nota quod quantumcumque pulcher sit flos, si tamen multum manibus  
tractetur, marcessit. Sic certe est de virginitate. Alba eciam spina licet  
pulcherrimos habeat flores superius, subtus tamen portat spinas acutissimas.  
40 Revera sic mulieres quantumcumque fuerint ornate et pulcre, tanto  
magis pungunt. Isidorus autem *Ethimologiarum* libro 12 narrat, et accipit a  
Plinio, quod in mari Indico est quedam pissis dictus torpedo, quia facit  
corpora torpescere illum viventem tangencia. Ipsa enim naturaliter a longe  
quamvis fuerit et procul, si tamen hasta vel virga attingatur, pedes tamen  
45 ad cursum velocissimos facit torpescere. Tantum enim virus visus est in ea  
eciam ut membra corporis facit arida. Consimile (eciam) exemplum narratur  
libro *De naturis rerum* de quadam pisse narchos dicta, cuius natura est quod  
si filo rethis tangatur aut hamo, quod eciam totum corpus stupescere facit  
nisi cicius abrumptatur. Revera sic est de carnali delectacione, que si vel  
50 sola cognicione vel assensu teneatur, (totam mentem) reddit ° invalidam et  
ad spiritualia inpotentem, nisi cicius auferatur, iuxta illud Levitici:  
"Omnis qui tetigerit eam, immundus est." Et ideo dicitur Trenorum 4: "Abite  
et nolite tangere."

Et nota: vulgariter enim dicitur, "Bene pugnat qui bene fugit." Et [f.  
55 198] certe sic est qui occasionem peccati devitat. Unde Albertus super  
librum *Ethicorum*, ubi recitat quod Elena filia Priami fuit pulcherrima  
mulier, propter quod sapientes dixerunt quod non fuit cum ea communicandum  
set omnino a concupiscenciis eius abstinendum et per consequens ab eius  
societate fugiendum. Eos (ap)probat idem Albertus dicens et probans quod  
60 melior est victoria quam fuga. Et hoc ostendit tali exemplo. Gorgonius,  
inquit, fuit pulcherrimus hominum et pessimus in tantum quod sua pulcritudo  
homines transeuntes immobiles reddebat, hoc est, ita pulcher erat quod  
quando aliquis vidit eum, propter eius pulcritudinem quasi staret delecta-  
biliter acsi immobilis videretur. Quos sic eum respicientes ex sua malicia  
65 interficiebat. Quod cum quidam iuvenis strenuus et fortis considerasset,  
illum interficere cogitavit. Deliberans tamen penes se quod si eum respice-  
ret caperetur eius pulcritudine sicut alii; unde aversa facie illum occi-  
dit. Moraliter per istum Gorgonium intelligo mulieres comptas ornatas ad  
libidinem provocantes, quarum si flammis pessimas extinguere proponis et

vices you can confront and do battle with, but this one you must flee and not  
let come near, because there is no better way of overcoming it than flight."  
We have an illustration in Joseph, in Genesis 39: when his lady, Potiphar's  
wife, said to him, "Come to bed with me," he left his cloak in her hand and  
fled. Therefore Augustine says: "The world and women cannot be overcome any  
better than by flight." And Gregory declares: "Against lechery you must take  
to flight if you want to have the victory." And Augustine again says: "Can  
any mortal sleep safely beside a viper, which even if it does not sting will  
certainly vex him? It is safer to be unable to perish than not to have per-  
ished in the presence of danger."

Notice how beautiful a flower is, but when it is touched by many hands, it  
wilts. This certainly applies to virginity. Also, the hawthorn has many  
beautiful blossoms in open view, yet underneath it carries very sharp thorns.  
Women are just like that: the more decked out and beautiful they are, the more  
sharply they sting. In book 12 of his *Etymologies* Isidore reports, as he  
takes it from Pliny, that in the Indian Ocean there is a fish, the electric  
ray, which is called *torpido* because it makes the bodies of those who touch it  
torpid. Even when it is far away, if it is merely touched with a spear or  
stick, it naturally causes even the swiftest feet to grow slack. For its  
poison is so strong that it causes the members of one's body to dry up. A  
similar example can be found in the book *On the Nature of Things*, concerning a  
fish called *narchos*, "crampfish," whose property it is to numb one's whole body  
if it is touched by the string of a net or a fishhook, unless one at once  
breaks it. The same applies to carnal delight: if it is as much as touched by  
one's thought or assent, it renders one's whole mind feeble and impotent to  
grasp spiritual things, unless it is at once put aside, after the words of  
Leviticus: "Everyone who has touched her is unclean." And therefore it is  
said in Lamentations 4: "Go away and do not touch."

Notice the popular saying: "Who flees well fights well." Surely this  
applies to a person who avoids the occasion for sin. Albertus in his comment  
on the *Nicomachean Ethics* narrates that Helen, the daughter of Priam, was the  
most beautiful woman; for this reason the wise men said that one should not  
hold company with her but instead abstain from desiring her altogether and thus  
flee her company. Albertus approves of this view, saying and proving that  
victory is better than flight. And this he shows by the following example.  
Gorgon was the most beautiful of men and yet the most evil because his beauty  
rendered people immobile when they passed by, that is, he was so beautiful that  
if someone saw him, he stood still with delight and thus appeared to be immo-  
bile. And then Gorgon out of wickedness killed those who were thus looking at  
him. When a strong and brave youth noticed that, he thought to kill him. But  
he reflected that if he were to look at him, he would be captivated by his  
beauty like all the others; therefore he killed him with his face turned away.

- 70 devincere, iuxta consilium Psalmiste “averte oculos tuos ne videant vanitatem,” quasi diceret, averte omnino ab occasionibus illicitis, ut scilicet non videas concupiscibilia nec audias turpia. Et ideo (Ioannes) in suo *Policratico*, libro 4, capitulo 3, ait quod Iulius Cesar dixit in bello corpora hominum vulnerari, set in pace voluptatibus devinci. Unde signanter
- 75 dixit poeta quando querebat quare Egistus factus est adulter: “Causa, inquit, est inpromptu quia desidiosus erat.” Nam sicut aqua non mota ex se putrescit, sic ociositas est causa peccati, et maxime libidinis. In cuius figura rex David quamdiu bella excercuit, non incidit in adulterium; et quando ocio domi vacabat, cum Barsabee adulteratus est et commisit homicidium.
- 80

2 Proverbiis] *canc and add marg* ecclesiastici 8 C. 3 tangit] tetigerit O. Crisostomus] *add* ait O. 8 relinquit] *add* et O. 10 paleam] *apparently corr to* palliam C. 14 igitur] ergo O. 22 vel] aut O. 23 vel] et O. 28 appropinquat] appropinquet O. 30–31 Putiphari] pharaonis O. 42 quedam] quidam O. quia] eo quod O. 45 ea] eo O. 46 etiam] enim C. 47 quadam] quodam O. 48 stupescere] obstupescere O. 49 vel] *om* O. 50 cognicione] cogitatione M.R.; coge W. totam . . . reddit] coram mente reddit eam C. 57 mulier] mulierum O. 59 approbat] reprobatur C.W. 71 averte] *add* te M. 72 Ioannes] ieronimus C.M.

## VII.v OSCULUM

[f. 198v] [Q]uarta occasio luxurie est osculum. Unde Beda: “Qui, inquit, meretricem deosculatur, pulsatur inferni ianuam.” Set certe delectantibus in signo cum facto patefacta est ianua. Et ideo oscula meretricis comparantur osculo Iude, quo Christum vendidit et ipsum Iudeis tradidit. Sic meretrix

5 mediantibus oculis animam hominis demonibus vendit, et etiam tradit dicens: “Accipite et ducite eum caute, ne forte resipiscat donec factum consummat.”

Unde narratur quod quidam litteratus legens in scripturis acerbiter penarum iehenne rogavit Deum ut in vita presenti aliquid ex huiusmodi

10 levibus peccati signis, puta oculis, visibus, tactibus, et huiusmodi, ostenderet, si aliquod peccatum ex illis emanaret. Unde cum multum circa hoc laborando orasset, venit ad eum quidam dicens: “Veni et vide quid postulas,” et duxit eum in quoddam viridarium ubi vidit formam hominis et mulieris valde terribiles se invicem amplectantes et deosculantes. Qui

To interpret morally: by this Gorgon I understand women who are dressed up and decked out to provoke lust; if you plan to extinguish and overcome their evil flames, “turn away your eyes that they may not see vanity,” after the advice of the Psalmist, meaning: turn completely away from illicit occasions, so that you may not see what rouses lust or hear shameful things. For this reason, John in his *Policraticus*, book 4, chapter 3, says that according to Julius Caesar, in war men’s bodies are wounded, but in times of peace they are killed by soft pleasures. Therefore the poet says meaningfully, when he asked why Aegisthus had become an adulterer:

The cause is plain—he was a slothful man.

For just as stagnant water rots of itself, so does idleness generate sin, and particularly lust. As a type of this, King David did not fall into adultery as long as he engaged in warfare; but when he gave himself to idleness at home, he slept with Bathsheba and afterwards committed murder.

1–2 1 Cor. 7.1. 2–3 Ecclus. 13.1. 5–6 Ecclus. 9.12. 6–11 Gregory, *Dialogi* IV.xii.3 (3:50). 11–12 Prov. 6.27. 27 1 Cor. 6.18. 27–29 Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.iv.1 also has this quotation as well its context (lines 14–31). 30–31 Gen. 39.7. 34–36 Jerome, *Ep. 117* 3 (CSEL 55:425–426). Already quoted at *FM* V.xii.53–55. 41–46 Isidore, *Etym.* XII.vi.45. 47–49 Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* II.44 (p. 156). 52 Lev. 15.20. 52–53 Lam. 4.15. 55–60 Albertus Magnus, *Ethica* II.ii.11 (7:193). 60–68 *Ibidem*, I.vii.2 (7:108). 70–71 Ps. 118.37. 73–74 *Policraticus* IV.3 (p. 244). 75–76 Ovid, *Remedia amoris* 161–162.

## VII.v KISSING

The fourth occasion for lechery is kissing. Bede says: “He who kisses a whore is knocking at the door of hell.” Surely, if one takes delight in the sign, the door is opened with the deed. Therefore the kisses of a whore can be compared to the kiss with which Judas sold Christ and betrayed him to the Jews. In the same way a whore sells and betrays a man’s soul through her kisses to the demons, saying: “Take him and lead him along cautiously, lest he gets wise before completing the deed.”

A story is told that a learned man who had been reading in Scripture about the harshness of hell pains asked God to show him in this life something about such light signs of sin as kisses, looks, touches, and the like, whether any sin had come from them. When he prayed for this with great intensity, someone came to him and said: “Come and see what you are asking for,” and led him into a garden. There he saw the horrible-looking shapes of a man and a woman embracing and kissing each other, who then with a terrifying howl seemed to melt

- 15 tandem emisso horribili ululatu quasi cera liquescere videbantur. Deinde ad  
 pristinam formam redeuntes, iterum ut prius liquefacti sunt. Cui ait ductor  
 suus: "Isti, inquit, quos vidisti tales fuerunt dum viverent in huiusmodi  
 delectantes. Et quia osculis et amplexibus quociens poterant adulterio  
 20 delectabantur ardore, licet ab immunda violacione corporea immunes reman-  
 sissent, quia tamen sine confessione et penitencia de consensu peccandi  
 decesserunt, dampnati sunt," etc.

15 horribili] horrido M.R; horrida W. 21 etc.] om O.

### VII.vi FACTUM

- [Q]uinta occasio luxurie patet ex ipso facto, de quo Ad Galatas 4:  
 "Manifesta sunt opera carnis, que sunt inmundicia," etc. Contra que preci-  
 pitur Deuteronomii 3: "Expedite precedite absque uxoribus, pueris, aut  
 iumentis." Notandum quod uxor ista est [f. 199] caro, cui nubet qui eam  
 5 fovet immoderate et diligit. Cui liberi sunt delectaciones noxie et illicita  
 desideria. Et iumenta sunt opera carnis et facta bestialia. Igitur hec  
 tria—uxor, parvuli, et iumenta—recludenda sunt in civitate munita, que  
 eciam arcenda sunt ab anima bene instructa ne nobiscum pergant ad prelium.  
 Nam qui ista tria secum habent non sunt expediti set potius impediti.  
 10 Solinus enim *De mirabilibus mundi* dicit quod si hyena aliquod animal ter  
 lustraverit, quod ultra se movere non potest. Ista hyena est caro, que  
 illos ter lustrat quos hiis tribus alligavit. Et ideo Iosue 1 dicitur:  
 "Uxores vestre et filii et iumenta manebunt; vos autem transite armati,"  
 acsi diceret: carnales consensus, delectaciones, et opera includatis per  
 15 opera penitencie, et armati bonis virtutibus contra vicia procedatis. Et  
 certe si sic feceritis, verificatur illud de vobis Deuteronomii 7: "Non est  
 apud te sterilis utriusque sexus." Nam quando spiritus dominatur carni,  
 uterque tunc sexus fertilis est et bonos fructus virtutum profert. Et e  
 converso quando caro dominatur spiritui, tunc uterque sterilis quoad bonos  
 20 mores redditur. Dicit enim Plinius quod si capra olivam lambat, reddit eam  
 sterilem. Capra autem hec, que secundum Philosophum fetens est et immunda,  
 cuius fetus posterior naturaliter est peior priore, signat carnem, cuius  
 concupiscencie et facta quanto plures fuerint tanto fetidiores et peiores  
 25 blandiendo eius robur attrahit. Et ideo non mirum si fructificare non per-  
 mittat. Unde Ieremie 22: "Scribe virum istum sterilem."

De ista ergo carne et eius operibus dicitur Apocalipsis 13: "Vidi  
 aliam bestiam [f. 199v] ascendentem de terra habentem cornua duo et loqueba-  
 tur ut draco." Spiritualiter autem loquendo ista bestia est carnis concu-

like wax. After a moment they returned to their former shape and then melted  
 again as before. Then his guide explained: "What you have seen are people who  
 took delight in such things while they were alive. And since they engaged in  
 kisses and embraces with adulterous passion whenever they could, even though  
 they refrained from unchaste possession of each other's bodies, as they died  
 without confession and repentance of having yielded to sin, they are damned."

1-2 Bede, *Super parabolas Salomonis* 22 (PL 91:1004).

### VII.vi THE SEX ACT

The fifth occasion of lechery clearly lies in the sex act itself, of which  
 it is said in Galatians 4: "The works of the flesh are manifest, which are  
 uncleanness," etc. Against them is given the commandment of Deuteronomy 3:  
 "Go well prepared, without your wives, children, and cattle." Notice that  
 "wife" here means the flesh, to which one is married when one pampers and loves  
 it immoderately. Her "children" are harmful delights and forbidden desires.  
 And the "cattle" are the deeds of the flesh and animal-like acts. Therefore,  
 these three—wife, children, and cattle—are to be locked up in a fortified  
 city, meaning they are to be reined in by the well-taught soul so that they do  
 not go forth with us into battle. For whoever has these three with him is not  
 well prepared but rather burdened down. Solinus in *The Marvels of the World*  
 says that when the hyena has looked at an animal three times, the latter cannot  
 move. This hyena is our flesh; it looks three times at those whom it binds to  
 the aforementioned three. And therefore it is said in Joshua 1: "Your wives  
 and children and cattle shall remain; but you pass over armed," as if to say:  
 leave your fleshly desires and pleasures and works behind through the deeds of  
 penance, and go forward against the vices armed with good virtues. If you do  
 that, surely the words of Deuteronomy 7 will come true of you: "No one shall  
 be barren among you of either sex." For when the spirit rules over the flesh,  
 both sexes are fertile and bring forth the good fruit of virtues. Conversely,  
 when the flesh rules over the spirit, both become sterile with respect to good  
 habits. For Pliny says that when a goat licks an olive-tree, it renders it  
 barren. The goat, which according to the Philosopher is a bad-smelling and  
 unclean animal, and smells worse behind than in front, symbolizes the flesh,  
 whose lusts and deeds are found to be ever more ugly and evil the more often  
 they occur. But the olive-tree is man's mind; it is licked when the flesh with  
 its fondling draws off its strength. Thus it is no wonder if the flesh does  
 not allow it to yield fruit. Hence it is said in Jeremiah 22: "Write this man  
 barren."

30 piscencia que de terra carnis nostre oritur, habens duo cornua, scilicet gulam et luxuriam, que non apparent terribilia set magis delusoria. Et ideo similia cornibus agni lascivi quia provocant ad lasciviam, et tamen in fine producunt ad insolentiam. Set ista bestia "loquebatur sicut draco." Draco enim de ore suo emittit flatum infectivum; sic caro provocat ad huiusmodi  
 35 loquendum. Unde vix est aliquis quin carnis lascivia infectetur et venenatur, sicut patet in varietate vanitatum, modo in victu, modo in vestitu, modo in gestu, modo in affatu, modo in cantu, modo in ingressu et huiusmodi carnalibus miseriis confusionem inducentibus. Expone ut placet.

Et nota quod preter quinque istas occasiones luxurie sunt alie suggestiones vetularum, que multos tam homines quam mulieres a proposito continencie et mundicie faciunt resilire, que pronube nuncupantur. Quarum opus opus diaboli est. Opus enim diaboli est super omnia operam dare, hoc est diligenciam, ut homines in peccatum deiciat et demergat. Cum ergo in perfectis ipse diabolus arte propria prevalere non potest, huiusmodi pronubas,  
 45 idest vetulas, arte miserie infectas inmittit nuncias, que animas hominum et mulierum ad carnis peccata alliciunt. Ex quo patet quod potenciores sunt in malis quam ipse diabolus, et ideo magistra diaboli dici potest; de quibus bene dicitur Proverbiorum 16: "Indignacio regis nuncius mortis." Si ergo David interfici illum iussit qui prospera videbatur nunciare, ut patet  
 50 Regum 1 de morte Saulis, quid credis facturum est supernus David, idest Christus, illis qui quasi infernalibus nunciis incendia? quasi diceret, David rex interficere non potuit nisi temporaliter, [f. 200] set Christus eternaliter; ergo, etc. Et ideo tales vetule maledicte sorores dici possunt serpentis Evam decipientis. Serpens autem, secundum Bedam, vultum habet virgineum, et signat tales vetulas a diabolo electas ad animas decipiendas.  
 55 De quibus Ioelis 1 dicitur: "Puellam vendiderunt pro vino." Set iuxta Psalmum: "Fel draconum vinum earum, et venenum aspidum insanabile."

Et advertite. Si enim predicator verbi Dei unam animam tantum in vita sua lucraretur, multum faceret, eo quod talis anima C[h]risti sanguine redempta plus valet quam omnia mundi bona. Unde si una talis vetula omnibus diebus suis nullum malum faceret aliud nisi ut unam animam perderet, nimis faceret. Si ergo nullum sacrificium tantum placet diabolo sicut perdicio animarum, ergo cum huiusmodi vetule huiusmodi faciunt, nullum peccatum est maius peccato vetularum, ut manifeste patet. Sicut natura falconis nobilis  
 60 est superius ascendere, et tamen per deceptionem aucupis illum invadentis sepe ad inferiora allicitur, et hoc per aliquam columbam super terram deceptorie positam ad illum alliciendum, sic aucupe inferni decipiuntur iuencule per viam castitatis ascendentes, mediantibus talibus vetulis ad hoc assignatis.

70 Unde narratur de quadam iuencula pudiciciam adamante et a quodam clerico tamen adamata contra voluntatem et inpudice. Cum ergo clericus ille

Concerning the flesh and its works it is written in Revelation 13: "I saw another beast coming up out of the earth, and he had two horns and spoke like a dragon." In spiritual terms, this beast is fleshly concupiscence, which rises from the earth of our flesh and has two horns, namely gluttony and lust, which do not look very terrifying and yet are quite deceptive. They are like the horns of a wanton lamb, because they invite to wantonness and yet in the end lead to insolence. This beast "spoke like a dragon." The dragon sends from his mouth poisonous breath; in the same way, the flesh stirs us to talk in this fashion. Hence there is hardly anyone who does not follow or hunt after wantonness in some manner, as can be seen in the variety of vanities, be it in food or clothing or gestures or speech or song or one's way of walking and similar wretched customs of the flesh that lead to damnation. Develop this point as you see fit.

And notice that in addition to these five occasions of lechery there are further the solicitations of old women called go-betweens, who cause many men and women to retreat from their good intention to live in continence and cleanness. They do the devil's work. For the devil's work is, above all, to strive with all diligence to cast people into sin and drown them. Now, when the devil himself cannot achieve this in people of great moral strength by his own ruses, he sends these go-betweens, full of wretched tricks, as his messengers to lure the minds of men and women into the sins of the flesh. Thus we can see that they are more powerful in evil than the devil himself and may be called the devil's coaches. Of them it is well said in Proverbs 16 that "the wrath of a king is the messenger of death." If David ordered to kill the man who seemingly brought good news, namely Saul's death, in Kings 1, what do you think the heavenly David, that is, Christ, will do to those who, as it were, bring news of the fires of hell? Surely: King David could only inflict temporal death, but Christ can give eternal death; therefore, etc. Hence those cursed old women may be called sisters of the serpent that deceived Eve. According to Bede, the serpent has the face of a maiden, and this stands for those go-betweens that have been chosen by the devil to deceive our souls. Of them is said in Joel 1: "The girl they have sold for wine." But after the Psalm, "their wine is the gall of dragons, and the venom of asps, which is incurable."

Observe the following: If a preacher of God's word were to win a single soul in all his life, he would do a great thing, because that soul, redeemed with the blood of Christ, is worth more than all the goods of the world. Therefore, if one of those go-betweens were to do no other evil in all her days than ruin a single soul, she would do a lot. But since no sacrifice pleases the devil as much as the ruin of souls, therefore—since this is what these go-betweens do—no sin is greater than theirs, as is plain to see. It lies in the nature of a noble falcon to fly up high, and yet he is often lured by the fowl-



de sua voluntate erga illam expedire non posset, cautelam adinvenit et talem vetulam clam consuluit. Que cum ab eo fuisset allocata, catellam quandam accepit et per duos dies aut tres a cibo retraxit. Quo facto quarto die illam pavit pane nigro et cenapio acidissimo, ex cuius fortitudine humores et lacrimae ab eius oculis eruperunt. Quam tunc assumpsit et ad domum [f. 200v] puelle pervenit. Ipsa autem querente causam lacrimarum catelle, vetula quasi dolens et mesta respondit: "Heu michi, filia, heu! De illa enim materia ulterius propter Deum loqui ne attemptes!" Cum ergo ad modum mulierum ipsa magis temptabatur causam rei scire, tandem quasi fictis lacrimis hec misera respondit: "Ista, inquit, catella quam sic lacrimantem consideras filia mea karissima dudum extiterat ab uno clerico maledicto nimium dilecta. Quam cum ad eius amorem verbis vel donis allicere non poterat, pre dolore mortuus est. Unde iratus Deus vindictam assumpsit et filiam meam in hanc formam catelle convertit, sic continue lacrimantem et de stulticia eius condolentem." Quo audito expavit puella dicens: "Heu michi, mater karissima, quid faciam? Nam in eodem statu et casu sum posita. Tuum ergo consilium depono." Cui illa: "Si, inquit, vivere optas, festinanter juvenem illum voca et eius voluntatem per omnia imple." Quod et factum est, et sic puellam decepit. Unde bene dicitur illud de talibus: "Inveni mulierem morte amariorem," quasi diceret, mors naturalis simul et semel nisi unum capere [non] potest, set talis misera tres simul confundit, quia seipsam et duos alios.

1 luxurie] *add* nimis O. 6 opera . . . facta] facta . . . opera O. 7–8 que eciam] quod M.W; quasi diceret R. 12 1] *om* O. 35 lascivia] *corr* from lasciviam C; lasciviam M.W; lascivia R; *add* aliquo modo O. infectetur] insectetur M.W; inflectetur R. 35–36 venenetur] venatur M; venenatur R; venetur W. 38 inducentibus] ducentibus O. 45 inmittit] *corr* from emittit C; emittit O. 50 idest] scilicet O. 66 aliquam] *add* antiquam O. 83 vel] nec O. 84 poterat] potuit O. 89–90 et factum est] est factum O. 90 de talibus] *om* M.W; de ea R. 91 naturalis] naturaliter O.

## VII.vii DE SPECIEBUS LUXURIE: FORNICACIO

Circa autem species huius vicii est sciendum quod plures sunt. Quarum prima fornicatio dici potest, que detestabilior dicitur homicidio aut rapina, eo quod illa substancialiter non sunt mala sicut fornicatio. Exemplum: Aliquis enim potest velle aliquem occidere meritorie, sicut iudex amore iusticie, et similiter aliquis bonum alienum rapere in summa necessitate. Set nullus potest scienter fornicari quoquo modo nisi mortaliter

er's trick to come down, namely by means of some pigeon craftily set on the ground to lure him. In the same fashion, young women who climb up high on the way of chastity are tricked by the fowler of hell by means of such go-betweens that are assigned to this job.

For this we have a story about a young woman who loved her chastity but was loved unchastely and against her will by a cleric. As the cleric could make no headway in having her to his will, he thought of a ruse and secretly consulted such a go-between. When the latter had been hired by him, she took a bitch and starved it for two or three days. Then, on the fourth day, she fed it black bread and very sharp pepper, which made water and tears burst from its eyes. Then she took the bitch and went to the maiden's house. When the girl asked about the cause of the bitch's tears, the old dame answered, as if sad and grieving: "Alas, my daughter, woe to me. For God's sake, don't ask any further about this matter!" But when, like a woman, the girl was tempted even more to know the cause, the wretched dame at last answered with pretended tears: "This bitch you see thus crying once was my beloved daughter and was deeply loved by a cursed cleric. When he could not lure her with words or gifts to love him, he died of grief. But God in his anger took vengeance and changed my daughter into the shape of this bitch who is constantly weeping and mourning for her folly." When the girl heard this, she got frightened and said: "Alas, dear mother, what shall I do? For I am in the same case and condition. I implore you to give me your advice." Then she answered: "If you want to live, call the young man quickly and do his will in everything." That is what happened, and thus she tricked the girl. Wherefore it is well said: "I have found a woman more bitter than death," as if to say: in the course of nature, death can only catch one person at a time, but that wretched dame ruined three at once—herself and two others.

2 Gal. 5.19. 3–4 Deut. 3.19. 10–11 Pliny, *Hist. nat.* VIII.xliv.106. 13 Josh. 1.14. 16–17 Deut. 7.14. 20–21 Pliny, *Hist. nat.* VIII.lxxvi.204. 26 Jer. 22.30. 27–29 Rev. 13.11. 48 Prov. 16.14. 49–50 2 Sam. 1. 13–16. 54–55 Petrus Comestor, *Hist. scholastica* on Gen. 3 (PL 198:1072), also referring to Bede. 56 Joel 3.3. 57 Deut. 32.33. 70–90 Tubach 661. 91 Eccles. 7.27.

## VII.vii THE BRANCHES OF LECHERY: FORNICATION

As to the branches of this vice, there are several. The first may be said to be fornication, which is said to be more detestable than homicide or violent theft because the latter are not as evil in their substance as fornication is. For example, it is possible that someone wants to kill someone else by right, as does a judge out of love for justice; and likewise someone may steal someone else's goods out of great need. But no one can knowingly fornicate in any



peccat; ergo, etc. Et ideo ut patet Numeri 25, cum fornicatus esset Israel cum filiabus Moab, iussit Dominus [f. 201] illorum principes suspendi. Et ideo est sciendum quod licet fornicatio sit illicitus coitus, (speci)aliter tamen intelligitur in usu viduarum aut meretricum vel concubinarum. Set hoc nomine meretricum non debent mulieres appellari nisi ille tantum que se universaliter omnibus exponunt, et hoc propter lucrum, nec aliquem abnegare volunt.

Unde propter eos qui dicunt simplicem fornicacionem non esse peccatum mortale eo quod actus naturalis est, sunt hec tria per ordinem ostendenda, videlicet primo ipsam absolute esse inhibitam, secundo omnino fuisse prohibendam, tertio a Domino diabolicam nominatam. Primum autem patet, quod simplex fornicatio absolute est inhibita, ex verbis que Deuteronomii 23 dicuntur: "Non est meretrix de filiabus Israel." Et Exodi (2)4: "Non fornicaberis." Et Ad Corinthios 6: "Fugite fornicacionem." Et Ad Galatas 5: "Manifesta sunt opera carnis, que sunt fornicatio," etc. Et sequitur: "Qui talia agunt, regnum Dei non possidebunt." Et sic patet primum.

Secundum etiam patet, quod fornicatio omnino est prohibenda, quatuor de causis. Prima est hec: propter pacem humani generis, quia si liceret cuilibet qualibet uti, frequenter rixe, contenciones, odia, homicidia, et multa plura quam modo sunt in mundo fierent. Secunda causa: propter crebram prolis interfectionem. Nam matres proli providere non valentes nec auxilium a patribus habentes sepe illam suffocant. Tercia ratio est ut homo se humiliaret preponendo voluntatem Dei amoris carnali et precepta eius custodire, quia ad diligendum Deum super omnia tenetur homo ex primo mandato precipiente, "Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo," etc. Similiter Deus precipit simpliciter et non condicionaliter dicens, "Non mechaberis." Quarta est ut industria hominis et ratio ceteris animalibus preponeretur. [f. 201 v] Set modo ita est quod sunt alique aves quarum talis est castitas quod una uni tantum adheret, ut patet in turturibus. Cum ergo non minor debet esse ratio castitatis hominis quam turturis, iuste unus vir uni mulieri coniugio adherere deberet. Indecens enim est ut carnalior sit homo, qui preter carnem spiritum habet rationalem, quam avis, que solum carnem habet, etc.

Tercium etiam patet, quod fornicatio vicium diabolicum est et sic a Domino iudicatur, eo quod primo a diabolo proposita est, dicente illud Genesis 3: "Cur precepit vobis Deus ne comederetis ex omni ligno?" Qui etiam modo cotidie suadet miseris quos per luxuriam sibi illaqueat et allicitat. Patet ergo per hoc quod hoc peccatum omnino fugiendum est.

Unde narratur, et ab Ovidio accipitur, quod quidam iuvenis He(ro) nomine puellam quandam Landam nomine multum adamavit. Cum ergo ipse semel ad eam in quadam turre residentem per mare navigavit de nocte et ipsa lucernam super murum posuisset ut illa visa directe regeret iter suum, orta

other way than by committing a mortal sin; therefore, etc. And thus, as can be seen in Numbers 25, when Israel had fornicated with the daughters of Moab, the Lord commanded their princes to be hanged. Therefore, we must understand that while fornication is any forbidden sexual intercourse, it particularly refers to intercourse with widows, prostitutes, or concubines. But the term "prostitute" must be applied only to those women who give themselves to anyone and will refuse none, and that for monetary gain.

People who claim that simple fornication is not a mortal sin because it is a natural act have to be shown the following three arguments in order: first, that it is absolutely forbidden; second, that it must be completely rejected; and third, that it has been called "diabolical" by the Lord. First, then, that simple fornication is absolutely forbidden is manifest from the commandments, as in Deuteronomy 23: "There shall be no whore among the daughters of Israel"; and Exodus 24: "Thou shalt not commit fornication"; and Corinthians 6: "Flee fornication"; and Galatians 5: "The works of the flesh are manifest, which are fornication," etc.; and the text continues: "They who do such things shall not obtain the kingdom of God." Thus the first argument is manifest.

The second point also, that fornication must be completely rejected, can be seen from four reasons. The first is: for the sake of peace in human society, for if everybody could freely sleep with anyone, frequent struggles would arise, strife, hatred, homicide, and many more evils than are now in the world. The second reason is the frequent killing of offspring, for mothers who cannot provide for their children or get no help from their fathers often stifle them to death. The third reason is that man should humble himself before God by placing God's will and the keeping of his commandments before his own carnal love, for man is held to love God over all things by the first commandment, which states: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God from thy whole heart," etc. Similarly, God gives a simple command without qualifications when he says, "Thou shalt not commit adultery." The fourth reason is that man's diligence and reason should be higher than that of all other animals. But now it happens that some birds are so chaste that each mates only with one other, as is the case with turtledoves. Since the degree of chastity in humans must not be inferior to that of turtledoves, it is just that one man should be united to one woman in marriage. For it is quite shameful that a human person, who besides his flesh has a rational spirit, should be more fleshly than a bird, who has only flesh.

Also the third point, that fornication is judged by the Lord to be a diabolical vice, can be easily seen from the fact that it was first suggested by the devil when he said in Genesis 3: "Why has God commanded you that you should not eat from every tree?" He still persuades wretched people every day and binds and lures them to himself by means of lechery. It is therefore evident that this sin must be fled altogether.

50 tempestate extinguitur lucerna. Quo facto submergitur iuuenis, et puella  
pre dolore precipitatur. Puella autem hec est anima rationalis ad ymaginem  
Dei facta. Quam quidam iuuenis, qui a "iuvando" dicitur, adamavit, et  
signat corpus humanum, quod datum est anime ad iuvamen. Inter que amor  
naturalis est satis magnus, ut apparet, et maxime ex parte corporis, eo  
55 quod corpus sine anima vivere non potest, set anima in turri residet undi-  
que potenciis et virtutibus murata. Istam ergo lucernam rationis corpori in  
mari huius mundi naviganti, qui sicut mare modo fluit modo refluit, anima  
porrigit. Set orta tempestate carnalis concupiscencie, per consensum statim  
lumen rationis extinguitur et corpus per mortem submergitur. Anima eciam  
60 propter peccatum corporis precipitatur, [f. 202] ut sic ipsa cum Psalmista  
dicat: "Veni in altitudinem maris et tempestas demersit me."

Et ideo, ut videtur, iam propter istud peccatum tam commune verifican-  
tur quatuor contradictoria, [scilicet:

65 That lawe hath noo ryzte,  
þat trewþe hath no myzt,  
þat wysdom is foly,  
And holynysse is trechery.]

Primum patet de lege et precepto Dei, quando dicitur simpliciter "Non  
mechaberis," quomodo illa "non habet iusticiam," eo quod non tenetur nec  
70 observatur quando dicunt simplicem fornicacionem non esse mortale peccatum,  
cum tamen sit directe contra preceptum Domini, ut patet. Non enim precipit  
Deus particulariter "Non accipias illam uxorem aut illam monialem aut illam  
viduam," set generaliter precipit quoad omnes dicens, "Non mechaberis," hoc  
est, nullam mulierem [accipies] sine licencia Dei et Ecclesie. Set forte  
dicit aliquis, "Nonne mulieres pro hominibus ordinate sunt, et e contra-  
75 rio?" Reuera respondeo quod eodem modo ordinantur boves pro aratro [et]  
equi pro biga. Set capias bovem aut equum proximi sine licencia et suspen-  
deris secundum eciam legem Dei et mundi. In lege enim Dei precipitur "Non  
furtum facies," et in lege mundi ordinatur quod huiusmodi fures suspendan-  
tur. Si ergo propter rem temporalem [talem] penam portabis, quanto magis si  
80 animam Christianam Christi sanguine redemptam a via pudicie ad vilissimam  
fornicacionem abduxeris. Et ideo dico quod illa excusacio pessima est.

Set rogo quomodo se excusant ille iuencule quando queritur ab eis  
quare sic fecerunt quando venter incipit tumescere et inflari? Reuera, ut  
communiter respondent quod necessario oportuit eas ita facere, eo quod  
85 illis predestinatum erat ab inicio et ante tunicam suam aut rochetam. Set  
certe econtra talibus responderi potest sicut fecit quidam sapiens cuidam  
mulieri sic repondenti: "Vere, filia (dixit ipse), vere, quicumque illud  
formavit malus scissor fuit, *for hit schamely pokith.*" Patet ergo quod

There is a story, and it derives from Ovid, that a young man by the name  
of Hero was deeply in love with a girl called Leander. One night he sailed  
across the sea to her as she was sitting in a tower, and she had placed a lan-  
tern on the wall that he might see it and take his course by it. But a storm  
arose and extinguished the light. Then the youth drowned, and the girl in her  
grief threw herself into the sea. This girl stands for the rational soul which  
has been made in God's image. A *iuuenis*, "youth," loved her, so named from  
*iuvare*, "to help"; he stands for the human body, which is given to the soul for  
its help. Between the two there is a very strong natural love, as it seems,  
particularly on the part of the body, for the body cannot live without the  
soul; but the soul sits in a tower, walled in on all sides by natural faculties  
and virtues. Now, the soul holds up the lantern of reason for the body which  
sails on the sea of this world, which ebbs and flows like the sea. But when  
the storm of fleshly concupiscence arises, the light of reason gets blown out  
through the consent of one's will, and the body drowns in death. On account of  
the body's sin the soul, too, is flung down and can therefore say with the  
Psalmist: "I am come into the depth of the sea, and a tempest has overwhelmed  
me."

Thus it seems to me that because of this sin which is common, the follow-  
ing four paradoxes have now become true, namely:

That law has no right,  
Truth has no might,  
Wisdom is folly,  
And holiness is treachery.

The first can be seen with respect to God's law and commandments; for the  
simple prohibition "Thou shalt not commit adultery" nowadays "has no right,"  
that is, it is not held or observed when people say that simple fornication is  
not a mortal sin, although it goes directly against the Lord's commandment, as  
is obvious. For God did not give this commandment in a particularized form:  
"Do not sleep with this wife or this nun or this widow," but he gave a general  
commandment covering all women when he said, "Thou shalt not commit adul-  
tery," that is, you shall not take any woman without permission from God and the  
Church. But perhaps someone will say, "Aren't women made for men, and vice-  
versa?" To that I answer that in the same way oxen are made for the plow and  
horses for the cart. But take your neighbor's ox or horse without his permis-  
sion, and you will be hanged according to the law of both God and the world.  
For God's law commands: "Thou shalt not steal"; and secular laws decree that  
such thieves should be hanged. If one therefore is to suffer such a penalty on  
account of some temporal object, how much greater will the punishment be if one  
has led a Christian soul, redeemed with Christ's blood, from the way of chaste-

tales pessime se excusant quando dicunt quod necessario sic oportuit esse  
 90 [f. 202v] et quod aliter non potest esse, eo quod peccatum suum in ipsum  
 Deum retorquent dicendo quod non possunt continere, et sic Deum accusant de  
 iniusticia. Probacio: Si autem Deus precipit homini facere quod non potest,  
 tunc esset crudelis exactor et tyrannus. Similiter, si dampnat pro eo quod  
 vitari non potest, manifestam iniusticiam faceret. Set hoc est falsum.

95 Ergo, etc. Vellem ergo scire utrum tales mulieres voluntarie huiusmodi pec-  
 cata commiserint aut vi aut metu fuerint cognite. Si primarie, ergo potuerunt  
 hoc non fecisse. Probacio: quia quod fit libere, libere potest dimitti;  
 ergo ipsemet tunc sunt in culpa et Deus immunis. Si secundum, scilicet quod  
 ad hoc vi fuerunt coacte, dico quod illud fit maximi meriti nec aliquid  
 100 contra virginitatem. Exemplum de beata Lucia, que suis tortoribus respondit  
 illam vi ad lupanar trahere et opprimere volentibus: "Numquam (dixit ipsa)  
 inquinatur corpus meum nisi consensu mentis." [Ergo,] etc.

Secundum eciam iam patet verificatum, scilicet *that (trewth) hath no  
 myght*, de Sampson fortissimo, Iudicum, cuius fortitudo per mulierem quasi  
 105 nulla facta est. Tercium eciam patet, scilicet *that wisdom is folly*, de  
 Salomone rege sapientissimo propter mulieres ydolatriam committente, per  
 quod stultus factus est. Quartum similiter patet in David rege sancto, sci-  
 licet *that holynes ys trechery*, quem propter suam sanctitatem elegit Deus  
 iuxta cor suum quando Uriam dolose fecit interfici propter Bersabee, uxorem  
 110 eius.

Est eciam contra illos adhuc arguendum qui peccatum suum retorquent in  
 Deum dicendo quod propter eorum carnis fragilitatem se non posse continere.  
 Nam contra tales dicitur Genesis 4 de peccato: "Sub te erit appetitus tuus,  
 et tu dominaberis illius." Non enim dixit Deus quod peccatum dominaretur  
 115 homini, licet hodie sic fiat, et ideo tales quasi mendacium Deo imponunt.  
 Unde Ieronimus: "Sit maledictus qui dicit Deum precepisse impossibile. Nam  
 iuxta [f. 203] Apostolum Ad Corinthios, 'Deus fidelis est et non permittit  
 hominem temptari supra id quod potest,' hoc est, ulterius quam, si velit,  
 resistere valeat." Unde ibidem Ieronimus tales redarguit dicens: "O, in-  
 120 quit, prophana temeritas! O vesanorum insania illorum qui Deum duplici  
 sciencie ignorancia contempnitis, scilicet quod Deus nescit et quod nesciat  
 misereri, quasi qui imposuerit mandatum quod impleri non potest. (Pro)  
 nephas! Iniquitatem enim iusto inponunt et crudelitatem pio, acsi nos, quod  
 suspicari sacrilegium est, salvos ° non faceret set pocius ad penam deputa-  
 125 ret." Hec ille. In qua auctoritate insinuat Ieronimus illos esse blasphe-  
 matores qui dicunt se non posse continere. Ipsi enim Deo inponunt, ut supra  
 dictum est, iniusticiam, ignoranciam, et impietatem. Et ideo ait Seneca:  
 "O, (sinite), inquit, excusantes, quia nemo peccat invitus." Et Augustinus:  
 "Non enim peccat in eo quis quod vitare non potest. Nam peccatum est adeo  
 130 voluntarium quod, si non sit voluntarium, non est peccatum." Quia ergo ante

ness to vile fornication! Therefore I say that that excuse is absolutely  
 worthless.

And, I ask you, how do those young women excuse themselves when one asks  
 them why they have done it when their belly begins to swell and grow? Indeed,  
 they often reply they had to do it by necessity, for it had been preordained  
 for them "before their shirt or gown." But surely, against such excuses one  
 may answer as a wise man once did who said to a woman that excused herself in  
 this way: "Truly, my daughter, whoever made that bag was a bad tailor, for it  
 pokes out shamefully." Thus it is obvious that such people give very poor ex-  
 cuses when they say that it had to be this way by necessity and could not be  
 otherwise, because in saying that they cannot be continent they blame God for  
 their sin and thereby accuse God of injustice. To prove this point: if God  
 commands a man to do something of which he is incapable, he would be cruel in  
 his demand and a tyrant. Likewise, if he condemns a person for what cannot be  
 avoided, he would do an obvious injustice. But this conclusion is not true;  
 therefore, etc. Hence, I would want to know if women in such a situation have  
 committed sins of this kind voluntarily or if they had intercourse by violence  
 or out of fear. In the first case, they were able not to commit the sin; for  
 what one does freely, one can freely leave undone. Therefore, they themselves  
 bear the guilt and God is not responsible. In the second case, that is, if  
 they were forced to it, I say that such a deed has brought them great merit and  
 is no stain on their virginity. For this we have the example of Blessed Lucia,  
 who said to her torturers as they wanted to drag her by force to the brothel  
 and violate her: "Never will my body be stained unless I consent to it in my  
 mind." Therefore, etc.

The second paradox, namely that "truth has no might," has also come true  
 in the strong Samson, of the Book of Judges, whose strength was reduced to  
 nothing by a woman. Likewise the third, that "wisdom is folly," can be seen in  
 King Solomon, who despite his great wisdom committed idolatry for the sake of  
 women, through which he became insane. And the fourth paradox, that "holiness  
 is treachery," is found in the holy King David, whom God chose after his heart  
 on account of his holiness: he had Uriah treacherously killed for the sake of  
 his wife, Bathsheba.

People who blame their sin on God by saying that they are incapable of  
 continence because their flesh is weak should be further answered as follows.  
 Against them Genesis 4 declares with regard to sin: "Your lust for it shall be  
 under you, and you shall have dominion over it." God did not say that sin  
 would reign over man, even though nowadays this is the case; hence people who  
 make these excuses make God a liar. Therefore, Jerome says: "Cursed be he who  
 says God has commanded what is impossible. For according to the Apostle in  
 Corinthians, 'God is faithful and does not allow a man to be tempted above what  
 he is capable,' that is, further than he is able to resist if he wants to."

hominem vita et mors proponuntur, et homo habet liberum arbitrium utrum velit eligere vitam an mortem—nemo potest impedire mortem, ° tamen bene potest homo retardare—, unde si mortem eligat, non est Deo imputandum, secundum illud Ecclesiastici 15: “Apponit tibi aquam et ignem. Ad quod  
 135 volueris, porrige manum tuam. Ante hominem bonum et malum, vita et mors; quod placuerit ei, dabit illi.” Si ergo ignem luxurie elegerit homo, [que] corpus et animam usque ad consummacionem devorat, et aquam continencie et puritatis dimiserit, constat quod in nullo est Deo inputandum.

Item quero ab illo qui dicit se non posse continere, per quem cogitur  
 140 ad fornicandum, utrum per diabolum vel per mulierem [f. 203v] aut per carnem propriam. Si dicat “per diabolum,” contra: Dicit enim Gregorius: “Hostis, inquit, ille timendus non est qui vincere non potest nisi permisus,” scilicet a carne. Set diabolus est huiusmodi. Probacio: secundum (enim) Bernardum “diabolus ° plus confidit de adiutorio carnis quam in pro  
 145 priis viribus eo quod magis nocet hostis domesticus quam ignotus”; ergo, etc. Si dicat “per mulierem,” contra: Mulier enim est sub potestate viri et non e contrario. Et per consequens, cum ipse ei dominatur, magis cogit eam quam e contrario. Sequitur ergo quod malicia carnis proprie et non per alium deducitur homo ad fornicandum. Item quero a tali: “Si vis continere  
 150 aut non potes? Si vis et non potes, ergo infidelis est Deus, qui patitur te temptari ultra posse tuum. Si autem potes et non vis, ergo omnino inexcusabilis es et nullo modo potes excusari,” etc.

7 peccat] peccent M.W; peccet R. 9 sit] add omnis M.W; omnino R. 9–10 specialiter] spiritualiter C.R. 19 dicuntur] dicitur O (with different antecedents for verbis and que). 24] 34 C. 39 etc.] om O. 40 est et sic] om O. 45 Hero] hep C.O. 62–66 scilicet . . . trechery] text from R. Verse 52, in B1.B3.CC.Co.Go1.Go2.Jo.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.W1.V. 85 suam] om M.R; meam W. 87 mulieri] muliercule O. 90 precipit] precepit O. 96 commiserint] commiserunt O. 103 trewth] strengthe C. 105 scilicet] om O. 119 ibidem] idem O. 120 insania] infamia M.R; infama W. 121 contempnitis] contempnatis M.W and many others; condempnatis R. 122 Pro] per C. 124 salvos] add nos C; add vos M. non] inter! C; om O. 125 qua] add quidem O. 128 sinite] invite C; mute M?; mite W? excusantes] excusatores O. 129 quis] om O. 131 proponuntur] apponuntur O. 132 mortem] add quin homo potest bene eligere quod vult sive vitam sive mortem ymo nec deus iuste C (unique). 144 enim] before secundum C. diabolus] add enim C. 149 Si] inter! for non exp C; non M.W; aut non R. 152 etc.] om O.

Hence Jerome reproaches people who excuse themselves in this way and says, in the same place: “Oh impious temerity! Oh mad insanity of those who scorn God for a twofold failing, namely that he does not know and that he cannot have pity, as if he had given a commandment which cannot be observed. How monstrous! They accuse the one who is just of iniquity, the one who is full of pity, of cruelty, as if—which it is a sacrilege even to think—he were not saving us but rather condemning us to pain.” In this quotation Jerome suggests that those who say they cannot be continent blaspheme against God. For, as I said earlier, they accuse God of injustice, lack of knowledge, and want of pity. Therefore says Seneca: “Oh, stop, you who excuse yourselves; nobody sins against his will.” And Augustine: “One does not sin in what one cannot avoid. For sin is so voluntary that, if it is not voluntary, it is no sin.” Since life and death are put before man, and man has a free choice whether he wants to take life or death—no one can avoid death; yet man can well delay it—, therefore, if he chooses death, he must not blame God for it. According to the words of Ecclesiasticus 15: “He sets water and fire before you; stretch forth your hand to whichever you will. Before man is good and evil, life and death; whatever pleases him, he will give him.” Therefore, if man chooses the fire of lechery, which totally devours body and soul, and lets go the water of purity and continence, it is obvious that he can in no way blame God for it.

And I further ask the person who claims he is incapable of being continent: by whom is he compelled to commit fornication, by the devil, or by a woman, or by his own flesh? If he says “by the devil,” the counterargument is that Gregory declares: “That enemy is not to be feared who cannot win except by our permission,” which refers to our flesh. But the devil is of this kind. According to Bernard, the devil relies more on the cooperation of our flesh than on his own powers, because an enemy who belongs to one’s household causes more harm than an outsider; therefore, etc. If a person says he is compelled “by a woman,” the counterargument is that woman is under man’s power and not vice-versa. Therefore, since man rules over woman, he compels her, rather than the other way around. Therefore, it follows that a man is led to commit fornication by the wickedness of his own flesh and not through anyone else. And further I ask a person who thus excuses himself: “Do you want to be continent or are you not capable of it? If you want to and are not capable of it, God is unfaithful because he allows you to be tempted beyond your capacity. But if you are capable and do not want to, then you are entirely without excuse.”

7–8 Cf. Num. 25.1–4. 19 Deut. 23.17. 19–20 Exod. 34.15. 20 1 Cor. 6.18. 21–22 Gal. 5.19, 21. 31 Deut. 6.5. 32 Exod. 20.14. 42 Gen. 3.1. 45–50 Ovid, *Heroides* XVIII. 60 Ps. 68.3. 67–68 Exod. 20.14. 82–88 See above, *FM* V.xii.146–152. 100–102 Cf. *Leg. aurea*, p. 31. 104–105 Judg. 16. 106–107 1 Kings 11. 107–110 2 Sam. 11. 113–144 Gen. 4.7. 111–130 Verbally in Peraldus, *Summa*

## VII.viii STUPRUM

[S]ecunda species luxurie est stuprum, et est illicita defloracio virginum. Quod eciam valde detestandum est. Nam sicut patet Genesis 34, propter hoc peccatum cum Sychem, filius Emor, Dynam deflorasset, cum patre interfectus est et cum toto populo urbis. Similiter quia bonum virginitatis sic amissum est irrecuperabile, sicut vas vitreum fractum non potest red-  
 5 integrari; Psalmista: "Factum est cor meum tamquam vas perditum." Refert enim Orosius libro 4 quod Hanibal, dux Cartaginencium, quamvis ita probus fuerat quod in signum victoriae de divitibus Romanorum interfectis et eorum digitis extractis tres modios anulorum aureorum Cartaginem miserat, ipse  
 10 tamen sic armis invectus, prout recitat Valerius libro 4, ex incendio luxurie capitur et expugnatur. Et ideo rationabiliter concludit Carnotensis quod principatus quem corrumpit luxuria diu stare aut durare non potest, etc.

13 etc.] om O.

## VII.ix ADULTERIUM

[T]ercia species luxurie est adulterium, quod est accessus illicitus "ad alterius thorum." Et hoc eciam dividitur in duas species, scilicet quando coniugatus adulteratur cum soluta, vel uxorata cum [f. 204] coniugatis. Cuius discrimen primo patet ex hoc quod est contrarium communi sacra-  
 5 mento matrimonii quod Deus in paradiso in statu innocencie instituit. Et similiter ipse Christus innocens sub ordine tali dignatus est nasci, quod non tantum sub virginali candore verum eciam sub coniugali honore, ut sic illud sacramentum quasi dignissimum ostenderet, et eo amplius huic sacra-  
 10 mento (contraire) quisque desisteret, sub pena gravi, quia Levitici 20 dicitur: "Si mechatus fuerit quis cum uxore alterius et adulterium peperaverit, morte moriatur et mechus et adultera." Et similiter Numeri 5 scribitur: "Quia declinasti a viro tuo atque polluta es et concubuisti cum viro altero, hiis maledictionibus subiacebis: Det tibi Deus maledictionem,

*vitiorum* III.vi.1, with the same quotations. 117–118 1 Cor. 10.13. 129–130 Augustine, *De vera religione* XIV.27 (PL 34:133–134). 134–136 Ecclus. 15.17–18. 142–143 Cf. Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.vi.2. 144–145 See above, *FM* V.xxxii.5–6, from *Meditationes piissimae*.

## VII.viii VIOLATING A VIRGIN

The second branch of lechery is violating, that is, unlawfully deflowering, a virgin. This is much to be detested. For as can be seen in Genesis 34, when Shechem, the son of Hamor, deflowered Dinah, he and his father and the entire population of the town were killed for this sin. Likewise, once the good of virginity has thus been lost, it is irrecoverable, just as a glass vessel cannot be made whole again once it has been broken; whence the Psalmist says: "My heart is become like a vessel that is destroyed." Orosius tells in book 4 that Hannibal, the leader of the Carthaginians, though he was such a great champion that, as a sign of his victory, he had sent to Carthage three measures of gold rings taken from the fingers of rich Romans that had been killed, yet after being undefeated in battle he was, as Valerius reports in book 4, captured and overcome by the fire of lechery. And the Chartrian concludes from this reasonably that a prince's reign cannot stand for long or remain if it is corrupted by lechery.

2–4 Gen. 34. 6 Cf. Ps. 30.13. 7–9 Orosius, *Historiae* IV.16 (PL 31:894). 10–11 Valerius, IX.ext.1. 11–12 Perhaps *Policraticus* VIII.vi (p. 260).

## VII.ix ADULTERY

The third branch of lechery is adultery, which is the unlawful approaching of another man's marriage bed. It can be divided into two species, namely adultery between a married and a single person, and adultery between two married persons. That adultery is a crime is obvious from the fact that, first, it goes against the common sacrament of marriage which God instituted in paradise in the state of innocence. Moreover, Christ himself in his sinlessness deigned to be born in wedlock—not only in the purity of virginity but also in the honorable state of matrimony—that he might show how eminently worthy this sacrament is. And that one should more earnestly refrain from violating this sacrament, he laid the offense under a grave penalty, for in Leviticus 20 it is said: "If a man has defiled another man's wife and committed adultery, let them be put to death, both the adulterer and the adulteress." And in Numbers 5 it is similarly written: "Since you have gone away from your husband and have



exemplumque sis cunctorum in populo; putrescere faciat femur tuum, et  
 15 cunctus uterus tuus dirumpatur.”

Refert enim Alexander *De naturis rerum* quod erant quondam due ciconie,  
 quarum femina super ova in nido sedit ad producendum pullos, masculus vero  
 in patriam volavit, ut sibi et illi cibum quereret. Interim accidit quod  
 20 illa in nido dimissa cum aliis ciconiis adulterata est. Quo facto instinctu  
 nature ne masculus rediens fetorem adulterii sentiret, lavit se in quodam  
 fonte qui erat ante cuiusdam militis portam. Et cum sic fecisset bis vel  
 ter, et miles illud factum considerasset, fontem iussit obstrui. Cum ergo  
 illa more solito veniret ut in illo se lavaret nec potuit, inmunda ad nidum  
 25 rediit. Cuius fetorem cum masculus de sero rediens persensisset, ipsam  
 quasi vindicta adulterii totaliter dilaceravit. Revera, spiritualiter lo-  
 quendo sic est de Deo et anima humana quam Deus assumpsit sibi sponsam,  
 iuxta illud <Osee>: “Sponsabo te michi in fide.” Hanc ergo dimittit hic  
 Deus quasi in nido mundi ad producendum bona opera. Nec oportet illam nisi  
 ut bene agat de victualibus sollicitari, eo quod ipse Deus [f. 204v] omnium  
 30 indigenciam supplebit, iuxta illud Ysaie: “Discite bene facere,” etc.,  
 qu(ia) “si volueritis et audieritis me, bona terre comedetis.” Set misera  
 anima cum ceteris miseris adulterans, iudicium timens lavat se in fonte  
 penitencie. Que penitencia ante portam confessoris est; de qua porta loqui-  
 tur Psalmista dicens: “Hec porta Domini; iusti intrabunt in ea.” Ante quam  
 35 portam debet esse fons penitencie et aqua contricionis. Post cuius locionem  
 fetor peccati totaliter recedit. Unde et Deus eciam peccata dissimulat;  
 Sapientie 2: “Misereris omnium quoniam potes, et dissimulans peccata homi-  
 num propter penitenciam.” Unde frequenter, quia Deus sic misericordiam  
 prestat, misera anima in peccatis recidivat. Et dum sic more solito lavari  
 40 vellet per penitenciam, sepe impeditur per subitam [vindictam], eo quod  
 fons contricionis per militem mortis obturatur. Et ideo bene ait homini  
 peccatori Ecclesiastici 15: “Ne tardes converti ad Dominum,” etc.; “subito  
 enim veniet ira eius, in tempore vindicte disperdet te.”

De huiusmodi eciam vindicta quantum ad fornicarios legitur in *Vita*  
 45 *beati Germani episcopi* quod in terra de qua oriundus fuit mansit quidam  
 draco ingentissimus, in quo diabolus latere dicebatur, qui ibidem tam  
 homines quam bestias igne infernali innumerabiliter consumpsit. Cum ergo  
 conquesti homines essent illius regionis episcopo predicto Germano super  
 hac peste, compassione motus quadam hora matutina in oratione persistens  
 50 partes quas gravare solet nocturno tempore vidit, ipsum igne totum fumigan-  
 tem in quodam cimiterio non longe ab eo descendere. Ille vero locum bene  
 considerans illuc cum multitudine cleri et populi festinabat et orantibus  
 omnibus venit ad quendam tumulum, cuius summitas omnino flammis erat com-  
 bustum. Et ut cognovit quod ibi esset, exhumavit terram usquedum veniret ad  
 55 quoddam corpus horridum et [f. 205] fetidum in duabus partibus divisum, in

been defiled and have lain with another man, these curses shall light upon you:  
 May the Lord make you a curse and an example to all among his people; may he  
 make your thigh rot, and may your womb burst asunder.”

In his book *On the Nature of Things* Alexander reports that once there were  
 two storks; the female sat on her eggs in the nest to hatch them, and the male  
 flew about the country to seek food for himself and his mate. It so happened  
 that while she was left behind in her nest she committed adultery with other  
 storks. Out of her natural instinct then, lest her husband on his return  
 should notice the smell of adultery, she washed herself in a spring that was in  
 front of the gate of a knight. After she had done so twice or three times, the  
 knight, who had noticed this, had the spring closed off. When she came as  
 usual to wash herself but could not, she returned to her nest unclean. Upon  
 his return at night, her mate perceived her smell and tore her completely to  
 pieces in revenge for her adultery. This applies spiritually to God and man's  
 soul, which God has taken to himself as his spouse, according to the words of  
 Hosea: “I will espouse you to myself in faith.” God leaves her here, as if in  
 the nest of this world, so that she may bring forth good works. She does not  
 need to worry about her livelihood, only about living a good life, because God  
 himself will supply all her needs, after the words of Isaiah: “Learn to do  
 well,” etc., because “if you are willing and listen to me, you shall eat the  
 good things of the land.” But the wretched soul commits adultery with other  
 wretches, and when she becomes afraid of the judgment, washes herself in the  
 fountain of penance. This penance is in front of the door of the confessor, of  
 which the Psalmist speaks as follows: “This is the gate of the Lord; the just  
 shall enter into it.” In front of this door must be the wellspring of penance  
 and the water of contrition. After she washes herself, the stench of sin  
 disappears totally. Hence God, too, covers up our sins; Wisdom 2: “You have  
 mercy upon all because you can do all things, and you overlook the sins of men  
 because of their repentance.” Now it frequently happens that since God offers  
 such mercy, the wretched soul relapses into sin. And when she wants to wash  
 herself through penance as usual, she is often prevented from doing so by  
 sudden vengeance, because the wellspring of contrition is closed off by the  
 knight of death. Therefore, as Ecclesiasticus 15 fittingly speaks to sinful  
 man: “Do not delay to turn to the Lord,” etc., “for his wrath shall come of a  
 sudden, and in the time of vengeance he will destroy you.”

Concerning this vengeance that comes to fornicators, we read in the *Life*  
*of the Blessed Bishop Germanus* that in his native country there lived an enor-  
 mous dragon, in whom the devil was said to lie hidden; he destroyed countless  
 people as well as animals with hellfire. When the people of that region had com-  
 plained about this pest to Bishop Germanus, he was moved by compassion and,  
 as he was in prayer at early dawn, he saw the region which the dragon used to  
 haunt at night, and the dragon itself in smoke and fire descending in a ceme-



60 cuius medio iacebat ille verendus draco. Quem continuo in nomine sancte Trinitatis adiurans causam tante rei patenter quesivit. Cui draco: "Tibi, inquit, resistere non possum quin dicam. Michi data est potestas hominibus nocere et ° eorum bestiis [ac] immediate vindictam sumere de hiis qui in peccato mortali voluntur, et maxime qui carnali commixtione ° contra [Dei] 60 dispositionem polluuntur. Et quoniam in partibus istis magis (regnat hoc peccatum adulterii, incestus, et huiusmodi), ideo talem in eis persecucionem divina permissione infero. Cum ergo de tantis malis perpetratis fatigatus fuero, quietem hic assumo, quia hec est requies quam precipue elegi. 65 Hec enim mulier dum vixit erat adultera et in adulterio sine emendacione deprehensa, et ideo in inferno in nostra societate moratur eius anima. Et quia corpus suum divisit in adulterio, dans unam partem scilicet marito et alteram adultero, ideo sic in duabus partibus dividitur, inter quas quasi in suavi stratu requiesco." Quo dicto adiuratus a viro Dei ut inde recederet et ulterius hominibus non noceret, erexit capud cum corpore et evolavit, igne infernali in corpore relicto, unde statim in pulverem redacta est, ex cuius fetore multi de circumstantibus perierunt.

75 Committitur autem adulterium alio modo, licet non ita dampnabile, sicut dicit Ieronimus, quando scilicet suarum coniugum adulteri sunt proprii mariti non affectantes proles set tantum libidinem, non ut Deus per generacionem honoretur set ut voluptas exinde perficiatur. Unde Esdre 2 dicitur: "Multi dementes facti sunt propter suas uxores et servi facti sunt," supple peccati, propter illas.

80 Et ideo propter magnitudinem huius sceleris immediate post prohibitionem homicidii et ante prohibitionem furti ponitur, de quo Clemens querendo ait: "Quid, inquit, in [f. 205v] omnibus peccatis adulterio gravius? Secundum in peccatis tenet locum," hoc est in prohibitione. Homicidio comparatur quia, inquit, vir et mulier sunt una caro. Qui alicui uxorem aufert, idem est acsi proprium virum auferret. Superat autem furtum eo quod in furto 85 attractatur [res] irrationalis, set in adulterio res rationalis, que est melior omni terrena substancia. Unde illud Proverbiorum 6: "Non est grandis culpa cum quis furatur ut repleat animam esurientem"; et sequitur: "Qui ergo adulter est propter cordis inopiam, perdet animam suam."

9 contraire] communicari(?) C. 11 moriatur] moriantur M.R; morientur W. 22 illud] om O. 26 sibi] add in O. 27 Osee] c C. 31 quia] que C. 32 miseris] viris M; vicis R.W. 38 Unde] add ut O. 40 vellet] om M.W; solet R. 59 et] add de C. 60 commixtione] add hoc . . . huiusmodi C (from the following sentence). Dei] om C.R.W. 61-62 regnat . . . huiusmodi] regnant huiusmodi peccata C. 70-71 evolavit] avolvit O. 74 coniugum] coniugium O.

tery close by. He marked the place and hurried there with a crowd of clergy and laymen and, as all were praying, went to a grave whose top had been completely burned by fire. In order to find out what was there, he dug up the earth until he came to a corpse that was horrid, evil-smelling, and split into two parts, between which that fearsome dragon was lying. He conjured him at once in the name of the Holy Trinity and asked him to tell them openly the cause of all this. Said the dragon: "I cannot resist telling you the truth.

I have been given power to do harm to the people and their animals and to take immediate vengeance on those who live in mortal sin, especially those who pollute themselves with sexual intercourse against God's dispensation. And since in these parts the sin of adultery, incest, and the like is very widespread, I inflict this punishment on them by divine permission. But when I am tired out by so many evils, I take my rest here, for this is the resting place I have chosen above all. For while this woman was alive, she was an adulteress and was caught in adultery without amending her life; for that reason, her soul dwells in hell in our company. And since she divided her body in adultery, giving one half to her husband and the other to her lover, she lies thus split into two parts, between which I take my rest as on a soft couch." After these words he was conjured by the man of God to leave that place and harm the people no longer, whereupon he lifted his head and body and flew off, leaving infernal fire behind in the woman's body, which immediately disintegrated to dust, from whose stench many of the bystanders died.

Adultery can also be committed in another way, as Jerome says, though this is not as worthy of damnation, namely when husbands become adulterers with their own wives, using sex not for procreation but for their lustful pleasure alone—not in order to honor God by the work of creating new life but in order to get pleasure from it. Whence it is said in Esdras 2: "Many have lost their minds because of their wives and have become slaves," add: to sin, on their account.

Thus, because of its gravity, this sin is placed immediately after the prohibition against murder and before that against theft. In raising the question, "What is more grievous among all sins than adultery?" Clement says: "Adultery holds the second place among the sins, that is, in their prohibition. It is like manslaughter because husband and wife are one flesh: he who takes someone's wife from him, does the same as taking her husband away. It is worse than theft, because in theft an irrational object is taken, but in adultery a rational being, who is better than any earthly object." Hence the words of Proverbs 6: "The fault is not so great when a man has stolen in order to fill his hungry soul"; and further: "But he that is an adulterer, for the folly of his heart shall ruin his own soul."

10-11 Lev. 20.10. 12-15 Num. 5.20-22. 16-25 Alexander Neckam, *De naturis rerum* 64 (p. 112). Cf. Tubach 4640 and 3073. 27 Hos. 2.20. 30-31 Isa. 1.17, 19.

## VII.x INCESTUS

[E]st autem quarta species luxurie hiis annexa que incestus nuncupatur, que est consanguinearum vel affinium abusus. Cuius magnitudo patet tribus modis. Primo per penam in lege taxatam, nam Levitici 18 dicitur: "Omnis anima que fecerit quippiam de abominacionibus istis, de medio populi peribit." Et ibi loquitur specialiter de incestu et peccato contra naturam. Secundo quia per hoc vicium, ut patet Ad Corinthios 5, Apostolus tradidit huiusmodi Sathane cruciandum. Tercio etiam patet eius magnitudo per mala que ipsum secuntur. Parit enim homicidium, ut patet 1 Regum 12 de Amon, qui sororem suam corrupit, quapropter ab Absolone fratre suo occisus est. Nota historiam. Similiter hoc vicium reddit hominem cani similem, qui in opere illo consanguinitatem in nullo servat.

Et nota: sub hac specie continetur luxuria clericorum et religiosorum, quorum peccatum magis considerandum est. Unde Bernardus: "Ubi est maioris doni gratie transgressor, ibi maiori subiacebit penitencie." Similiter et culpe. Et nota quod illorum tria aggravant delictum. Primum est voti fractio. Due enim circumstantie solent aggravare peccatum rapine, scilicet preciositas rapti et magnitudo eius—magis autem dampnificatur proximus tunc—et eius sanctitas, et tunc non solum committit furtum set etiam sacrilegium. Castitas autem quam clericus promittit sacros ordines recipiendo, au- [f. 206] fert illam fornicando, et ideo irrecuperabilis est; Ecclesiastici 26: "Omnis ponderacio non est digna continentis anime." Secundum est quod clericus est de familia Dei et de eius expensis vivit. Si ergo ille de bonis Dei luxuriatur, tamquam proditor ab eius servicio expellendus est. Unde Bernardus: "Ve, inquit, qui ambulat in carne, quia Deo placere non possunt." Unde ad magis illorum dispendum votum frangunt et per consequens maiorem penam incurrunt, quia melius est votum non vovere quam vovere et gratia illud frangere. Tercium est quia ipsi populum decipiunt, de quorum elemosinis vivunt et illorum intercessores se esse promittunt, set promissa minime aut saltem in peccatis et inmunde implent. Unde Gregorius: 'Nos, inquit, de patrociniis Ecclesie vivimus et inde comedimus et bibimus.' Si tacemus pro illis orare, profecto (dicit Bernardus) eorum peccata comedimus et bibimus." Hec ille.

Circa autem luxuriam religiosorum sub specie incestus contentam notandum quod quinque specialiter sunt illud peccatum aggravancia. Quorum primum patet ex hoc quod legitur Genesis 7 hec fuisse causa diluvii. Si ergo, ut ibi habetur, tantum Deo displicuit quod filii Dei filias hominum in uxores

34 Ps. 117.20. 37–38 Wisd. 11.24. 42–43 Ecclus. 5.8–9. 44–72 Tubach 4252. 74–76 Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.49 (PL 23:281). 77–78 3 Esd. 4.26. 81–82 Ps.-Clement, *Ep. 1 ad Iacobum* (PG 1:466–467); cf. Lombard, *Sent.* IV.xxxviii.2.10 (2:481). 86–88 Prov. 6.30–32.

## VII.x INCEST

The fourth branch of lechery is connected with the previous ones; it is called incest, which means sexual intercourse with a person related by blood or spiritual kinship. How grave this sin is can be seen in three ways. First, by the punishment established for it in the Law; for in Leviticus 18 it is said: "Every soul that commits any of these abominations shall perish from the midst of the people." In this passage Scripture speaks specifically of incest and the sin against nature. Second, according to Corinthians 5, the Apostle has given people who sin in this fashion over to Satan for punishment. Third, its gravity is further seen in its evil consequences. For it leads to manslaughter, as we find in Amnon, in 1 Kings 12, who corrupted his sister, for which he was killed by his brother Absalom. Tell the entire story. Similarly, this vice makes a man like a dog, who pays no attention to his blood relationship when it comes to sex.

Notice that this branch comprises lechery among clerics and religious. Their sin is more grievous than that of other people; therefore Bernard says: "Where there is a greater gift of grace, the transgressor is liable to greater punishment"; and the same is true of his guilt. Notice also that the sin of people in this state is made more grievous by three reasons. The first is that they break their vow. Two circumstances can aggravate the sin of theft, namely the value of what is stolen and its size—for one's neighbor suffers greater harm in this case—and also its sanctity, for in the latter case a thief does not merely commit theft but also sacrilege. Now when a cleric commits a sexual sin, he loses that chastity which he had promised to maintain when he received holy orders, and it is thus irrecoverable; Ecclesiasticus 26: "No price is worthy of a continent soul." The second reason is that a cleric belongs to God's household and lives on its budget. If he then commits lechery with the goods of God, he is to be expelled from his service like a traitor. Whence Bernard says: "Woe to those who walk in the flesh, for they cannot please God." Therefore, when they break their vow, they bring greater harm upon themselves and consequently incur a greater penalty, because it is better not to make a vow than to make it and then break it voluntarily. The third reason is that they deceive the people on whose alms they live and for whom they promise to pray; but they hardly fulfill their promises at all or do so in a state of sin and uncleanness. Therefore Gregory says: "We live off the Church's patrimony and receive from it our food and drink. If we do not pray in return, indeed we eat and drink the people's sins."

acceperunt, quantum displicere sibi creduntur tales qui cum illis fornicantur! Secundum patet per apostasiam. Si quis habitum religionis dimittit temerarie, apostata dicitur. Cum virtus castitatis sit magis substancialis religionis quam habitus, videtur et certum est quod magis aggravat apostasia castitatis quam apostasia habitus. Unde Proverbiorum 6: "Homo apostata vir inutilis est." Tercium gravamen est quod patet ex hoc quod diabolus tantum studet precipitare virum religiosum, eo quod plus gaudet de lapsu unius talis quam multorum aliorum.

45 Unde narratur in *Vitas Patrum* quod cum quidam sanctus transiens vidit supra portam civitatis unum tantum diabolum sedentem, set supra [f. 206v] abathiam quasi innumerabiles. Cum ergo ex parte Dei a diabolo quesisset causam, respondit: "Homines, inquit, civitatis quasi omnes michi subduntur, et ideo pauci ad eius custodiam sufficiunt. Set in abathia omnes boni sunt, 50 et ideo ibi vix multi possunt prevalere." Idem etiam patet ex hoc quod cum semel diabolus suum capitulum tenuisset et omnes demones punisset, quamvis infra biduum vel triduum bellum, homicidia, adulteria, et cetera huiusmodi procurassent, eo quod ita parum fecissent in tanto tempore; cum ergo tandem unus dixit quod in triginta annis vix religiosum ad fornicacionem deduxerat, a sede descendit et ipsum tamquam valenciolem coronatum ibidem collocavit.

55 Quartum patet ex hoc quod ita graviter legitur Dominum punisse in claustrum commissum peccatum. Quorum primum claustrum fuit in celo (ubi) ipsemet Deus fuit abbas, et ideo quia aliqui ibi de conventu contra illum conspirabant, absque spe venie condemnati sunt. Secundum claustrum fuit in paradiso terrestri, in quo etiam a Deo loci illius abbate expulsi sunt Adam et Eva tamquam inobedientes nec ibi stare potuerunt, set cum tota posteritate dampnati erant. Tercium claustrum fuit in principio Ecclesie, in quo beatus Petrus fuit abbas, ubi qui proprietarii esse voluerunt, sicut Symon magus, 65 morte subita perierunt; similiter idem patet Actuum 5 de Anania et Saphira.

70 Quintum aggravans luxuriam religiosorum patet ad litteram per hoc quod vita claustralis est vita angelica, iuxta illud dictum Ieronimi: "In carne enim preter carnem vivere, nature humane non est set angelice." Ergo claustralis homo ut angelus est; [Malachie 2: "Angelus Domini est." Si autem angelus est,] aut bonus est aut malus. Si bonus, propositum; si malus, diabolus est. Unde Ieronimus: "Professus, inquit, Christiane religionis aut est angelis equalis aut demonibus compar," etc.

12 nota] add quod O. 13-14 Ubi . . . penitencie] ubi est magis donum gracie, transgressor ibi maiori subiacebit pene O, the reading shared by the other groups (with maius instead of magis in groups u, x, z). 14 penitencie] pene O. 15 delictum] peccata (after illorum) M.W; peccatum (after illorum) R. 44 multorum] plurimorum O. 54 triginta] tribus O. 58 ubi] unde C. 66 Quintum] tertium M.R; quantum W. 70 est(2)] om O. 71 est] om O. 72 demonibus] diabolis M; diabolus R.W.

With regard to sexual sins of the religious, which fall under incest, we should know that this sin is made more grievous for five reasons in particular. The first can be found in the fact that, as we read in Genesis 7, this was the cause of the Flood. If, as is written there, it displeased God so much that the sons of God took the daughters of men as their wives, how much must those fear to displease him who commit fornication with them! The second reason derives from the notion of apostasy. A person is called an "apostate" when he audaciously abandons his religious habit. But the virtue of chastity belongs more intimately to the religious life than the habit; therefore it is plain that abandoning chastity is much more grievous than abandoning one's habit. Hence it is said in Proverbs 6: "An apostate is an unprofitable man." The third aggravating factor is that, obviously, the devil tries very hard to bring a religious person to a fall, since he rejoices more over the fall of one religious than over that of many other people.

In *The Lives of the Fathers* we are told that a desert father saw only one devil sitting above the city gate, but an almost countless number on the monastery. When he asked, in God's name, for the reason, the devil replied: "The people of the city are almost all subject to me, and therefore few demons are needed to watch them. But in the monastery everyone is good, and therefore even a large number of demons can hardly prevail there." The same lesson is found in the story about the devil once holding chapter and punishing all the other demons for having done so little, although in two or three days they had caused wars, homicides, adultery, and other crimes; but when one demon finally reported that in thirty years he had just managed to lead one religious to fornication, the devil stepped down from his throne and placed that demon on it as being more worthy than himself.

The fourth reason for the sin's gravity is, as we read, that God punished sin that is committed in the cloister more severely. The first cloister was in heaven, where God himself was the abbot. As some inmates of that monastery revolted against him, they were condemned without hope of forgiveness. The second cloister was in the earthly paradise, from which Adam and Eve were expelled by God, the abbot of that place, because they had been disobedient and could not stay any longer but were condemned with all their offspring. The third cloister was the early Church, in which Peter was the abbot; those who wanted to hold possessions in it, like Simon Magus, died a sudden death; and the same happened to Ananias and Sapphira, in Acts 5.

The fifth reason which makes lechery among the religious more grievous is that, literally, the cloistered life is the life of angels, after the saying of Jerome: "To live in the flesh outside the flesh is not proper to human nature but to that of the angels." Therefore, a cloistered person is like an angel; Malachi 2: "He is the angel of the Lord." But if he is an angel, he is either a good or a bad one; if he is good, he is as the name indicates, an angel; if

## VII.xi SODOMIA

[f. 207] [Q]uinta et ultima species luxurie est illa diabolica contra naturam, que sodoma dicitur. Quam horrore accepto transeo, aliis relinquens exponendam.

Narrat autem expositor Virgilii quod cum Greci Yliam vastarent, idest  
 5 Troiam, quod illic invenerunt filiam Priami nomine Cassandram in templo  
 Minerve, cuius pulcritudine captus Ilax miles strenuus virginem [vi] op-  
 pressit. Propter quod factum Minerva dea pudicicie vindictam in illum talem  
 exercuit: Cum autem versus terram propriam rediret, commota sunt elementa  
 10 in mari et mare velocissime turbavit et de sublimi fulgura et chorusca-  
 ciones emisit, navemque contra rupem illisit, ita quod ipse cum omnibus  
 ibidem fulminatus interiit. Per istam Cassandram sub Iliace oppressam  
 intelligo ad literam mulierem quamcumque contra voluntatem Dei et Ecclesie  
 cum quocumque lecatore fornicariam. Per Minervam deam pudicicie Christum  
 intelligo. Quid ergo mirum si Christus vindictam exerceat in tales qui  
 15 eius preceptum contempnentes non tantum in simplicem fornicacionem set in  
 tam vile peccatum contra naturam abhominabile et innominandum se involvunt?  
 quasi dicat: nullum.

Expresse autem hanc figuram habemus Genesis 19 de Sodoma et Gomorra,  
 que sunt quinque civitates regionis illius. Igne et sulphure desuper caden-  
 20 tibus non tantum homines et animalia interfecerunt, imo aperiente terra os  
 suum omnes vivos absorbit. Per quod certum est quod propter dictum pecca-  
 tum in infernum eternaliter perierunt. In cuius indicium manifestissimum  
 usque in hodiernum diem ibidem manet mare mortuum, in quo nichil vivum  
 inmergi potest neque manere; et totum ex iusta vindicta in detestationem  
 25 tanti peccati. Et ut dicitur libro *De naturis rerum* quod si lucerna accensa  
 in hoc mare proiciatur, supernatat nec mergi potest donec extin- [f. 207v]  
 guatur, in signum quod nichil vivum in luce gratie ad actum illum pro  
 quibus tanta vindicta facta est involvitur. Cuius etiam testimonium, ut  
 dicunt naturales et similiter plures moderni qui viderunt quod cum crescunt  
 30 in margine illius maris poma visu exterius pulcherrima, si in tempore matu-

he is bad, he is a devil. Therefore Jerome says: "A professed Christian monk is either like an angel or like a devil."

4–5 Lev. 18.29. 6–7 1 Cor. 5.5. 8–10 2 Sam. 13.1–29. 13–14 In Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.ii.8, attributed to "Gregorius" ("scientiae donum"). 21 Ecclus. 26.20. 24–25 Cf. Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.ii.8. 35 Cf. Gen. 6.2. 41–42 Prov. 6.12. 64–65 Cf. Acts 8.9–24. 65 Acts 5.1–11. 67–68 Paschasius Radbertus, *Ep. ad Paulam et Eustochium* 5 (PL 30:126). 69 Mal. 2.7. 71–72 Also in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.ii.9.

## VII.xi SODOMY

The fifth and last branch of lechery is the diabolical sin against nature called sodomy. I pass it over in horror and leave it to others to describe it.

The commentator on Virgil reports that when the Greeks were devastating Ilium, that is, Troy, they found there the daughter of Priam, by the name of Cassandra, in the temple of Minerva. The good knight Ajax was so overcome by her beauty that he raped the maiden. For that deed Minerva, the goddess of chastity, took the following revenge on him: when he was sailing back to his homeland, she stirred up the elements on the sea and the sea itself violently and sent lightning bolts and flashes from above, whereby she tossed the ship on a rock so that he and all his companions perished in the tempest. This Cassandra raped by Ajax symbolizes any woman who engages in sex with any fornicator against the will of God and his Church. Minerva, the goddess of chastity, stands for Christ. What wonder, then, if Christ takes vengeance on those who scorn his commandment by getting involved, not just in simple fornication but in that vile and abominable sin against nature that is not to be named? To be sure, it is no wonder at all.

An explicit type of this occurs in Genesis 19, in Sodom and Gomorrha, which are five cities of that region. Not only did fire and sulphur falling from above kill people and animals, but the earth opened its mouth and swallowed all the living. Thus it is certain that on account of the said sin they perished forever in hell. As an open sign the sea there remains dead even in our days; no living being can submerge or remain in it; and it is all for just revenge in horror of such a sin. As it is said in the book *On the Nature of Things*, if a burning light is thrown into this sea, it floats on the surface and cannot drown until it is put out, as a sign that nothing alive that is done in the light of grace for those for whose sake such vengeance was taken is of any use. And a further testimony, according to writers on natural history and several moderns who have observed this with their own eyes, is that while the apples that grow on the shore of that sea are most beautiful to look at, when they are ripe and are cut open they give forth a sulphurous smoke and dusty

ritatis frangantur, fumum sulphureum et favillam terream emittunt. Revera  
 sic est de leccatoribus pessimis dictis fetiditatibus datis, qui quamvis  
 pulcritudinem exterius in corpore preferunt, sicut poma virida et pulcra,  
 quanto magis ad maturitatem etatis accedunt, tanto detestabiliorem favillam  
 35 ad modum sulphuris in concupiscenciis fetide ardentem emittunt. Unde Augustinus: "Tantum detestabatur Deus hoc vicium quod illud ante incarnationem  
 videns in natura humana fieri, fere desiit incarnari." Et ideo cum noluit  
 cuiquam angelorum aut hominum executionem huius pene committere, set sibi  
 40 ipsi vindictam illius reservavit, iuxta illud: "Michi vindictam, et ego  
 retribuam."

8 sunt] om O. 19 que sunt] quasi scilicet M.W; quas et R. 27 illum] illis O. 35–  
 36 Augustinus] secundum augustinum O.

### VII.xii LUXURIA EST DEO INIURIOSA

[M]odo ultimo videndum est quare Deum timentes vicium luxurie cum spe-  
 ciebus omnibus detestantur. Dicit enim Gregorius: "Cum, inquit, cetera  
 vicia tantum corpus maculant, hoc vicium solum corpus et animam fedat."  
 Detestantur ergo iuste propter quinque causas: primo quia Deo iniuriosum,  
 5 secundo quia angelis odiosum, tercio quia proprio subiecto perniciosum,  
 quarto quia nocet proximo, quinto quia obsequium diabolo.

Primum autem patet ex hoc quod homines huius seculi qui persone hono-  
 rabiliores reputantur magnum dedecus cernunt cum filie eorum fornicentur.  
 Quanto magis contumeliam faciunt regi celesti qui animam humanam, eius  
 10 filiam, fornicari compellunt, qui quasi templum Dei reputatur; Corinthiorum  
 3: "Nescitis quod templum Dei estis vos?" Et sequitur: "Qui ergo templum  
 Dei violaverit, disperdet illum Dominus." Et [f. 208] ideo Deus in humana  
 anima tamquam in templo glorificandus est. Set timeo, o Deus, iuxta illud  
 Psalmi quod "venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam et polluerunt templum  
 15 sanctum tuum."

Narrat autem Seneca libro 6 *Declamacionum*, capitulo 8, quod antiquitus  
 lex erat talis quod mulieres in templo dee Veste ministrantes forent caste.  
 Set aliquando contigit quod una litterata earum scripsit talem versum:

Felices nupte, moriar quia nubere dulce.

20 [bat ys mery to be a wyfe.  
 Dye Y woll and lese my lyfe.]

ashes. The same applies to those evil lechers who are devoted to the aforemen-  
 tioned abhorrent sins: though they show great external beauty in their body,  
 like green and beautiful apples, the riper they grow, the more they give forth  
 a sickening ash in their lust that burns and smells like sulphur. Therefore,  
 according to Augustine, "God hated this vice so much that, seeing it being  
 committed by men before his incarnation, he almost refrained from becoming a  
 man." And thus God did not want to entrust any angel or man with the execution  
 of this punishment but kept its vengeance for himself, after the words: "Re-  
 venge is mine, and I will repay."

4–11 Servius on *Aeneidos* II.414. 18–21 Gen. 19.1–25. 25–28 Cf. Peraldus, *Summa  
 vitorum* III.ii.3. 28–31 Josephus, *De bello Judaico* IV.8; Solinus, *Coll. rerum memo-  
 rabiliu* XXXV.8; Augustine, *De civ. Dei* XXI.v.1 (CC 48:765); and many other au-  
 thors. 36–37 In Peraldus, *Summa vitorum* III.ii.3, attributed to "auctoritas." 37–  
 40 Innocent III, *De miseria* II.xxv.1 (p. 58). 39–40 Rom. 12.19, quoting Deut. 32.35.

### VII.xii LECHERY IS OFFENSIVE TO GOD

Finally, we must see how those who fear God hate the sin of lechery with  
 all its branches. Gregory says: "The other vices stain only the body [read  
 soul?], but this one corrupts both body and soul." It is thus rightly hated  
 for five reasons: because it offends God, is hateful to the angels, ruins the  
 person who commits it, harms one's fellowman, and makes man obedient  
 to the devil.

The first point is manifest in the fact that people of this world who are  
 held to be very respectable find it greatly dishonorable when their daughters  
 engage in fornication. How much greater dishonor, then, do those bring on the  
 king of heaven who force the human soul to commit fornication, the soul who is  
 God's daughter and, so to speak, is held to be his temple! Corinthians 3 asks:  
 "Do you not know that you are the temple of God?" and continues: "But he who  
 violates the temple of God, him the Lord will destroy." Therefore God should  
 be glorified in the human soul as if in a temple. But, O God, I fear that, in the  
 words of the Psalm, "the heathens are come into your inheritance, they have  
 defiled your holy temple."

In book 6, chapter 8, of his *Declamations* Seneca reports that in ancient  
 times there was a law that women who were ministering in the temple of the  
 goddess Vesta had to be chaste. Sometime it happened that one of them who  
 was educated wrote the following verse:

Happy are brides! I would die because marriage is sweet.



Quo percepto accusatur tamquam incesta, et hoc probatur in ipsa. Nam quia ipsa nuptias affectat, predicat illas esse felices. Item in hoc quod dicit "moriar," videtur illam affirmare eas consecuturas quas affectat. Item  
 25 queritur utrum iurat expertis nupciis vel inexpertis. Si primo, sequitur quod est incesta. Si secundo, mendosa est, et per consequens (indigna) ministrare in templo tante deae. Secundum vero Ysidorum *Ethimologiarum* libro 8, capitulo 11, ista dea Veste fuit ipsa terra, que variis vestita est herbis, plantis, et arboribus, et ceteris huiusmodi. Et bene potest signifi-  
 30 ficare naturam nostram terream, que transfertur in templum summum, idest in celum, ubi deificatur in Christo. Et certe ista dea et domina non vult habere ministros nisi castos. Quid ergo dicam de illis qu(i) non tantum cogitant in corde set etiam exprimunt ore quam dulce sit peccatum luxurie, et tota die de illa materia feda locuntur? Vix enim est aliquis popularis  
 35 qui scit loqui aut tractare vel cantus insolentes (componere) nisi de illa materia carnali. Quero ergo an tu qui dicis et cantas te velle desiderium carnis habere, an dicis verum an non? Si verum, iuxta vocem Domini Matthei 5 iam mechatus es in corde tuo, et per consequens non es dignus ministrare in templo Dei set omnino expellendus. Unde Apostolus Ad Ephesios 5: "Scito-  
 40 te intelligentes quoniam omnis fornicator aut immundus aut avarus, quod est ydolorum servitus, [f. 208v] non habebit hereditatem in regno Christi et Dei." Si non dicis verum, tunc mentiris, quod est magnum dedecus et peccatum, et maxime in viro perfecto, cuiusmodi est clericus cuiuscumque ordinis, dignitatis, vel status. Et non solum mentiris, verum etiam alios  
 45 trahis ad peccatum tuo malo exemplo et verbis lascivis et inhonestis. Unde Apostolus Corinthiorum 15 dicit: "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia mala," et per consequens a communione templi talis est expellendus.

4 Destestantur] detestatur O. 10 qui] que O. 14 et] om O. 20–21 [pat . . . lyfe] text from R. Verse 53, in B1.B2.Go1.Go2.L2.L3.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 24 quas] quod O. 26 indigna] indignam C; indiget M; indiget W. 27 vero] autem O. 29 et] om O. huiusmodi] om O. 30 summum] om O. 31 ubi] add quodammodo O. dea et] om O. 32 qui] que C. 33 in] om O. 35 tractare] trufare O. componere] tractare C. 36 carnali] om O. et cantas] om O. 36–37 desiderium . . . habere] luxuriari O. 37 verum(2)] sic O. 37–38 vocem . . . 5] apostolum ephesiorum 5 O. 38 es . . . ministrare] ministrandus M.W; ministraturus R. 39–42 Unde . . . Dei] om O (see preceding sentence). 42 dicis . . . mentiris] ergo mentitus es O. 42–43 est . . . peccatum] grave peccatum O. 44 ordinis . . . status] condicionis O. Et] item O. 45 tuo . . . inhonestis] et excitas O. 46 mala] prava O. 47 talis . . . expellendus] om O.

### VII.xiii LUXURIA EST ANGELIS ODIOSA

[S]ecundo luxuria est angelis odiosa. Quod probatur tali narratione: Quidam clericus lubricus cum semel in teatro sedisset et diabolus coniu-

Merry it is to be a wife:  
I would die and lose my life!

As this becomes known, she is accused of incest, and this is proven against her as follows. She pronounces brides to be happy because she herself desires to be married. Further, by saying "I would die" she seems to affirm that married women obtain what she desires. And further, the question is raised whether she is thus swearing from the experience of marriage or without such experience. In the former case, it follows that she is incestuous. In the latter case, she is a liar; consequently, in either case she is unworthy to minister in the temple of the goddess. According to Isidore in his *Etymologies*, book 8, chapter 11, this goddess Vesta was earth herself, which is *vestita*, "clothed," with different herbs, plants, trees, and so forth. She thus symbolizes our earthly nature, which is taken into the highest temple, that is, to heaven, where it is made godlike in Christ. Certainly, this goddess will have only chaste servants. What then shall I say of those who not only think in their heart but pronounce with their mouth how sweet the sin of lechery is, and who engage all day long in dirty talk on this subject? For hardly anyone enjoys popularity unless he knows how to speak or jest or compose offensive songs on this subject. I ask then: you who are saying and singing that you want to make love to a girl, do you mean it or not? If you do, then according to the Lord's word in Matthew 5 you have already committed adultery in your heart, and consequently you are not worthy to serve in God's temple but are altogether to be cast out. Hence the Apostle says in Ephesians 5: "Know you this and understand, that no fornicator, or unclean, or covetous person (which is a servant of idols) has inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God." If you do not mean it, you are lying, and that is a grave shame and sin, especially in a man of perfect life, as a cleric should be of whatever order, rank, or status. In addition, you are not only lying but you also draw others to sin with your bad example and lewd and shameful words. Hence the Apostle says in Corinthians 15: "Evil conversations corrupt good manners." And consequently you are to be expelled from the communion of the temple.

2–3 Cf. 1 Cor. 6.18 and *Glossa ordinaria* on this verse; also Nicholas de Lyra (6:41v.G); and Innocent III, *De miseria* II.xxi.1 (p. 55). 11–12 1 Cor. 3.16–17. 14–15 Ps. 78.1. 16–27 Seneca, *Declamationes* VI.8. 27–29 Isidore, *Etym.* VIII.xi.61. 38 Matt. 5.28. 39–42 Eph. 5.5. 44 1 Cor. 15.33.

### VII.xiii LECHERY IS HATEFUL TO ANGELS

In the second place, lechery is hateful to the angels. This is proven by the following tale. Once a lecherous cleric was sitting inside his magic



rasset ut veniret et eius voluntatem perficeret, qui a longe stans respon-  
 dit dicens: "Non possum pre fetore tue libidinis propius accedere. Set  
 5 cessa per triduum, et faciam quod placuerit tibi." Quo audito doluit ille  
 et vitam correxuit. Sic ergo patet quod angelis malis est odiosum. Quod idem  
 patet de bonis angelis in illa narratione in *Vitas Patrum* de angelo corpora  
 mortuorum cum quodam sene sepeliente. Nec de fetore illorum horrebat sicut  
 10 quod in centuplum plus fetebat coram Deo et angelis quam quodcumque aliud  
 cadaver corruptum. Set quod dolendum est, hunc fetorem ipsi luxuriosi non  
 sciunt, eo quod naturaliter inter fetentes fetor non sentitur. Unde illud  
 Ioelis: "Computruerunt iumenta in stercore suo." Unde dicit Gregorius: "Iu-  
 15 menta, inquit, in stercore putrescere est homines brutales in fetore luxu-  
 rie vitam finire." Unde Psalmista: "Disperierunt in Endor, facti sunt ut  
 stercus terre." Unde Gregorius: "Endor, inquit, est fons generacionis vel  
 oculus naturalis," et bene significat voluntatem humanam que operi carnali  
 et generacioni deservit, et non sequitur rationem set sensualitates. Et  
 20 ideo tales propter [f. 209] sui vilitatem bene compara(n)tur stercore  
 terre, etc.

1 odiosa] odiosum O. 4 propius] om M; proprius R.W. 11 fetorem] dolorem idest  
 fetorem M; dolorem R.W. 13 Unde] ut O. 16-17 vel . . . naturalis] om O. 17 volun-  
 tatem humanam] naturam O. 18-20 et(2) . . . etc.] cui comparatur propter sui vilitatem  
 (utilitatem M.W) O. 19 comparantur] comparatur C.

#### VII.xiv LUXURIA EST PROPRIO SUBIECTO PERNICIOSA

[T]ercio est illud peccatum detestabile quia est proprio subiecto  
 perniciosum. Et hoc satis probatur in hoc quod sibi aufert tam bona tempo-  
 ralia quam et spiritualia, super tollit seipsum et seculi honorem. De bonis  
 temporalibus patet Luce 15 de filio prodigo, de quo supra parte 1, capitulo  
 5 6. De illo etiam legitur quomodo luxuriose bona sua dissipavit et post pre  
 fame porcos pascebat. Unde Augustinus *De civitate Dei* libro 3, capitulo 5:  
 "Hec, inquit, fercula appellantur, quorum celebratur convivium quo velud  
 su[i]s epulis demonia imunda pascebantur." Nam luxuriosus fit magnum  
 ferculum demonibus quo ipsi pascuntur. De bonis etiam spiritualibus patet  
 10 per hoc quod dicitur Proverbiorum (2)9: "Qui nutrit scortum, perdit sub-  
 stanciam," scilicet spiritualem, idest celum. Quod etiam tollit homini se-  
 ipsum patet Osee 9: "Fornicacio, vinum, et ebrietas auferunt cor." Amans  
 enim amore fatuo non habet cor suum, set ipsum frequenter amittit. Propter  
 ergo huiusmodi amorem, ut patet Regum 12, Amon interfectus est quia corru-

circle and conjured the devil to come and do his will. But the devil stood far  
 off and said: "I cannot come any closer because of the stench of your lust.  
 But stop for three days and I will do what you please." When the cleric heard  
 this, he experienced great grief and amended his life. Thus we see how hateful  
 this sin is to evil angels. The same can be seen to be true of good angels in  
 the tale from from *The Lives of the Fathers* in which an angel was burying  
 bodies of the dead with a desert father. The angel was not as much stunned by  
 their stench as the desert father was; but when a lecherous young man walked  
 by, he stopped his nose saying that he stank a hundred times worse before God  
 and his angels than any decomposing corpse. But it is to be feared that  
 lechers themselves cannot smell this stench, because it is natural that an evil  
 smell is not felt among people who produce it. Hence the words of Joel: "The  
 beasts have rotted in their dung." On which Gregory comments: "Beasts rotting  
 in their dung signify bestial people who end their life in the stench of  
 lechery." Hence the Psalmist: "They perished at Endor, they became like dung  
 of the earth." And Gregory comments: "Endor means 'the fountain of procrea-  
 tion' or 'the natural eye,' " and signifies man's will that is busy about the  
 work of the flesh and of procreation and does not follow reason but its  
 sensual pleasure. Therefore, such people are, on account of their baseness,  
 compared to the dung of the land.

2-6 Tubach 956 (description not exact). 7-11 Tubach 2559. 13 Joel 1.17. 13-  
 15 Gregory, *In Evangelia*, hom. 31, 5 (PL 76:1229). 15-16 Ps. 82.11. 16-18 Also in  
 Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.i.3, following a quotation from Gregory.

#### VII.xiv LECHERY IS HARMFUL TO THE PERSON WHO COMMITTS IT

In the third place, this sin is to be detested because it ruins the person  
 who commits it. This is shown sufficiently in that it robs him of his temporal  
 as well as spiritual possessions; but above all it deprives him of himself and  
 of his worldly honor. The loss of temporal possessions is shown in the Prodi-  
 gal Son of Luke 15 (see above, part 1, chapter 6), of whom we read that in his  
 loose living he wasted his goods and then for hunger herded the swine. In book  
 3, chapter 5, of *The City of God* Augustine comments as follows: "These are  
 called 'dishes' because a banquet is given whose food, as it were, nourishes  
 unclean demons." For a lecher becomes a great dish for demons, who feed on  
 him. The loss of spiritual goods is shown in the words of Proverbs 29: "He  
 who maintains a harlot squanders away his substance," that is, his spiritual  
 possession, namely heaven. That this sin further deprives a man of himself is  
 shown in Hosea 9: "Fornication, wine, and drunkenness take away the heart."

- 15 pit Thamar, sororem suam. Unde Ieronimus: "Cotidie, inquit, sanguis mechorum funditur et adulteria dampnantur." Quod etiam mundi honorem aufert homini patet Genesis 49 de Ruben primogenito Iacob, qui prior in donis et maior imperio esse debuerat. Cui tamen dixit pater eius Iacob: "Non crescas, quia ascendisti cubile patris tui et maculasti stratum eius."
- 20 De vindicta ergo illius peccati narratur, et a multis testificatur, de quodam luxurioso qui in festivitate Omnium Sanctorum cum sua concubina iacens opus illud execrabile perpetravit. Cum ergo illa de solempnitate festi ipsum premunisset, ipse cum magna protervia respondit: "Quid ad sanctos de me? Propter eos non dimittam." Et ecce, vindicta ante finem
- 25 illius operis ambo a diabolo suffocati sunt. In crastino autem a vicinis inventi sunt insimul [f. 209v] coniuncti ut canes horribiles et fetentes, quibus nemo pre fetore poterat appropinquare. Ligabant ergo pedes eorum ad caudas equorum et extracti sunt extra villam et proiecti in quandam foveam fetidam et ibidem dimissi, ubi quasi in momento igne infernali consumpti
- 30 sunt.

3 et] etiam M.R.; om W. 4 quo] add nota O. 10 29] 19 C. 22 perpetravit] impetravit O. 25 autem] om O. 26 ut] quasi O. 28 extra villam] om O. et] etiam O. 28–29 proiecti . . . ibidem] in quadam fovea fetida O.

### VII.xv LUXURIA PROXIMO NOCET

- [Q]uarto est illud vicium detestabile quia nocet proximo. Quod vero patet [primo] per hoc quod qui datur huic vicio, nullam fidem quasi servat, sicut patet Regum de David et Uria; similiter Regum 12 de Amon et Thamar sorore sua. Similiter ex hoc patet quod pluribus aufert hereditatem suam,
- 5 sicut patet de filio prodigo, Luce 15, de quo nota supra. Et ideo Ecclesiastici 23 dicitur: "Omnis mulier relinquens virum suum peccabit, statuens heredem ex alieno matrimonio." Et ideo Deuteronomii 23 dicitur hoc modo pro talibus: "Si puella desponderit viro et invenerit eam (aliquis) in civitate et concubuerit cum ea, secundum legem uterque educetur extra civitatem et
- 10 lapidibus obruetur: puella, quia non clama[vi]t quia erat in civitate; et vir, quia violavit uxorem proximi sui." Spiritualiter hec puella virgo desponsata est anima viri vel mulieris voto continencie Christo copulata. Adulter autem est caro nostra, que continue sollicitat corpus ad peccatum. Si ergo homo sibi assenserit et ad Deum non clamaverit, ad portam civita-
- 15 tis, idest ad locum iudicii finalis, per quam omnes egredientur, lapidibus

For a man who is foolishly in love does not possess his own heart but frequently loses it. On account of such love, as is shown in Kings 12, Amnon was killed because he lay with his sister Tamar. Whence Jerome says: "Every day the blood of adulterers is shed and adultery is condemned." Finally, that this sin deprives a man of worldly honor is seen in Genesis 49 in Ruben, the first-born of Jacob, who ought to have been the first in gifts and command. But his father Jacob said to him: "You shall not grow because you went up to your father's bed and defiled his couch."

With respect to the vengeance that befalls this sin, there is the report, witnessed by many people, of a lecher who committed this revolting deed with his concubine on the feast of All Saints. When she warned him that it was a very solemn feast day, he answered her with great impudence: "What do I have to do with the saints? I'll certainly not give it up for their sake." But lo, in punishment they were both strangled by the devil before completing the act; and on the following day they were found by their neighbors joined together like a couple of dogs, horrible to see and to smell, and nobody could go near them for the stench. Then the neighbors tied their feet to the tails of horses, and they were pulled out of their village and cast into a dirty pit and left there, where they were immediately consumed by fire from hell.

4–5 FM I.ix. 7–8 Augustine, *De civitate Dei* II.4 (CC 47:37). 10–11 Prov. 29.3. 12 Hos. 4.11. 14–15 2 Sam. 13.1–29. 15–16 Also in Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.i.2. 17–19 Gen. 49.4. 20–30 Tubach 155.

### VII.xv LECHERY IS HARMFUL TO ONE'S NEIGHBOR

In the fourth place, this vice is to be detested because it harms one's fellow man. This is shown, first, by the fact that he who engages in this vice hardly ever keeps faith, as we can see in David and Uria, in the Book of Kings; and in Amnon and his sister Tamar, in Kings 12. Likewise, the vice robs many of their inheritance, as was the case with the Prodigal Son of Luke 15; see above. Therefore it is said in Ecclesiasticus 23: "Every woman that leaves her husband commits sin, because she brings an heir from another marriage." And in Deuteronomy 23 it is decreed, with respect to such sinners: "If a girl is married to a man and someone finds her in the city and lies with her, according to the Law both shall be brought outside the city and be stoned to death: the girl because she did not cry out, though she was inside the city, and the man because he violated his neighbor's wife." In spiritual allegory, this betrothed maiden is the soul of a man or a woman who is married to Christ by a vow of continence. The adulterer is our flesh, which constantly urges the body to sin. If, then, a person yields to it and does not cry to God for help,

obru(etur) una cum carne sua. Et ideo, si velis iuari, clama, quia dicit Psalmista: "Ad Dominum cum tribularer clamavi," etc.

7 heredem] hereditatem O. 8 aliquis] cum aliquo C. 10 obruetur] obruentur O.  
16 obruetur] obruentur C. 17 etc.] om O.

## VII.xvi LUXURIA EST OBSEQUIUM DIABOLO

[Q]uinto est luxuria detestanda quia obsequium est diabolo. Et hoc patet per hoc quod legitur in quadam glossa super Leviticum ubi dicitur quod cum demones de omni peccato gaudent, precipue tamen gaudent de fornicatione et ydolatria, [f. 210] quia in illis tam corpus quam anima maculatur, et diabolus habet ibi forum vilissimum, quia pro momentanea quasi delectatione lucratur binos et binos semper. Unde sicut gaudet mercator quando cum uno denario lucratur quatuor, [sic diabolus] quando cum una delectatione vel uno genere peccati, scilicet luxuria, lucratur plures animas. Et nota quod cetera peccata quasi hami sunt diaboli, set hoc peccatum est magnum suum rethe, cum quo piscatur clerum cum populo, pauperem cum divite, iuvenem cum sene, dominum cum servo, dominam cum ancilla, matrem cum filia; unde Abacuc 1 dicitur: "Totum in hamo suo levabit et in rethe congregavit."

Nota eciam quod diabolus ut hominem alliciat ad hoc peccatum, facit ad modum fabri. Qui cum non potest ducere ferrum ad libitum, ad ignem ponit et fortiter sufflat. Sic diabolus quando non potest hominem ducere ad libitum suum, primo accendit (circa) illum ignem voluptatis, et hoc quatuor modis: primo flatu oris, idest propria suggestione; secundo flatu follium, idest suggestione ve(tul)arum, ut patet supra, capitulo 3; tercio per appositionem pinguedinis, idest gulositatis et ebrietatis; et quarto per vicinitatem alterius ignis, quia sicut domus combusta accendit aliam, sic voluptas unius voluptatem alterius. Quibus accensis ducit eos ad libitum, et cum malleolis suggestionum diversarum super incudem cordis indurati et obstinati format de illis quicquid placet, quia modo luxuriam, modo gulam, modo accidiam, modo invidiam. Set tandem apertissime eosdem deludendo decipiet.

Et ideo, ut michi videtur, est ad litteram de diabolo homines seducen-  
te sicut antiquitus sole[ba]t esse de gobelino. Antiquitus autem pluries  
audivi quod homines qui solebant ire de nocte pro amasiis suis habendis [f.  
210v] et aliis voluptatibus complendis, quod ut pluries accidit casus iste:  
30 Quando vero inceperunt iter suum versus aliquem locum precogitatum, quod  
quasi subito quadam acrisia seducti circuierunt erratico per totam noctem

the soul will be stoned to death together with her flesh, at the gate of the city, that is, in the place of the Last Judgment, through which all men will pass. Thus, if you want to receive help, cry out; for the Psalmist says: "In my trouble I cried to the Lord."

3 2 Sam. 11. 3-4 2 Sam. 13.1-29. 5 Luke 15.11-32; cf. FM VII.xiv.4. 6-7 Ecclus. 23.32. 8-11 Deut. 22.23-24. 17 Ps. 119.1.

## VII.xvi LECHERY RENDERS SERVICE TO THE DEVIL

In the fifth place, lechery is to be detested because it renders service to the devil. This is proven by a gloss on Leviticus which declares that while the demons rejoice at any sin, they are particularly happy over fornication and idolatry, because in these sins both body and soul are stained; and in this sin the devil does his vile business best because for a little passing delight he always gains two souls at once. As a merchant is happy when he can make a profit of four dollars out of one, so can the devil win several souls with one moment of pleasure or with a single type of sin, namely lechery. Notice also that other sins are like the devil's fishhooks, but this one is a big net, with which he catches cleric and layman, poor and rich, young and old, master and servant, lady and maid, mother and daughter; hence it is said in Habakkuk 1: "He will lift them all up with his hook and will gather them into his net."

Notice also that in order to lure a person to this sin, the devil acts like a blacksmith. Since the latter cannot shape iron at will, he puts it in the fire and blows on it hard. In the same way, when the devil cannot lead a person after his will, he first lights the fire of lust around him, and this in four ways: first, by blowing with his mouth, that is, by the stirrings from that person's own flesh; second, by puffing his bellows, that is, by the allurements of go-betweens, as we saw earlier in chapter 3; third, by putting some rich fuel in the fire, namely that of gluttony and drunkenness; and fourth, by placing a second fire near it, because just as one house that is in flames sets another one on fire, so does the lust of one person stir that of another. And when the devil has thus set them on fire, he can bend them at his will, and striking with the hammers of different suggestions on the anvil of their hardened and obstinate heart he shapes them to whatever form he pleases: now into lechery, now into gluttony, now into sloth, and now into envy. And finally he deceives them quite openly.

Therefore, it seems to me that when the devil seduces a person he acts literally as the goblin did in former times. For in the past I have often heard that the following frequently happened to men who used to go at night to see their lovers and gratify other desires. When they set out on their way to

aliquod nemus vel manerium, semper credentes in recto itinere transire. (Est autem acrisia quedam species (cecuciei), qua scilicet homo credit videre quod non videt, idest unam rem pro alia.) Set tandem lucescente  
 35 aurora diei perceperunt se nichil proficisse in via quam principaliter intendebant. Unde cum sic quasi attoniti et cogitativi considera[ba]nt se esse delusos, (audierunt) iuxta se quendam strepitum acsi esset derisio cuiusdam invisibilis, qui secundum aliquos est quidam demon qui vulgariter dicitur *Gobelyn*. Revera sic est in proposito. Nox enim illa [in] qua plures  
 40 vadunt est vita carnalis, scilicet accidie, gule, luxurie, ad quam plures per cautelas diaboli deducuntur. Cum ergo hanc viam ceperit homo, statim recedit a Deo, qui est verus sol et dies claritatis et mundicie. Quod videns diabolus, statim se exhibet ductorem illum ducens illum in giro, modo ad gulam, modo ad luxuriam, modo ad periuriam, modo ad homicidia,  
 45 modo ad (cetera) vicia que ex carnali voluptate generantur, iuxta illud Psalmi: "In circuitu impii ambulant." Et sic facit eos vagari modo predicto quousque totam noctem istius tenebrose vite consummaverunt. Cum ergo tunc quasi subito apar[er]it aurora, que est tempus iudicii, quod erit quasi aurora vite eterne, tunc primo audient iuxta se diabolum qui eos decepit aperte  
 50 ipsos deridentem; Ecclesiastici 12: "Tanquam pueris dedisti iudicium in derisum."

In quo quidem iudicio circumquaque op- [f. 211] probria et comminationes durissimas cernent anime misere sic seducte. Nam primo ante eas audient voces angelorum clamantium et dicentium: "Surgite, mortui, venite ad iudicium." Secundo a tergo audient propria facta clamantia: "Curramus et accusemus eius flagicium." Tercio audient clamorem proprie consciencie dicentis: "Feram contra te testimonium." Quarto a dextris audient strepitum demonum insultantium et horribiliter clamantium: "Vendicemus servos nostros." Quinto a sinistris audient clamorem electorum dicentium: "Iuste iudex,  
 60 vindica te in tuos contemptores," quia iuxta illud [Psalmi]: "Letabitur iustus cum viderit vindictam." Sexto subter se audient infernum bullientem clamantem et dicentem: "Descendite, o miseri, quia hic finaliter volutabimini in pena." Septimo et ultimo supra se audient vocem iudicis irati dicentis: "Ite maledicti in ignem eternum." Clamores quos audient patent in  
 65 hiis versibus:

Surgite defuncti, modo iudicis ira patebit;  
 [iste est clamor angelorum ante.]

Iam cernent cuncti tua facta nilque latebit;  
 [iste est peccatorum retro.]

70 Conscia sum puncti minimi, nil teste carebit;  
 [iste est proprie consciencie intra.]

Tu michi servisti, meus es, dabo quod meruisti;  
 [iste erit demonum a dextris.]

some assigned place, they wandered all night long in a circle around a grove or a manor house as if suddenly led astray by some illusion, thinking all the time they were proceeding on a straight path. (An illusion is a kind of blindness, in which one believes one sees something one does not really see, that is, one object instead of another.) But when at last dawn came, they realized that they had made no progress on the way they originally planned to go. And as in their astonishment and wonder they reflected that they were being deceived, they would hear a noise close by that sounded like the laughter of some invisible being. According to some, this is a demon popularly called *Goblin*. All this applies to the moral life. The night in which many people walk is their carnal way of life, namely the way of sloth, gluttony, and lechery, into which many people are led by the tricks of the devil. For when a man sets out on this way, he at once abandons God, who is the true sun and the day of brightness and purity. When the devil sees this, he immediately offers himself as a guide to such a person, leading him around in a circle, now to gluttony, then to lechery, to perjury, to manslaughter, and to the other sins that spring from fleshly lust, after the words of the Psalm: "The wicked walk round about." And in this fashion he causes them to wander about in the said manner, until they have spent the whole night of their shady life. And when suddenly dawn breaks, that is, the time of judgment, which is the dawn of eternal life, only then will they for the first time hear the devil close by laugh at them openly, who has deceived them; Ecclesiasticus 12: "As to children you have given a judgment to mock them."

In that judgment, the wretched souls that have been thus seduced will encounter the most severe reproaches and threats all around them. First, they will hear before them the voices of angels who cry out: "Rise, you dead, and come to your judgment." Second, from behind they will hear their own deeds calling out: "Let us run and present his vile deeds." Third, they will hear the cry of their own conscience: "I shall give witness against you." Fourth, on their right they will hear the shouting of demons that hurl insults and dreadful cries: "Let us lay claim on our own servants." Fifth, on the left they will hear the call of the elect: "Rightful judge, take vengeance on those that have scorned you"; for according to the words of the Psalm, "The just shall rejoice when he sees the revenge." Sixth, below them they will hear hell boiling and crying out: "Come down, wretches, for here you shall toss forever in your pain." Seventh and last, above them they will hear the voice of their angry judge saying: "You cursed ones, go into the eternal fire." These voices that they will hear are listed in the following verses:

Rise, O dead, for now the judge's wrath will show

—this is the cry of the angels before us.

Now all will see your deeds and nothing will be hidden

—this of our sins behind us.

- 75 O Deus, hec signa tua puniat ulcio digna;  
[iste erit sanctorum a sinistris.]  
Hos, horrende chaos, ostende, vorare reos hos;  
[iste erit inferni subtus.]  
O maledict(a) cohorts, sit semper in igne tibi sors!  
[ista erit vox iudicis superius.]
- 80 Unde pro omnibus istis dicitur illud Matthei 24: "Mittet angelos suos cum tuba magna," scilicet in testimonium contra malos, "et eos congregabit a quatuor ventis," scilicet ad dictas comminationes et iudicium audiendum. Et sic miser peccator exiit condemnatus, et "diabolus stet a dextris eius," ut dicit Psalmista.
- 85 Merito ergo est hoc peccatum detestandum ex quo sequitur tale et tantum supplicium. Luxuria eciam [f. 211v] facit homini multa mala que in hiis verbis continentur:

- 90 Corpus debilitat, animas et corpora fedat.  
Et carnem frangit ciciusque senescere cogit.  
Famam tollit, opes, animam, vim, lumina, vocem.  
Polluit, adnichilat, necat, eripit, orbat, acerbat.

Et hec de luxuria ad presens sufficiunt.

1 est] prestat M; om R.W. 7 quatuor] decem O. sic diabolus] om C; longer om W. quando] om O. 8 delectacione . . . lucratur] voluptate M.R; longer om W. 9-10 peccatum] om O. 10 suum] om O. 11 dominum . . . servo] om O. 17 circa] supra C. 19 vetularum] vestiarum C. 23 malleolis] martellis O. 25 eosdem] eos O. 27 autem] enim O. pluries] puerulus M; puerilus R; parvilis W; add ut O. 28 quod] de M; qui R. homines] hominibus O. habendis] querendis O. 30 vero] enim O. 33 cecuciei] cecitatis acuciei C. 35 perceperunt] perpendebat M; perpendebant R.W. proficisse] perfecisse O. 37 audierunt] et audiebant C. 45 cetera] certa C. 47 istius] om M.R; et W. 53 eas] eos O. 55 curramus] currite O. 67-79 iste . . . superius] Evidently in the archetype the glosses (i.e., lines beginning with iste or ista) were written next to the respective hexameters. This arrangement is preserved in M. 68 cernent] cernunt O. 76 Hos] os M; line om W. 78 maledicta] maledicte C; maledicti W. 81 tuba] add et voce O. 83 sic] cum M.W; tunc R. miser peccator] miseri anima M.W; misera anima R. condemnatus] condemnata O. et] iuxta illud psalmi O. 84 ut dicit Psalmista] om O. 85-91 ex quo . . . acerbat] quod tot mala requirit O.—The additional material also occurs in group z and E. Line 3 of the verses should probably read: Famam tollit, opes, sensum furiosa libido. Femina corpus, opes, animam, vim, lumina, vocem. 92 Et] om O. ad presens] om O.

- Conscious I am of my least deed, no witness is wanting  
—this of our conscience within us.  
You've served me well, now you are mine, I give what you've earned  
—this of the devils on the right.  
O God, let your just vengeance punish now these faults  
—this of the saints to the left.  
Open your mouth, O horrible hell, to swallow these sinners  
—this of hell below.  
O cursed cohort, your fate shall be in fire forever  
—and this the voice of the judge above us.

To all these voices relate the words of Matthew 24: "He shall send his angels with a great trumpet," that is, in witness against them, "and he shall gather them from the four winds," that is, to hear the threats I have mentioned as well as their judgment. And thus the wretched soul leaves condemned, and after the words of the Psalmist, "the devil shall stand at her right hand."

Thus, this sin which leads to so much pain deserves indeed to be detested. In addition, lechery causes man many other injuries, which are listed in the following verses:

- It weakens the body, and further it dirties both body and soul.  
It breaks our flesh and renders us old before our time.  
It robs good name, our wealth, soul, strength, eyesight, and voice,  
And stains, wipes out, kills, wastes, deprives, and roughens them.

And this much suffices about lechery for now.

2-4 Peraldus, *Summa vitiorum* III.i.2 ("glossa super Lucam"). 12-13 Hab. 1.15. 19 FM VII.vi.39-93. 46 Ps. 11.9. 50-51 Wisd. 12.25. 52-84 The six points from which voices come at the Last Judgment form a widespread commonplace in meditative literature; see, for example, Anselm, *Meditatio 1* (3:78-79). For English metrical versions see Carleton Brown and Rossell Hope Robbins, eds., *The Index of Middle English Verse* (New York, 1943), items 2500 and 3218. 60-61 Ps. 57.11. 80-82 Matt. 24.31. 83 Ps. 108.6.



## VII.xvii DE CASTITATE

[C]ontra autem hoc vicium cum suis miseris atque membris se offert domina Castitas sive Continencia tamquam illius contraria et expugnatrix ad modum quo pugil in duello socium aggreditur, nec mutilando, excecando, occidendo dimittit donec illud verbum odiosum, scilicet “reddo me criminoso-  
5 sum,” Gallice <c>reaunt, dixerit. Sic continencia luxuriam aggreditur et devincit. De qua sic intendo procedere: primo, quid sit et cui comparatur; secundo, a quibus et quomodo acquiritur; tercio, de eius effectu et quomodo terminatur.

Est autem continencia contra carnis voluptatem rationis frena et moderata dominacio. Que etiam secundum Macrobius libro 1 est virtus reprimens motus illicitos ad carnalem concupiscenciam. Cuius natura est, prout virtus dicitur, nichil appetere quod legem moderacionis videtur excedere, set sub iugo rationis cupiditatem carnis domare et eius concupiscenciam superare. Nam secundum commentatorem 7 *Ethicorum*, qui superat concupiscencias  
15 continens est, et qui superatur ab eis incontinens dicitur.

[C]omparatur autem bene hec virtus cuidam herbe que dicitur agnus castus. De qua dicit Albertus *De vegetabilibus*, libro 6, capitulo 5, quod ipsa in estate floret, folia etiam et fructus producit, atque gaudet radice et succo. Unde secundum eum tale nomen portat eo quod eius folia et fructus  
20 [f. 212] et flores efficacissima sunt ad conservandam castitatem et continenciam, que si sparsa fuit in domibus vel in lectis, eundem effectum habent et retinent. Unde si moraliter de hac herba loqui velimus, <l>ignum crucis dominice bene dici potest. Cuius fructus est agnus castus et immaculatus, Iesus Christus, de quo dicitur *Trenorum* 11: “Ego quasi agnus qui portatur ad victimam.” Cuius folia sunt eius dulcia verba in cruce, de  
25 quibus supra parte 3, capitulo 13, vel dira vulnera et cicatrices. Set fructus eius gracie et beatitudin(e)s. Que omnia, si in domibus animarum nostrarum aut earum lectulis et cubiculis fuerint aspersa et continue per iugem devocionem observata, puram continenciam ibi nutrire non deficient.

Et sicut antiquitus sacerdotes et virgines deo consecrate virtute illius herbe concupiscencias superabant pudiciciam observando, sic nos virtute ligni sancte crucis diabolum inimicum continue precipuum devincemus. Unde Ysaie dicitur: “Emitte agnum, Domine, dominatorem terre,” etc.

Comparatur etiam continencia flori lilii propter eius puritatem; *Canticorum*: “Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias.” Et nota quod bene lilio comparatur. Nam natura lilii est quod cum integra manet et non fracta, odorem suavissimum diffundit, set fracta et attrita qualitercumque fetorem pessimum emittit. Revera sic virginitas integre conservata Deo et angelis fit placens et odorifera, set per voluptates contrita et  
40 fracta pessime fetet et olet, sicut supra capitulo proximo de angelo et

## VII.xvii THE VIRTUE OF CHASTITY

Against this vice and its wickedness, Lady Chastity or Continence presents herself as its opponent and uprooter. Just as a champion in individual combat attacks his opponent and does not desist from trying to cut him to pieces, blind him, and kill him until he speaks that hateful word “I surrender”—*creaunt* in French—, so does continence attack and overcome lechery. I intend to discuss continence as follows: first, what it is and to what things it can be compared; second, by whom and how it may be acquired; and third, what its effects are and to what rewards it leads.

Continence is the bridle and measured rule of reason over the lust of the flesh. And further, according to Macrobius in book 1, it is the virtue that represses illicit stirrings to fleshly lust. Insofar as continence is a virtue, its character is not to desire anything that may go beyond the rule of moderation, but to control the fleshly appetite under the yoke of reason and to overcome the concupiscence of the flesh. For according to the commentator on book 7 of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, he who rules his base desires is continent, whereas he who is ruled by them is called incontinent.

This virtue can be compared to a herb called *agnus castus*, “tutsan” or “Saint John’s wort.” In his work *On Plants*, book 6, chapter 5, Albertus writes that this herb blossoms in summer, brings forth leaves and fruit, and delights in its root and juice. According to that author, it has that name because its leaves, fruit, and blossoms are most efficacious in preserving chastity and continence; even if they are strewn over the house or beds, they retain their effectiveness. If we want to interpret this herb morally, it may easily stand for the wood of the Lord’s cross, whose fruit is *agnus castus*, the chaste and immaculate lamb, Jesus Christ, of whom is said in *Lamentations* 11: “I am as a lamb that is carried to be a victim.” Its leaves are his gentle words on the cross, of which see above, part 3, chapter 13; or else his wounds and scars. But its fruit are his graces and blessings. If all these are sprinkled in the dwellings of our souls and their beds and couches and are constantly kept in mind through true devotion, they will not fail to nourish purity and continence in us. Just as in ancient times priests and virgins who were consecrated to their god used this herb to rule over their base desires and preserve their chasteness, so shall we always overcome our enemy, the devil, especially by virtue of the wood of the holy cross. Hence Isaiah says: “Send forth, O Lord, the lamb, the ruler of the earth,” etc.

Continence can also be compared to the lily on account of its purity; *Canticles* 2: “As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters.” This comparison is very fitting, for by its nature the lily spreads a very sweet smell as long as it remains fresh and unbroken, but when it is broken and crushed in any way, it smells very bad. In the same fashion, unspoiled vir-



sene probatum est corpora sepeliendo. Et Ecclesiastici 34 dicitur: "Quasi liliom date odorem." Set nota quod istud lilium [f. 212v] dicitur esse "inter spinas," scilicet quando aliquis vel aliqua (contingens) inter carnales peccatores commoratur. Videmus enim in arbore spinosa folia pulcra et  
 45 flores, et tamen occulte spine acutissime pungentes. Sic certe contingit in istis lubricis. Ipsi enim ostendunt verba suavia et levia ad decipiendum, set sub illis acutissime peccatorum punctiones ponuntur, ex quibus folia lili castitatis lacerantur.

Et nota quod in lilio sex sunt folia candida, sex virtutes designancia que virginitatem custodiunt illibatam. De quibus tres tangere sufficit, scilicet honestas in loquendo, sobrietas in vescendo, raritas in ludendo. Primum igitur folium lacerat loquacitas feditati adiuncta, de qua nota supra, capitulo 2, et parte 1, capitulo 3. De qua ait Seneca: "A verbis enim turpibus abstinete, quia licentia inpudicicium (nutrit)." Et Proverborum 7: "Ecce mulier occurrit ei ornata meretricio, preparata ad capiendas  
 55 animas, garrula et vaga." Secundum folium est sobrietas. Impossibile autem est castitatem inveniri ubi regnat ebrietas, quia Proverborum 28 dicitur: "Luxuriosa res est vinum." Et Ad Ephesios: "Nolite inebriari vino in quo est luxuria," supple causaliter. Tercium folium est raritas in loquendo, hoc est, subtractio sufficiens ab istis ludis levibus et dissolutis. Exemplum Genesis 34 de Dyna, filia Iacob, que cum egrederetur "ut videret mulieres regionis illius," corrupta est a filio Emor, Sychem. Et illud folium similiter lacerat dissolutus modus cantandi et ludendi; Corinthiorum 15: "Corrumpunt bonos mores colloquia prava."

Et ideo certe quia virginitas inter huiusmodi spinas crescit, de facili leditur. Que tamen in seculo nimis habundant, quia revera iste vacantes cornuum, caudarum, et [f. 213] aliarum vestium mulierum sunt maxime cause libidinis. Et tamen secundum modum patrie mulier honeste indui potest sine peccato, nec ex hoc est reprehensibilis nisi in quantum superfluitas et causa mali superhabundare videtur. Dicitur enim de Beata Virgine quod inter cetera opera puritatis quod ita raro loquebatur quod non invenitur in Evangelio ipsam nisi quatuor personis locutam fuisse, scilicet cum filio, cum angelo, cum Elizabeth, et in nuptiis cum Iohanne et ministris. Sic pro virginitate servanda debemus loqui, primo cum Filio in oratione;  
 70 cum angelo, idest sacerdote, in confessione; cum Elyzabeth, idest sancta muliere, in consolacione; et cum Dei ministris in postulacione. Unde ait Augustinus: "Omnes, inquit, puellas et virgines equaliter ignora aut equaliter dilige, et vide ne sub eodem tecto cum muliere manseris, nec in pristina castitate confidas." "Quia (dicit ipse) [ubi] cum mulieribus (verius) tabernaculi est cohabitacio, non facile tolitur peccati delectacio." Et  
 75 ponit exemplum: "Adamas, inquit, inter mallium et ferrum non frangitur, et tamen hircino sanguine dissipatur. Sic (dicit ipse) vir aut mulier fortis,

ginity is pleasing and sweet-smelling to God and his angels; but when it has been crushed and broken by lust, it has a terrible stench, as was proven earlier, in the preceding chapter, in the tale about the angel and the desert father who were burying the dead. And thus it is said in Ecclesiasticus 34: "Yield a smell as the lily." But notice that this lily is said to be "among thorns," namely when a continent man or woman lives among people involved in sins of the flesh. On a thorn bush we see beautiful leaves and flowers, yet underneath sharp pricking thorns are hidden. This is certainly the case in people who are given to lechery; they offer sweet and light words which deceive, but underneath are the sharp pricks of their sins with which they tear the leaves of the lily of chastity.

Notice that a lily has six white petals, which symbolize the six virtuous practices that keep virginity unspoiled. It is sufficient to comment on three of them: honesty in speech, sobriety in eating, and detachment in play. The first petal is torn by chatter which is close to bawdy talk; on that, see above, chapter 2, and part 1, chapter 3. Seneca says of it: "Abstain from shameful words, for licentiousness nourishes unchasteness." And Proverbs 7: "And behold, a woman meets him in harlot's attire, prepared to deceive souls, talkative and wandering." The second petal is sobriety. It is impossible to find chastity where drunkenness rules, for in Proverbs 28 it is said: "Wine is a luxurious thing"; and in Ephesians: "Do not get drunk with wine, in which is lechery," that is, deriving from it as its cause. And the third petal is detachment in play, that is, the necessary withdrawal from frivolous and dissipated entertainments. We have an example in Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, in Genesis 34: when she went out to see the women of that region, she became corrupted by Shechem, the son of Hamor. This petal is also torn by dissolute ways of singing and playing; Corinthians 15: "Wicked conversations corrupt good manners."

Therefore, since virginity grows among such thorns it certainly can easily be damaged. Such thorns abound in this world, for too much attention paid to women's "horns," "tails," and other articles of clothing is a great source for lust. And yet a woman can dress herself decently according to the custom of her country without committing a sin, nor is there anything reprehensible in this unless it is a matter of superfluous fashion and hence a source for evil. It is said of the Blessed Virgin that, among the other aspects of her purity, she spoke so little that in the Gospel she is found to have spoken to only four persons, namely her son, the angel, Elizabeth, and John and the servants at the marriage [of Cana]. We should do likewise in our talks in order to guard our virginity, namely speak first with the Son of God, in prayer; with the angel, that is, with the priest, when we go to confession; with Elizabeth, that is, with a saintly woman, for consolation; and with God's servants in prayer. Therefore, Augustine says: "Either ignore or love all girls and maidens equal-

qui tribulacione non frangitur, in sanguine, hoc est in peccato Veneris,  
levius resolvitur et dissipatur." Unde Ieronimus: "Non es, inquit, David  
85 sanctor, non es Salomone sapiencior, non Absalone pulcrior, non Sampson  
forcior." Et tamen omnes isti a mulieribus fuerunt decepti. "Libido ferreas  
mentes emollit. Si ergo (dicit Ieronimus) pudiciciam queris, feminam quam  
videris bene conversantem dilige." Sic enim fecerunt antiqui. Ipsi autem  
90 super omnia pudiciciam venerabantur. Unde Ieronimus *Contra Iovinianum* nar-  
rat quod antiquitus imperatores, consules, et senatores Romani et ceteri in  
(c)urribus [f. 213v] triumphantes, quando alicui virgini obviabant, magnum  
honorem sibi dederunt, acsi in sua virginitate aliquid beatitudinis perspe-  
xissent. Et ideo secundum aliquos hec est per quam angelis homines assimi-  
lantur, quia angelis cognata est virginitas. Et ideo in signum dilectionis  
95 et honoris ad virginitatem elegit Christus virgo esse, de virgine nasci, et  
baptizari.

Narrat ergo Ieronimus de continencia trium viduarum post mortem mari-  
torum. Quarum prima nomine Machia offerentibus sibi virum respondit se non  
invenire virum qui se propter se duceret set forsitan propter sua. Erat enim  
100 (de)formis set dives. Secunda autem nomine Valeria respondit primum virum  
semper in mente vivere, et ideo alium superinducere non posset. Set tertia  
nomine Anania respondit se virum alium nolle accipere quacumque causa, quia  
si esset bonus, semper timeret illum perdere sicut primum perdiderat; si  
vero malus esset, semper doleret quod post tam bonum virum malum haberet.

105 Comparatur autem tercio continencia cuidam lapidi vocato terribulus,  
de quo legitur libro *De naturis rerum* quod huiusmodi lapides sunt in quodam  
monte orientis, et sunt lapides ignifiri masculus et femina. Quorum natura  
est, quamdiu sunt ab invicem, ignis non accenditur; cum ergo simul appro-  
pinquaverint, mox ignis accenditur, in tantum ut omnia ardeant que sunt  
110 circa illos in monte. Revera sic in homine continencia observatur quamdiu  
separatur a consorcio mulieris et e contrario. Si tamen simul appropinqua-  
verint, saltem mala voluntate accenduntur et puritas continencie suffoca-  
tur. Item idem est de duobus lapidibus si invicem collidantur quantumcumque  
duris, scintille ignis exeunt. Nec mirum ergo si in fragili genere humano  
115 cum invicem appropinquaverint, si ignis luxurie educatur. Unde Ieronimus:  
[f. 214] "Non potest, inquit, cum Deo habitare qui feminarum accessibus  
deputatur. Prothdolor (dicit ipse) quod pro momentanea delectacione se  
obligat homo ad eterna supplicia." [Unde quidam sic Anglice ait:

120 Who-so leuyth in flescly wyll  
And hit ne woll nozt lete,  
Aftur hym schall like ille  
pat he so þowte hym so swete.

ly, and see to it that you do not stay with a woman under the same roof, nor  
rely on your earlier chastity. For when one lives with women in the same  
dwelling, sinful delight is not easy to avoid." And he gives this example: "A  
diamond cannot be broken between the hammer and the anvil, and yet it dissolves  
with the blood of a goat. Thus a strong man or woman who does not break in  
tribulation dissolves and perishes most easily with blood, that is, in sexual  
sin." For this reason Jerome says: "You are not holier than David, nor wiser  
than Solomon, nor more beautiful than Absalom, nor stronger than Samson.  
Yet all these were deceived by women. Lust rules minds of steel. If you seek  
chasteness, love a woman whom you see living a good life." For that is what  
the ancients did: they worshiped chasteness above all else. Jerome reports in  
his work *Against Jovinian* that when in ancient times Roman emperors, consuls,  
senators, and others who rode in a triumphal chariot met with a virgin, they  
would do her great honor, as if they saw some blessing in her virginity. And  
according to some authorities, through this virtue men become like angels,  
because virginity is closely related to the angels. Therefore, as a sign of  
his love and reverence of virginity, Christ chose to be a virgin, to be born of  
a virgin, and to be baptized by a virgin.

Jerome tells us about the continence which three widows observed after the  
death of their husbands. The first, by the name of Marcia, when people were  
offering her a new husband, answered that she did not find a man who wanted to  
marry her for herself but rather for her possessions; for she was ugly but  
rich. The second, called Valeria, said her first husband would always live in  
her mind, and thus she could not take another in his place. But the third, by  
the name of Annia, said she would not take another husband for any reason  
whatsoever, for if he were good, she would always be afraid of losing him as  
she had lost her first husband; and if he were bad, she would always be sorry  
to have a bad husband after such a good one.

In the third place, continence can be compared to a stone called *terribu-  
lus*. The book *On the Properties of Things* tells us that such stones are on  
some mountain in the East; they are igniferous and are either male or female.  
It is their property that when they are by themselves, they produce no fire;  
but when they are brought closely together, their fire is soon kindled, so that  
everything around them on that mountain begins to burn. In the same way, a man  
keeps his continence as long as he keeps himself from being near a woman, and  
vice-versa. But when they come close together, they are soon lighted by evil  
desire and their purity quickly fades away. Further, if two stones, however  
hard they may be, are struck together, sparks of fire leap out of them. No wonder  
then that when two people, whose human nature is much weaker, come close  
together, the fire of lechery breaks forth. Therefore Jerome says: "No one can  
dwell with God who is attached to the companionship of women. Alas, that for a

Lechery woll þy sowle spylle  
þat is so vn-to-mete.  
Whan þi body lyþe in erþe stille,  
þe sowle mote all be bete.]

125

1 atque membris] *om* O. 4–5 reddo . . . Gallice] *om* O. 5 creant] greant C. 10–11 virtus . . . concupiscenciam] alterativum O. 12 quod] puniendum aut O. videtur] *om* O. 13 carnis] *om* O. eius] carnis O. 15 dicitur] *add* secundum illum O. 18 radice] caduco O. 19 succo] sicco M. 20 conservandam] producendum O. 21 que] *add* eciam omnino O. fuit] fuerint O. vel in] aut O. 21–22 habent et] *om* O. 22 lignum] signum C. 23 dominice] *om* O. castus et] *om* O. 24–25 Iesus . . . victimam] qui coram tondeute eum sicut ovis obmutescebat O. 25–26 eius . . . dira] christi O. 27 beatitudines] beatitudinis C. 31 observando] conservando R.M.; conservanda W. 32 sancte] *om* O. 33 terre] *add* de petra O. 41 34] 39 M.R.; 29 W. 43 continens] timens C. 52 igitur] autem O. 54 nutrit] mittit C. 59 ludendo] loquendo C.W.; legendo M. 71 opera] *add* sue O. 73 Iohanne] iohannis O. et] cum O. 75 idest(2)] *add* cum O. 79 ubi] *om* C; vir R. verius] ultimi C; vermis W. *The correct reading apparently is unius.* 82 aut mulier] sine muliere O. 85 non] nec O. 86 mulieribus] muliere O. decepti] *add* quoniam dicitur O. 87 emollit] domat O. 91 curribus] turribus C.W. obviabant] occurrebant O. magnum] *om* O. 100 deformis] indeformis C. 114 scintille . . . exeunt] quod ignis exit O. 118–126 Unde . . . bete] *text from R. Verse 54, in B1.B3.Go1.L2.LC.R.V.W1.*

## VII.xviii A QUIBUS CONTINENCIA ADQUIRITUR

[C]irca autem modum acquirendi veram scienciam continencie et quomodo, facta antiquorum vicia spernencium virtutesque sequencium nos sequi necessario oportet. Prout ergo continencia superius diffinitur tam contra superbiam quam eciam contra cupiditatem et luxuriam, est sciendum quod omnibus  
5 illis modis antiqui illam observabant. Unde de continencia superbie: Eo quod dominari arroganter non appetebant, set rem publicam regere cupiebant, ideo ad laudem Iulii Cesaris narratur quod numquam suis militibus dixit  
10 “Ite!” set “Venite!” affirmans quod labor participatus cum principe vel duce fuit minor. Item de eodem, libro 1 *De nugis philosophorum* narratur quod cum quidam veteranus quadam die periclitaretur coram iudicibus Cesaris, mittebat ad Cesarem ut adesset ad eum iuvandum. Cui Cesar dedit bonum advocatum. Et ille: “O Cesar, inquit, te periclitante in bello Asiatico nullum vicarium quesivi pro me, set pro te ego ipse pugnavi.” Et hiis dictis loca vulnerum detexit que pro Cesare ibi receperat. Erubuit igitur  
15 Cesar et ad iudicium venit. Verebatur enim non tantum superbus set ingratus videri.

Summus autem imperator omnium, Christus Dei Filius, per quem reges

momentary delight man should give himself over to eternal pains.” Hence someone says as follows in English:

Who always will follow his fleshly will  
And never from it retreat,  
Hereafter it shall please him ill  
What once he thought so sweet.  
Lechery your soul shall spill  
Lest within bonds it stay.  
When your body lies in dust so still  
Your soul for all will pay.

10–13 Macrobius, *In somnium Scipionis* I.viii.7. 14–15 Cf. Aristotle, *Ethica Nicomachea* VII.1 (1145). 17–19 Albertus Magnus, *De vegetabilibus* VI.i.5 (10:164). Albert says, “gaudet calido vehementi et sicco temperato.” 24–25 Jer. 11.19. 33 Isa. 16.1. 35 Cant. 2.2. 40–41 *FM* VII.xiii.6–11. 41–42 *Ecclus.* 39.19. 53 *FM* VII.iii and I.iv. 55–56 *Prov.* 7.10. 58 *Prov.* 20.1. 58–59 *Eph.* 5.18. 61–62 *Gen.* 34.1–2. 64 *1 Cor.* 15.33. 77–79 Jerome, *Ep.* 52 5 (CSEL 54:423). 79–80 *Ps.-Jerome, Ep. ad Oceanum de vita clericorum* 5 (PL 30:289). 84–86 Jerome, *Ep.* 52 5 (CSEL 54:423). 86–88 Cf. *Ps.-Jerome, Ep. ad Oceanum* 3–4 (PL 30:289). 90–93 Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.41 (PL 23:283). 97–104 *Ibidem*, I.46 (PL 23:288). Tubach 3180 and 3181. 116–118 *Ps.-Jerome, Ep. ad Oceanum* 4 (PL 30:289).

## VII.xviii EXAMPLES OF CONTINENCE

If we seek the way to gain a true knowledge of continence and how, it is necessary to imitate the deeds of the ancients who scorned vices and followed virtues. Continence was earlier defined as the virtue opposed to pride as well as to cupidity and lechery, and we should point out that the ancients kept this virtue in all these aspects. First with regard to continence against pride: because they did not desire to be lords in arrogance but rather wished to govern for the common good. It is reported in praise of Julius Caesar that he never said to his soldiers “Go!” but always “Come!” showing thereby that a hardship shared with the prince or leader was less burdensome. Likewise in book 1 of *The Philosophers’ Trifles* there is a story that one day when a veteran soldier was in trouble with the judges of Caesar, he sent for Caesar to be present to help him. Caesar gave him a good advocate. But he said: “O Caesar, when you were in trouble in the war in Asia, I did not look for a replacement but battled myself for you.” And with these words he laid bare the places of the wounds he had received there for Caesar’s sake. Then Caesar blushed and came himself to the judgment; for he was ashamed to appear not only proud but also ungrateful.

regnant, etsi numquam ad hominem venisset neque nostram naturam assumpsisset, non tamen propter hoc superbus aut ingratus visus esset. Non superbus, 20 quia nemo dicere posset quod imperator aut superbus esset aut ingratus (qui) contemptibilem robam servi induere (vellet); nec ingratus, quia numquam apud Deum tam meruerat homo quod vice grati- [f. 214v] tudinis eius ei tantum beneficium conferre debuerat, sicut incarnari personaliter, mortem 25 fuerat Deus absconditus, per incarnationem venit in publicum, homo factus iuxta illud Baruc: "In terra visus est et cum hominibus conversatus est." Et non tantum ho(c), set cum homo iusto Dei iudicio periclitaretur propter peccata, non solum sibi advocatum dedit set ipsemet in eius advocacionem personaliter venit, secundum illud Ioannis canonica 1, capitulo 2: "Advoca- 30 tum habemus apud Patrem, Iesum Christum."

Consimile exemplum narrat Seneca, libro 3 *De ira*, de rege Antigono, qui cum audisset nocte quadam quosdam milites sibi mala omnia inprecantes (eo) quod illos duxerat in tale iter et locum, accessit ad eos; qui maxime 35 in sua paciencia audit eos. Cum ergo ignorarent a quo adiuventur, dixit ad eos: "Nunc maledixistis Antigono, cuius vicio in has miserias incidistis. Set nunc bene optate ei, qui vos ex hac voragine duxit." O mira humilitas! Non enim dedignatus est descendere laborantibus. Et mira paciencia et humilitas, quia non indignatur sibi maledicentibus, etc.

[D]e continencia cupiditatis quomodo apud antiquos viguit satis patet. 40 Nam antiqui principes et reges non propter lucrum temporale regnare optabant, set tantum propter rei publice utilitatem et custodiam. Unde narrat Valerius libro 3 de consule Sipione, qui cum accusaretur apud senatum de pecunia, respondit: "Cum, inquit, totam Affricam potestati subiecerim, nichil inde quod meum diceretur detuli propter cognomen" (vocabatur enim 45 Sipio Affricanus quia Affricam devincebat), quasi diceret: nichil adoptavi in auro et argento [f. 215] et huiusmodi, nisi ut Affricam sub dominio Romano subicerem. Idem narratur de Fabio Lucio cui cum per legatos a Sampnibus erant dona missa, omnia remisit sue continencie beneficio sine pecunia predives, sine usu familie habunde comitatus, quia locupletem illum 50 faciebat non multum possidere set pauca desiderare. Narratur eciam ibidem de Quinto Tuberone, (cui) consulatum gerenti cum gentes Etheolorum vasa argentea magno pondere et exquisita fabrica per legatos misissent quia retulerant se vasa fictilia vidisse in mensa eius, iussit eos abire cum saracenis ne continencie tamquam paupertati succurrendum esse putarent.

[A]d propositum iam de continencia castitatis contra libidinem similiter quomodo illa apud antiquos viguit, quod satis notum est Maximianum ac 55 *Policraticon* legentibus (cum) ceteris antiquorum voluminibus de castitate tractantibus. Unde Valerius libro 1 narrat quod Cornelius Sipio missus in Hispaniam, eo momento quo castra intravit, edixit ut omnia que voluptatis causa operata ibi essent auferentur. Unde et mille milia scotorum ab exer-

Even if the greatest emperor of all, Christ the Son of God, through whom all kings rule, had never come to man or taken our human nature, he would still for that matter not appear poor or ungrateful. He was not proud, for no one could call an emperor proud or ungrateful who wanted to put on the shabby robe of a servant; nor could he be called ungrateful because man had never earned so much merit before God that God was obligated in gratitude to give man a great gift in return, such as personally to become man for him and to suffer death. But out of his deep humility Christ came freely to man; and he who before had been a hidden God became visible to all through his incarnation, when he was made man, after the words of Baruch: "He was seen upon earth and conversed with men." And not only this, but as man was threatened by God's just judgment on account of his sins, he did not just give him an advocate but came personally as an advocate to man's help, according to 1 John 2: "We have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ."

A similar example is given by Seneca in book 3 of *On Wrath*. When King Antigonus some night heard some soldiers curse him because he had led them in that particular way and place, he went to them and listened in great patience. As they did not know who was helping them, he said to them: "You have just cursed Antigonus, through whose fault you have gotten into this mess. But now you must wish him well, because he has pulled you out of it." What wonderful humility: he did not disdain to lower himself to those who were suffering hardships. And what wonderful patience and humility, for he was not angry with those who cursed him!

Continence in the desire for acquisition flourished likewise among the ancients. For the ancient princes and kings did not want to reign for temporal gain but only for the benefit and protection of the commonweal. Therefore Valerius tells us in book 3 of the consul Scipio, who, when he was accused of misappropriation before the Senate, said: "When I had subjected all Africa to the power of Rome, I took nothing from there that could be said to be mine except my surname" (for he was called Scipio the African, because he had defeated Africa), as if to say: I have not taken any gold or silver or the like for myself, except that I have subjected Africa to the Roman rule. It is also reported that when gifts were sent from the Samnites through messengers, Fabricius Luscinus sent them all back, for in his continence he was wealthy without money and abundantly attended without a retinue, because what made him rich was not to possess many things but rather to desire few. And further, in the same source it is stated that when Quintus Tubero was consul and the Aetolians sent through their messengers silver vessels of great weight and exquisite workmanship, because they had reported seeing only earthen ones on his table, he ordered them to leave with their burdens lest they thought they were to support him in his poverty.

Turning now to the continence of chastity which is opposed to lust: how it similarly flourished among the ancients is well known to the reader of Valerius

citu leguntur abisse. Noverat enim vir industris quod voluptas enervat et effeminat libidinosos. I(d)em eciam libro 4 de continencia visus contra luxuriam narrat de quodam adolescente [Spurna], qui cum esset excellentissime pulcritudinis, ne feminarum oculos sollicitaret, oculorum decorem vulneribus diffudit atque visum exaravit, mallens deformem faciei esse quam causa libidinis aliorum, ut patet supra, capitulo 3, etc. Consimile eciam exemplum narrat Valerius ibidem de mira continencia Zenocratis, quomodo apud Athenas scorta quedam cum iuvenibus sponndit eius continenciam corumpere. Cum ergo [f. 215v] [nocte] ad eum venisset et iuxta eum cubuisset nec aliquo modo eum ad actum libidinosum eum excitare potuisset, iuvenibus qui cum ea sponndissent eam deridentibus respondit non de statua vel trunco set de homine se pignus posuisse. Vocavit enim Zenocratem statuam propter eius immobilem continenciam.

De continencia autem o[s]culorum libro 3 *De nugis philosophorum* legitur de quadam muliere cuius maritus summe reprobatus esset a multis de fetore oris et dencium, eo quod anelimum fetidum haberet. Qui tandem uxorem suam increpavit eo quod sibi non premunivit eum de tali defectu ut adquireret medicinas, respondit dicens: "Hoc, inquit, fecissem nisi credidissem omnium hominum ora sic olere." Ex quo verisimile fuit quod ipsa os alterius viri numquam tetigisset, etc.

1 continencie] add a quibus O. 2 nos] om O. 5 observabant] suffocabant O. 6 regere] add et augere O. 10 iudicibus] add regis O. 14 receperat] suscepit O. igitur] ergo O. 18 regnant] add qui O. 20 aut ingratus] om O. 21 qui] quia C; licet R. vellet] nollet C.R; non [interl] vellet M; om W. 23 incarnari] add pro eo O. 24 qui] add prius O. 27 hoc] homo C.W. 33 eo] eos C. 36 O] om O. 38 etc.] om O. 45 devincebat] devincerat O. 47 Idem] add eciam O. 49 comitatus] communicatus(?) O. 50 multum] multa O. 51 cui] B1; cum C.O. 54 saracenis] sarencis R; sarasenis W; sarcinis B1. 56-58 quod . . . tractantibus] C here follows group z and E, whose text has been used to expand C's legend. and tractant. meaningfully; valerium maximum ac polycraticum legentem cum ceteris voluminibus antiquorum satis est nota M and similarly R.W. 57 cum] in C. 62 Idem] item C. 65 diffudit] diffundit O. 66 3 etc.] 2 O. 69 ad eum venisset] venisset M; advenisset R.W. 70 aliquo modo] in aliquo O. 70-71 eum . . . deridentibus] illum labefecisset, propter illam dicti iuvenes deridissent O. 71 vel trunco] om O. 72 se] om O. 74 osculorum] oculorum C.R. 74-75 legitur] om M.W; narratur R. 75 cuius] quod cum O. a multis] om O. 76-78 Qui . . . medicinas] et ipsam inculpasset quod eum non monuerat de hoc querere medicinam O. 78 credidissem] crederem O. 79 hominum] virorum O. Ex quo] om O. verisimile] add autem O. 80 etc.] hec libro 3 de nugis philosophorum O.

## VII.xix QUOMODO CONTINENCIA ADQUIRITUR

[U]t ergo hanc continenciam adquiramus, exemplo predictorum a tactibus impudicis, colloquiis perversis, verbis lascivis, et gestis inhonestis

Maximus, *Policraticus*, and other volumes of ancient writers on chastity. Thus, Valerius in book 1 tells us that when Cornelius Scipio was sent to Spain, the moment he entered a fortress he would command that everything which was done there because of carnal lust should be abandoned. As a result a million whores are said to have left the army. For that hard-working man knew that lust makes people weak and soft. With respect to the continence in one's sense of sight that opposes lust, he likewise reports, in book 4, of a youth by the name of Spurna. Since he was outstandingly beautiful, he destroyed his sensual beauty with wounds and ruined his face, so that he would not attract women's eyes, because he would rather have an ugly face than become a cause of lust to others, as we saw above in chapter 3, etc. Valerius gives a similar example in the same book, namely the marvelous continence of Xenocrates. A whore of Athens made a wager with some youths that she would break his continence. When she came to him at night and lay down beside him, she could not rouse him to lust in any way. Now, as those youths who had made the wager derided her for that, she replied that she had not made her bet about a statue or tree-trunk but about a man—she called Xenocrates a statue because of his unshakeable continence.

With respect to continence in kissing, there is a story in book 3 of *The Philosophers' Trifles* about a woman whose husband was once sharply reproached by many people for the bad smell of his mouth and teeth, for he suffered from halitosis. When he reproved his wife for not warning him about it so that he might get some medicine, she answered: "I would certainly have told you so, but I thought that all men's mouths smell that way." She had obviously never tasted another man's mouth!

The following material in this chapter occurs also almost verbatim in John of Wales, *Breviloquium*, on temperance: lines 7-16, 31-54 (III.4); 58-80 (III.30). 7-9 *Policraticus* IV.iii (1:244). 9-16 *Ibidem*, III.14 (1:228); E. Woelfflin, *Caecilii Balbi De nugis philosophorum quae supersunt* (Basel, 1855), p. 13. 26 Bar. 3.38. 29-30 1 John 2.1. 31-36 Seneca, *De ira* III.xxii.3. 42-47 Valerius, III.vii.1. 47-50 *Ibidem*, IV.iii.5. 50-54 *Ibidem*, IV.iii.7. 58-62 *Ibidem*, II.vii.1. 62-66 *Ibidem*, IV.v.ext.1. 66 *FM* VII.ii.27-31. 67-73 Valerius, IV.iii.ext.3. 74-80 Woelfflin, *Caecilii*, p. 13, from Jerome, *Adversus Iovinianum* I.27 (PL 23:287). Also in *Policraticus* III.13 (1:216-217).

## VII.xix HOW TO ACQUIRE CONTINENCE

In order to acquire the virtue of continence, we must, after the example of the cited men and women, abstain from immodest touching, immoral conversa-



oportet abstinere et obsequiis honestis omnino vacare, superfluitatem ciborum et potuum que precipue ad libidinem excitativa videntur contempnere, et asperitatem penitencie diligere. Narrat eciam Boicius *De consolacione*, libro 4, de Ulixo, qui cum redisset de bello Troiano cum suis militibus, applicuit in quandam insulam ubi hospitatus est in quadam domo cuiusdam mulieris mage et venenose. Qui in formas bestiarum omnes sunt convers(i), Ulixo excepto. Dederat autem sibi Mercurius florem album et precepit ei ut omnino florem illum secum deferret nec dimitteret, set ab lesione munde custodiret. Ex cuius virtute salvus evasit, ut ibi dicitur. Moraliter flos ille virginitas dici potest, quam qui non habueri[n]t, per cogitationes, verba, et facta illicita fiunt [f. 216] frequenter bestiales. De qua virginitate dicit Alexander in *Epistula ad Bragmannos*, quam nota supra, particula 4, capitulo 5: "Virginitas, inquit, est flos aliarum virtutum."

Unde videmus quod flos quantumcumque fuerit pulcher, si frequenter tangatur marcescit atque omnino perdit tam eius pulcritudinem quam odorem. Revera sic flos virginitatis tactibus et amplexibus pollutus amittitur. Et ideo sicut flos ille non conservatur inter manus set inter spinas, sic virginitas inter spinas asperitatis et penitencie mundius conservatur. Unde Ieronimus in suo *Exameron*: "Flos, inquit, rose ante peccatum caruit spinis, set iam inter illas et stipites spinosas melius crescit." Revera sic virginitas. Ante ° peccatum non erat necessarium ut per penitencias homo se affligeret, set iam omnino oportet, quia alioquin non cresceret neque fructum faceret. Quia secundum beatum Augustinum castitas inter delicias periclitatur. Et ideo ait Bernardus: "Humilitas, inquit, et castitas in tantum se mutuo diligunt ut ex humilitate plures meruerunt conservare virginitatem, sicut Beata Virgo."

Et expertum est rosas magno tempore custodiri inclusas in vase ad quas aer seu ventus intrare non potest. Sic certe virginitas in terra humilitatis inclusa, ubi ventus ambicionis et superbie nullo modo intret, optime custoditur. Set si quis propriis meritis mundiciam ascribit, mox ventus inanis glorie subintrat, et sic certe iuxta dictum beati Iacobi, "Flos eius decidit et decor vultus deperit."

Secundum autem Vigecium *De re militari*, quando una pars dimicantium potest subtrahere alimenta cibi ne accedant ad aliam partem, in brevi adversarios devinctet. Revera bellum continuum est inter carnem et spiritum, nam caro petit vo- [f. 216v] luptatem, set spiritus pudiciam et castitatem. Si ergo iuxta imperium rationis retraxeris a carne superfluitatem ciborum ac potuum, leviter ipsum devinces.

Unde narrat Claudianus *De raptu Proserpine*, libro 6, et eciam Ovidius, *Metamorphoseos*, libro 9, quod Anche(u)s gigas de terra genitus talem habuit de dono matris condicionem quod quodcumque et pro quocumque se senserit debilitatum, si ad terram caderet, ad pristinam fortitudinem erat renovatus

tion, lewd words, and shameful gestures, and devote ourselves fully to honorable behavior, reject above all superfluous food and drinks that seem to excite us to lust, and love self-mortification. In book 4 of *The Consolation of Philosophy*, Boethius reports that when Ulysses was returning from the Trojan War with his soldiers, he landed on an island and stayed there as a guest in the house of a woman who was skilled in the use of witchcraft and poison. They were changed into the shapes of animals, all except Ulysses. For Ulysses had been given a white flower by Mercury, which he was to carry with him at all times and not to lose, but to protect from all harm. And through its power he remained whole, as Boethius has it. Morally interpreted this flower can be said to represent virginity; people who do not have it often become like animals through unlawful thoughts, words, and deeds. Of this virginity, Alexander says in his *Letter to the Brahmins*: "Virginity is the flower of all other virtues." On this letter, see above, part 4, chapter 5.

One can see that no matter how beautiful a flower is, if it gets frequently touched, it withers and loses both its beauty and its aroma altogether. In the same way, the flower of virginity is lost by unchaste touching and hugging. Therefore, just as a natural flower cannot remain fresh in people's hands but only among thorns, just so is virginity kept fresh among the thorns of self-denial and penance. For that reason Jerome says in his *Hexameron*: "Before the Fall, the rose blossom had no thorns; but now it grows well among them and among prickly branches." The same applies to virginity. Before the Fall, it was not necessary for man to engage in penitential practices; but now he must do so indeed, for otherwise he would not grow or bear fruit. For according to Augustine, among delights chastity is in grave danger. And Bernard says: "Humility and chastity love each other so much that many have been able to preserve their virginity and chastity because of their humility, as did the Blessed Virgin."

Experience shows that roses can be preserved for a long time if they are enclosed in a vase in which air or wind cannot enter. Thus can virginity also be best preserved if it is enclosed in the soil of humility, where the wind of ambition and pride enters in no way. But if someone attributes cleanness to his own merits, the wind of vainglory soon enters, and then certainly, after the saying of Blessed James, "his flower has fallen off, and the beauty of his face has perished."

According to Vegetius in his book *On Military Skill*, when one party in a war manages to keep supplies from reaching their opponents, they will soon defeat them. There is constant warfare between the flesh and the spirit, for the flesh desires gratification, but the spirit, modesty and chastity. If one therefore follows the rule of reason and withholds superfluous food and drink from the flesh, one will easily defeat it.

Hence Claudian narrates in book 6 of *The Rape of Proserpine*, as does Ovid



45 et forcior surrex(it). Quod cum Hercules miles fortis et strenuus cum eo  
 pugnans intellexisset, ipsum terram prohibuit lanceam tenens ad pectus, ubi  
 illum tam fortiter strinxit donec moreretur. Moraliter loquendo iste An-  
 che(u)s carnem signat que ad literam de matre terra generatur, quia terra  
 50 est et in terram revertetur. Unde quociens se ad terrena seu carnalia  
 inclinatur, magis forcior et contumax contra animam insurgit. Set hic Her-  
 cules miles fortis, hoc est homo perfectus et ratione ductus, hoc conside-  
 rans, illam terram prohibet, idest carnales voluptates et terrena cibi,  
 potus, et huiusmodi ab ea retrahit. Et sic eam stringens brachiis amoris  
 Christi ad pectus bone voluntatis levissime domat et vincit eciam usque ad  
 55 mortem, sicut fecerunt patres antiquitus, puta Benedictus, Bernardus, Fran-  
 ciscus, Dominicus.

Nullum enim castrum tam forte quin leviter capitur si ei victualia  
 subtrahuntur. Nec ignis tam fervens quin per subtractionem lignorum extin-  
 gui potest. Revera nec tam magnus ardor libidinis quin sedatur per subtrac-  
 60 tionem superfluitatis ciborum ac potuum, iuxta illud Proverbiorum 26: "Cum  
 defecerint ligna, extinguetur ignis." Et nota quod vehementissimum signum  
 gracie et dilectionis Dei erga hominem est quando quis nititur carnem  
 propriam per penitencias domare ac per asperitates infir- [f. 217] mitatis,  
 angustie, et tribulacionis pro eius amore pacienter tolerare. Neminem enim  
 65 affligit Deus nisi filios quos tenerrime diligit. Quia ipse ait Apocalipsis  
 3: "Quos amo, arguo et castigo."

Exemplum: Est enim de Deo et homine quem diligit sicut de puero luden-  
 te cum troco. Trocus autem sicut videmus est latus superius et strictus  
 inferius. Cum ergo puer ludit cum eo, non ponit latitudinem ad terram set  
 70 strictitudinem, et tunc flagellando percutit illum. Et sic per flagellacio-  
 nem erectus tenetur ne cadat. Tacente vero flagello parum dormit, ut dicunt  
 pueri, et cito super latus cadens iacet mortuus. Revera sic est de Deo et  
 homine. Homo enim iustus et bonus latitudinem habet superius dum contempla-  
 tur quam latum, quam magnum sit regnum Dei et eius potencia et gaudium; set  
 75 est strictus inferius dum bene considerat brevitatem vite sue, de qua  
 Iacobi 4 dicitur: "Que est vita nostra?" [et] statim respondit: "Vapor ad  
 modicum parens." Sic artus est homo inferius dum nil terrenum querit nisi  
 necessarium, iuxta illud Sapientie: "Divicias aut paupertates ne dederis  
 michi, set tantum victui meo tribue necessaria." Set homo sic stans ad Deum  
 80 erectus, cito potest cadere si permittatur paululum dormire propter vite  
 sue lubricitatem. Nam inimici eius ad eum prosternendum sunt semper in  
 promptu, qui sunt caro, mundus, et demon. Isti sunt qui temptacionum aquas  
 in itinere hominis proiciunt ut cadat. Nam sicut trocus non potest bene  
 stare in terra aquatica et lutosa, sic nec homo in aqua temptacionis nisi  
 85 auxiliante Deo; Trenorum 4: "Lubricaverunt vestigia vestra in itineribus  
 platearum." Que quidem aque sunt de quibus dicitur Osee 4: "Furta, menda-

in book 9 of the *Metamorphoses*, that the giant Antaeus, who was born of the  
 earth, had this characteristic inherited from his mother that, whenever and for  
 whatever reason he became weak, if he fell down to the earth, he would become  
 renewed to his original strength and rise up even stronger. When Hercules, a  
 strong and brave knight, noticed this as he was struggling with him, he kept  
 him away from the earth by holding a lance against his chest and squeezed him  
 so tightly that he died. In moral terms, Antaeus stands for the flesh which is  
 literally born of Mother Earth, for it is earth and to earth it will return.  
 For this reason, whenever it bends down to things of the earth or the flesh, it  
 rises stronger and more rebellious against the soul. But when the strong  
 knight Hercules—that is, a perfect man who is led by his reason—notices that,  
 he keeps his flesh away from the earth, that is, he withdraws from it the  
 fleshly and earthly pleasures of food, drink, and the like. And thus he easily  
 tames it by squeezing it with his arms of the love of Christ against his chest  
 of goodwill, and so defeats it to its death. This is what the fathers of old  
 did, such as Benedict, Bernard, Francis, and Dominic.

No castle is so strong that it cannot be easily taken if its provisions  
 are cut off. Nor is any fire so hot that it cannot be quenched by withdrawing  
 the wood. In the same way, no lust burns so hot that it cannot be stilled by  
 withdrawing unnecessary food and drink, according to the words of Proverbs 26:  
 "When the wood fails, the fire will go out." Notice that it is a very strong  
 sign of God's grace and his love toward man when someone tries to tame his own  
 flesh in penance and to bear the torments of sickness, anxiety, and tribulation  
 patiently for the love of God. For God does not chastise anyone but his child-  
 ren whom he loves most tenderly. He himself has said in Revelation 3: "Such  
 as I love, I rebuke and chastise."

A likeness of God's love for man is the child who plays with a top. As we  
 see, a top is wide above and narrow below. When a child plays with it, he does  
 not place the wider part on the ground but the narrower, and then spins it with  
 his whip. And in this way, by being whipped, the top is kept upright and does  
 not fall. But when the whipping stops, the top "goes to sleep," as children  
 say, and soon it falls on its side and "lies dead." The same is true of God's  
 relationship with man. For a just and good man has his width above, when he  
 contemplates how wide and great God's kingdom is, and its power and joy; but  
 below he is narrow, when he meditates on the shortness of his life, of which is  
 said in James 4: "What is your life?" and the answer is given immediately: "A  
 vapor which appears for a little while." Thus, a man is narrow below when he  
 seeks for no earthly good other than what he needs, according to the words of  
 Wisdom: "Give me neither riches nor poverty, give me only what is necessary to  
 my life." But a man who thus stands upright toward God can soon fall if he al-  
 lows himself to go to sleep in the slipperiness of his life. For his enemies,  
 namely the flesh, the world, and the devil, are always ready to overthrow him.

- cia, adulteria, etc., inundaverunt super terram." Hec enim impediunt hominem ne diu stare possit in bono. Set Deus, ne cadat, [f. 217v] apponit flagellum abstinentie, paupertatis, et infirmitatis, etc., quod si taceret, cito in peccatum homo caderet sicut mortuus. Unde Augustinus in quodam sermone: "Si, inquit, angustia venerit, tempus petimus penitendi. Si misericordia respexerit, abutimur paciencia que pepercit. Vix (dicit ipse) illata plaga preteriit et iam non recolit mens ingrata que protulit." Patet ergo quod ubi Deus flagellat, signum est amoris; Thobie: "Acceptus eras Deo. Necessesse ergo fuerit ut temptacio pro(ba)ret te."
- Est eciam aliud remedium pro conservacione virginitatis et continencie quam retractio cibi et potus, scilicet considerare iugiter quod caro illa que tantum te ad libidinem provocat quasi tempore incognito ex sua fragilitate in cineres revertetur. Exemplum libro *De animalibus*, ubi dicitur quod corvus si nidificaverit in arbore aliqua et licet posuerit ova, potest tamen impediri ne pullos producat. Nam ponantur cineres vitri inter arborem et corticem, et quamdiu ibi fuerint cineres, ille numquam pullos producet. Corvus autem iste, qui cadaveribus pascitur animalium, signat carnem. Set secundum Philosophum homo est arbor (ever)sa, in qua tunc corvus carnis nidificat cum caro tua istas libidinosas voluptates affectat. Cuius ova sunt hec: accidia, gula, luxuria. Accipiat ergo vitrum et redigatur in cineres, hoc est, considera humanam naturam et cogites quam cito per mortem in cineres redigitur. Et hos cineres proprie fragilitatis per iugem memoriam mortis pone inter amaram corticem mortis et arborem vite tue, quomodo s(cilicet) in brevi anima a corpore separatur, nesciens quo tendet. Et certe dum illi cineres ibi iacuerint, numquam infestacio carnis prevalebit nec pullos predictos producet, quia Ecclesiastici 7 dicitur: "Memorare novissima [f. 218] [tua] et in eternum non peccabis."
- Et nota quod signa mortis secundum beatum Ieronimum sunt hec: Quando nasus frigescit, facies pallescit, oculi tenebrescunt, aures surdescunt, nervi et vene rumpuntur, cor in duas partes dividitur. Nichil vilius nec abhominabi[bi]lius cadavere mortuo. In domo non permittitur ne eius fetore familia moriatur. In aere non suspenditur ne aer inficiatur. In aqua non proicitur ne illa corrumpatur. Set quid? Revera terra foditur et in terram proicitur [et] tamquam venenum mortiferum, ne amplius compareat, a terra cooperitur. [Unde quidam Anglice sic dicit:

- When þe hede quakyth  
 And þe lyppis blakyth  
 And þe nose sharpyth  
 And þe senow stakyth  
 And þe brest pantyth

It is they who throw the water of temptation on a man's path to make him fall. For just as a top cannot readily stand up on ground that is wet and muddy, so can a man not stand in the water of temptation unless God helps him; Lamentations 4: "Our steps have slipped in the ways of our streets." These waters are those of which Hosea 4 speaks: "Theft, lying, adultery, and so forth, have overflowed the earth." These prevent a man from standing firm in the good for long. But God keeps him from falling by applying the whip of abstinence, poverty, sickness, and the like. If a man then were to "go to sleep," he would soon fall into sin as if dead. Therefore, Augustine says in a sermon: "When some worry has come, we ask for time to do penance. If mercy looks upon us favorably, we abuse the patience that has spared us. The blow that has struck is hardly past, and already our ungrateful mind does no longer remember what it has suffered." Therefore it is manifestly a sign of his love when God strikes us; Tobit: "You were acceptable to God. Therefore it was necessary that temptation should try you."

There is another remedy to preserve virginity and continence besides the withdrawal of food and drink, namely the attentive reflection that the same flesh which urges you so much to lustful pleasure will for its frailty at an unknown time return to dust. An illustration of this is given in the book *On Animals*, where it is said that although the raven builds his nest in a tree and lays all his eggs there, he can yet be kept from bringing forth his young. One must place potash between the tree and its bark, and then, as long as the potash is there, the raven will not bring forth his young. This raven, who feeds on animals' carrion, stands for our flesh. According to the Philosopher, man is like an upside-down tree; in it the raven builds his nest when your flesh longs for these lustful pleasures. His eggs are these: sloth, gluttony, and lechery. Take, then, glass and reduce it to ashes; that is, examine human nature and reflect on how soon it returns to ashes through death. And put these ashes of your own frailty through attentive meditation on death between the bitter bark of death and the tree of your life, namely by reflecting on how soon your soul is separated from your body, without knowing where it will go. As long as these ashes lie there, the urging of your flesh will surely have no power, nor will it ever bring forth any offspring; for in Ecclesiasticus 7 it is said: "Remember your last end, and you will never sin."

And notice that according to Blessed Jerome the signs of death are as follows: the nose grows cold, the face turns pale, the eyes darken, the ears grow deaf, nerves and veins snap, and the heart is split in two. There is nothing more base or abominable than a corpse. It is not allowed to stay in the house, lest the people there should die of its stench. It is not hung up in the air, lest it should infect it. It is not thrown into water, lest it should pollute that. What then? To be sure, the earth is dug up and it is

And þe breþe wantyþ  
 And þe teþe ratelyȝt  
 And þe þrote roteliþ  
 130 And þe sowle is wente owte  
 þe body ne tyt but a clowte.  
 Sone be it so stekenn  
 þe sowle all clene ys forȝetenn.]

Satis ergo patet [quomodo] ad observanciam puritatis valent tam cibo-  
 135 rum abstinentia quam etiam mortis memoria. Ipsa enim caro ut hostis fortis-  
 simus est contra spiritum, cuius malicias bonum est fugere, quia non est  
 bonum pugnare de prope cum hoste (qui) a proximitate (sibi sumit) vires.  
 Set talis est luxuria. Nam corpus nostrum quod erat prius pacificum conver-  
 titur in hostem maleficum. Unde si princeps aliquis pugnare timeret cum  
 140 hostibus quando credit quod in exercitu suo sunt multi proditores qui  
 velint hostes iuvare quando bellum vel conflictus cepit imminere, ponit eos  
 in forti custodia vel in fronte belli vel aciei, ut cicius destruantur. Sic  
 revera homo pugnaturus contra luxuriam in bello spirituali sciens quod  
 145 semper tres fortes hostes et inimici, scilicet caro, mundus, et diabolus,  
 sunt quasi proditores ad ipsum decipiendum parati. Et ideo deberet ponere  
 ante oculos suos et expellere ab eo illorum delectaciones; quibus superatis  
 victoriam habeat et triumphum.

Exemplum: Sicut autem castrum faciliter capitur mortuo ianitore et  
 hostibus introductis, sic devicta carne, que ianitor est luxurie, per quam  
 150 ceteri hostes, hoc est [f. 218v] omnes carnis motus illiciti, introducun-  
 tur, castrum anime, idest mundicia vite per quam celum rapitur, facillime  
 capietur. Et sicut castrum bene muratum et nulla parte confractum securita-  
 tem dat inhabitantibus, sic corpus humanum continencia bene munitum omnes  
 155 voluptates expellit et anime securitatem prestat contra omnes hostes. Unde  
 pro facili devincit expugnacionem istorum hostium, scilicet carnis, mundi,  
 et demonis.

Narrat enim Techel *De naturis lapidum* quod quando in iaspide invenitur  
 homo sculptus, in manu una scutum tenens et in altera gladium, serpente(m)-  
 que sub pedibus, quod tunc lapis ille contra omnes inimicos habet virtutem.  
 160 Lapis autem iste Christum signat. Petra autem erat Christus qui pro nostra  
 defensione tam gladium quam scutum tenet in manibus et serpentem sub pedi-  
 bus. Si ergo caro nos infestat, capiamus de manu eius gladium penitencie et  
 asperitatis, cum quo carnales affectiones dividemus et resecaimus; Deute-  
 ronomii 22: "Gladius meus devorabit carnes." Qui quidem gladius formabitur  
 165 ex tribus partibus penitencie, que sunt contritio, confessio, et satisfac-  
 tio, ita quod scindolum—Anglice *the blade*—illius gladii sit vera confes-  
 sio de omnibus commissis; Apocalipsis 3: "De ore eius procedit gladius ex

cast there and covered with earth like deadly poison, so that it may not be  
 seen anymore. Whence someone has said in English:

When the head trembles,  
 And the lips grow black,  
 The nose sharpens,  
 And the sinews stiffen,  
 The breast pants,  
 And breath is wanting,  
 The teeth clatter,  
 And the throat rattles,  
 The soul has left,  
 And the body holds nothing but a clout—  
 Then will the body be thrown in a hole,  
 And no-one will remember your soul.

Thus it is sufficiently clear how abstinence from food as well as medita-  
 tion on death are powerful means to preserve purity. For our flesh stands like  
 a very strong enemy against our spirit, and it is a good thing to flee its  
 malice, for it is not a good idea to engage in close combat with an enemy who  
 grows stronger as he gets nearer to us. Lechery is just such an enemy; for our  
 body, which before was at peace, turns into a mischievous fiend. If a prince  
 were afraid to fight against his enemies when he believes there are many trai-  
 tors in his army who are willing to help his enemies as soon as the battle  
 begins to get rough, he places them under a strong guard or else in front of  
 the battle or army, so that they may be quickly destroyed. In the same way must  
 a man act who is to fight spiritually against lechery. Knowing that three  
 strong enemies—the world, the flesh, and the devil—are always ready to de-  
 ceive him like traitors, he should put these before his eyes and expel their  
 delights from himself, so that, when they have been defeated, he may have the  
 victory and triumph.

Another illustration: a castle is easily taken once the gatekeeper has  
 been killed and its enemies have gained entrance. In the same way, once the  
 flesh has been defeated, which is the gatekeeper of lechery and allows all the  
 other enemies to enter, namely the unlawful stirrings of the flesh, then the  
 soul's castle, that is, purity of life through which heaven is seized, will be  
 quite easily captured. And as a castle that is well fortified with walls and  
 unbroken at any point gives its inhabitants safety, so does the human body, if  
 it is well fortified by continence, expel lustful desires and give the soul  
 safety against all its enemies. In this way it easily overcomes the attack of  
 these three enemies, the flesh, the world, and the devil.

In his book *On the Property of Stones*, Techel reports that when one finds

utraque parte acutus." Secundo, *le hilde*—quod est ferrum transversum servans manus, idest opera, a lesione—erit humillima contricio de preteritis ex una parte et de presentibus ex alia parte. Set *le pomell*, quod est corpus rotundum et solidum, erit solide satisfactionis circumquaque de omnibus commissis preteritis, presentibus, et futuris quoad voluntatem. Et nota quod ibi studiosius est rebellandum ubi gravior viget pestis. Set non est peior pestis quam familiaris hostis, cuiusmodi est caro. Ideo sibi omnino est resistendum. [f. 219] Narrat *Policraticus* quendam populum regem suum magnaliter laudasse eo quod strenue inimicos suos debellasset et vicisset; respondit se victorem non esse donec unum prosterneret hostem ceteris forciolem. Requisitus ergo quisnam esset, respondit: "Caro propria." Magnum ergo imperium superat qui carnem domat. Unde Seneca: "Dabo tibi imperium; impera tibi." Unde Ad Corinthios 9: "Sic pugno, non quasi aerem verberans, set castigo corpus meum," etc.

Secundo, si mundus te infestat, capias scutum paciencie a Christo, iugiter considerans quomodo per pacienciam ipse mundi tyrannos devicit dum equo animo sine murmure tot genera pertulit tormentorum usque ad mortem. Quod vero scutum sic formabitur: Scutum autem in se erit purpureum, cum leone argenteo *rampaunte* in medio, ac in pectore unam rosam de minio, idest *gowles*, gestante. Spiritualiter per istud scutum purpureum [intelligo lignum crucis, quod est de] Christi sanguine dispersum et effusum. In cuius medio leo *rampaunt* est corpus Christi benedictum; de quo Apocalipsis: "Vicit leo de tribu Iuda." Set hic leo est argenteus, et bene, eo quod argentum est metallum inter cetera purum et clarum et signat Christi humanitatem purissimam. Que quidem Christi humanitas est coronata corona aurea, idest divinitate. Set illa rosa in pectore est illud vulnus laterale, per cuius medium hoc scutum erat perforatum per quandam lanceam *de felony*. Que tamen omnia pro nobis pacienter sustinuit. Unde narrat Virgilius quod antiquus (mos) forcium erat quod quando in bello moriebantur, quod terram mordebant ne ex impaciencia aliquid turpe proferrent. Et ideo iuxta concilium Sapientis, "Sume scutum inexpugnabile," hoc est scutum paciencie, quod nullum genus tormentorum potest penetrare.

Devictus ergo [f. 219v] ° hiis duobus hostibus, scilicet carne et mundo, revera tercius hostis, puta diabolus, accedere non audebit, set quasi disperso auxilio et exercitu ad fugam compellitur, quod si redierit, certe omne robur et malicia quasi pro nichilo sub pedibus virtutum calcabitur et confundetur. Sic ergo patet quomodo virtute illius lapidis Christi hostes nostros singulos devincere valemus. Unde Gregorius: "Non potest prevalere cordis angustia vel mundi molestia ubi tanti auxiliatoris est presens potencia." Et Bernardus: "Quantumcumque, inquit, seviat tribulacio, non putes te derelictum si memineris illud scriptum: 'Cum ipso sum in tribulacione,' " scilicet (cum) Iesu Christo, quia in omni tribulacione et

a man sculpted in a jasper who holds a shield in one hand and a sword in the other, with a serpent beneath his feet, that jasper has power against any enemy. This precious stone stands for Christ, for Christ was a rock, who holds both sword and shield in his hands in our defense, and a serpent beneath his feet. When our flesh stirs against us, we should take the sword of penance and mortification from his hand, with which we shall divide and cut up our carnal desires; Deuteronomy 22: "My sword shall devour flesh." This sword is fashioned out of the three parts of penance, which are contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The blade of this sword is true confession of all our misdeeds; Revelation 3: "From his mouth came out a sharp two-edged sword." Second, the hilt, which is the cross-piece that protects the hands, that is, our deeds, from being hurt, is humble contrition of past deeds on one side, and of present deeds on the other. But the pommel, a round and solid knob, is the firm satisfaction we must make for all our sins, those of the past and the present, as well as those of the future by an act of good intention. Notice that one must fight back the harder where some evil flourishes more powerfully. But there is no greater evil than an internal enemy, such as is our flesh. Therefore, our flesh must be withstood most strongly. *Policraticus* reports that some people praised their king greatly because he had firmly fought against his enemies and overcome them. He replied that he would not be victorious until he were to cast down an enemy that was stronger than all the others. When they asked him who that was, he replied: "My own flesh." Therefore, he who tames his flesh rules over a large empire. Whence Seneca says: "I will give you an empire: rule yourself!" And in Corinthians 9: "I fight, not as one beating the air, but I chastise my body."

In the second place, if the world attacks you, take the shield of patience from Christ and reflect attentively how through his patience he overcame the tyrants of the world when he suffered so many kinds of torments with equanimity and without murmur, even unto death. This shield will be fashioned as follows: the shield itself will be purple, with a silver lion rampant in the middle, wearing a red rose, that is, in *goules*, on its chest. Allegorically, by this purple shield I understand the wood of the cross, which is besprinkled and totally covered with the blood of Christ. The lion rampant in its middle is Christ's blessed body, of which is said in Revelation: "The lion of the tribe of Judah has prevailed." But this lion is of silver, and fittingly so, because silver is a metal which is above all clean and bright and symbolizes the most pure human nature of Christ. Christ's human nature wears a golden crown, divinity. But the rose on the lion's chest is that wound in his side, with which this shield was pierced by the lance of a felon. All these things Christ suffered for us patiently. Virgil tells us that among the strong champions of old it was the custom, when they died in battle, to bite the dust, so that they might not speak any dishonorable word in their suffering. Therefore, after the

- 210 angustia succurrit nobis eius presencia. Verbi gracia: Si deviamus, habemus eum ab errore revocantem; si spiritualiter infirmamur, habemus ipsum medicinam preparantem; si esuriamus, habemus eum largissime reficientem; si temptationibus tribulemur, habemus ipsum consolantem; si per peccatum carceri diaboli mancipamur, habemus ipsum liberantem; si ab hostibus insidiamur, habemus ipsum respicientem. Que omnia et eorum expositionem quere supra, particula 3, capitulis 17, 20, et 21. Ex quibus liquet quod bellum spirituale contra hos aggredi non debemus formidare set fortiter dimicare. Quod si fecerimus, puritatem consciencie facilliter acquirere valeamus.

1 tactibus] tactis O. 2 lascivis et] om O. inonestis] om O. 7 quadam] om O. 8 Qui] que cum sibi et suis de suis veneficiis propinasset O. formas] add diversarum O. conversi] converse C. 9 et . . . ei] om O. 10 florem illum] om O. lesione] illesione M; illesione R.W. 11 ut ibi] ubi sic O. 18 pollutus] pollutis O. 19 conservatur] servatur O. 23 Ante] antequam C.M. 27–28 conservare virginitatem] conservacionem virginitatis et castitatis O. 29 Et] add nota O. expertum] add autem R.W. quas] quod O. 37 devinct] devinct O. 40 ipsum] illum O. 42 Ancheus] ancheas C. 45 surrexit] surrexit C. 47–48 Ancheus] ancheas C. 55–56 Franciscus, Dominicus] add etc M; et alii R; franciscus W. Franciscus] om Go1.L2.L3.LC.R.V; story om group x.M; manuscript defective Jo.L1; add nicholaus z. All full manuscripts recorded. 69 Cum] quando O. 78 aut] et O. 80 potest cadere] cadet O. paululum dormire] om O. 85 vestra] nostra O. 93 protulit] pertulit O. 95 fuerit] fuit M.R; om W. probaret] procurer C. 98 ex] pro nimia O. 102 ille] illi M.W; vitri R. 104 eversa] onerosa C. 110 scilicet] thus in r, u, z and anticipated in R; si C.O. 121–133 Unde . . . forgetenn] text from R. Verse 55, in B1.B3.Go1.L2.LC.R.Sp.V.W1. 137 qui] quia C. sibi sumit] cibi sunt C.—The sentence gave the scribes much trouble, apparently because an abbreviation of sumit (thus in groups u and z) was misread as sunt. 139 si] sicut M.R. 141 bellum vel] om O. 141–147 ponit . . . triumphum] sic debet homo pugnam timere cum luxuria, eo quod corpus nostrum ad modum proditoris in pugna ita contra nos erit. Que si devicta fuerit, alii duo hostes, scilicet mundus et demon, facilliter quasi devinctur O. 148 mortuo] occiso O. 149 introductis] add revera O. 151–152 mundicia . . . capietur] celum capitur O. 155 istorum] add trium O. scilicet] om O. 157 enim] om O. 158–159 serpentemque] serpentesque C. 161 tenet] add ipse O. 165 tribus] om O. 166 Anglice the blade] om O. 169 a lesione] ab illesione M.R; ab ulucione W. 174 hostis] amicus M.W; inimicus R. 175–176 quendam . . . laudasse] quod (om R.W) cum (om M.W) quidam (om M) regem suum laudasset O. 181 etc.] om O. 182 scutum] add de collo O. a Christo] christi O. 186 medio] add cum corona aurea R. 187–188 intelligo . . . de] om C.O.—Only in group r, but obviously required by the sense of this passage. Group z omits per and reads est crux sancta christi . . . 190 Set] scilicet M.R; si W. est] om O. 196 mos] modus C; mors W. 200 ergo] add ergo C. 205 hostes] add et O. 209 cum] in C. 210 Si] add aliquid M.W; add aliquando R. 212 eum] ipsum M.W; ipse R. 215 quere] nota O. 216 capitulis . . . 21] capitulo M; capitulo 3 R.W. 217 hos] hostes M; hostes hos R; hostes quos W. 218 valeamus] valeamus O.

advice of the wise man, “take an invincible shield,” that is, the shield of patience, which no kind of torment can pierce.

And when these two enemies, the flesh and the world, have been defeated, the third, that is, the devil, will truly not dare come near us, but will be forced to flee because his helpers and his troops have been dispersed. Should he come back, all his strength and mischief will certainly be trodden under the feet of the virtues and be confounded as if they were nothing. And thus it is manifest how by the power of this precious stone of Christ we are able to overcome our enemies, one by one. Whence Gregory says: “Our heart’s anxiety and the world’s tribulation cannot prevail where the power of such a strong helper is present.” And Bernard: “However violently tribulation may rage, do not think of yourself as abandoned if you remember this word: ‘I am with him in tribulation,’ ” that is, with Christ Jesus, for his presence helps us in every trial and tribulation. For instance: if we go somewhat astray, he is with us to call us back from our wandering; if we are spiritually sick, he is with us to prepare some medicine; if we are hungry, he is with us to refresh us most generously; if we are troubled by temptations, he is with us to comfort us; if we are locked up in the devil’s jail through our sin, he is with us to set us free; if we are beset by our enemies, he is with us to keep watch. For all these matters and their explanation, see above, part 3, chapters 17, 20, and 21. From this it is patent that we must not be afraid to enter into the spiritual battle against these enemies, but rather fight bravely. If we do so, it will be easy for us to acquire purity of mind.

6–11 Boethius, *De consolazione Philosophiae* IV, m. 3 and preceding prose. 14–15 *FM* IV.iv.135–143. 15 Cf. Ailred of Rievaulx, *De institutione inclusarum* 32 (PL 32:1462). 25–26 Bernard, *De conversione ad clericos* XXI.37 (4:113). 33–34 James 1.11. 35–37 Cf. Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris* III.3 and 9 (pp. 69 and 87). 41–47 Tubach 267; Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinae*, II, praef., 41, and Ovid, *Met.* IX.183–184. 60–61 Prov. 26.20. 66 Rev. 3.19. 76–77 James 4.15. 78–79 Prov. 30.8. 85–86 Lam. 4.18. 86–87 Cf. Hos. 4.2. 94–95 Tob. 12.13. 99–102 Also in *GR* 46. 112–113 *Ecclus.* 7.40. 114–121 For the “Signs of Death” commonplace, see *Verses*, pp. 197–199. Already used in *FM* I.xiii.28–35. 157–159 Techel, 1; ed. Pitra, vol. III, p. 336. Also in Vincent, *Spec. naturale* VIII.77. Group z attributes this to “Conches.” 164 Deut. 32.42. 167–168 Rev. 1.16. 180–181 1 Cor. 9.26–27. 190 Rev. 5.5. 195–197 Servius on *Aeneidos* XI.418. 198 Wisd. 5.20. 208–209 Ps. 90.15. 216 The references seem to be to images of Christ as knight or fighter: *FM* III.xvii.64ff., xx.136–142, and xxi.220–226.



## VII.xx DE EFFECTU CONTINENCIE

[D]e effectu continencie et eius fine iam ultimo est advertendum quod vere continentes Christum secuntur ad celorum regna, iuxta illud Apocalipsis 14: "Virgines enim sunt et secuntur agnum," idest Christum, "quocumque ierit." Unde Augustinus libro *De bono virginitatis*: "Quo, inquit, ire putamus hunc agnum quo eum nemo sequi vel audeat vel valeat nisi vos, [f. 220] scilicet virgines? Quo eciam putamus eum ire, in quos saltus vel prata, ubi credo sunt gaudia virginum Christi? Nam sunt alii alia set nullis talia. In hoc ergo sequamini agnum quia agni caro utique virgo est. Merito ergo sequ(ami) illum virginitate cordis et corporis quocumque ierit." Et sequitur: "Multa, inquit, ad illum imitandum omnibus proponuntur, set virginitas carnis non omnibus. Non enim habent quod faciant quod virgines sunt, in quibus iam factum est ut virgines non sunt. Itaque agnum ceteri fideles qui virginitatem corporis amiserunt secuntur, set non quocumque ierit ille set quousque ipsi poterunt possunt preterquam in decore virginitatis. Ipse dicit: 'Beati pauperes,' quasi diceret: imitami illum qui propter vos factus est pauper cum tamen esset dives. 'Beati mites,' quasi diceret: imitami illum qui dixit, 'Discite a me quia mitis sum,' " etc. Et sic enumeratis multis aliis sequitur: "Qui imitantur in hiis, agnum secuntur. Quod eciam coniugati possunt. Set ecce agnus ille graditur itinere virginali. Quomodo ergo post illum ibunt qui hoc amiserunt quod nullo modo percipiunt? Vos ergo post eum virgines eius et propter hoc unum, scilicet virginitatem, quocumque ierit sequimini eum."

Et nota quod virgines pre ceteris sanctis Christum secuntur propter diversas earum prerogativas. Primo quia virginitas comitatur primariam hominis creacionem. Nam homo creatus erat de terra virginea, et Eva sine commixtione. Secundo quia comitatur paradisi recuperacionem. Primus enim homo qui paradikum recuperavit fuit Helias, et ille erat virgo. Tercio, quia comitatur tocium mundi dominacionem. Verbi gracia: virginitas enim celos clausit, mortuos suscitavit, Iordanem divisit, Daniele et pueros liberavit. Quarto virgi- [f. 220v] nitas est comes reparacionis. Christus enim reparator noster erat virgo et natus de virgine. Quinto quia victoria est antique corrupcionis. Sola enim virginitas vincit carnis corrupcionem. Sexto quia est transcensio status mundani, quia secundum beatum Augustinum "in carne preter carnem vivere terrena vita non est set celestis." Septimo quia est equacio status angelici. Angelis enim semper virginitas est cognata. Merito ergo virginitas pre ceteris virtutibus Christum sequitur et famulatur, ut domicella libera et principalis nullo officio forinseco aut rudi occupata set crines et capud domini sui lavit et abluit, et sic multipliciter gaudenter deservit.

40 Et ideo iuste sibi premia conceduntur in celis, ubi contra capitalia

## VII.xx THE END EFFECT OF CONTINENCE

Now we finally turn to the consequences and end effect of continence and should notice that those who are truly continent follow Christ to the kingdom of heaven, after the words of Revelation 14: "They are virgins and follow the Lamb," that is, Christ, "wheresoever he goes." For that reason, Augustine says in his book *On the Value of Virginitas*: "Where do we think this Lamb is going, where no one dares or can follow him except you, that is, virgins? Where do we think he is going, to what pastures or meadows, where I believe the joys of the virgins of Christ are? Others have other joys, but none have joys like these. In this let us follow the Lamb, for his flesh is that of a virgin. Let us therefore truly follow him in the virginity of our heart and body, wherever he may go." And Augustine continues: "Many things are possible for all who want to imitate him, but virginity of the body is not within reach of all. For those who have lost their virginity can do nothing to be virgins. Therefore, those faithful who have lost bodily virginity follow the Lamb, but not wherever he may go, but where they are able to follow without the special beauty of virginity. He himself says, 'Blessed are the poor,' so as to say: follow him who for your sake has become poor though he was rich. 'Blessed are the meek,' as if to say: follow him who has said, 'Learn from me for I am meek.'" In the same way Augustine lists the other beatitudes, and then continues: "Those who imitate him in these matters follow the Lamb. This is within reach also of married people. But lo, that Lamb walks on the path of virginity. How then can those walk after him who have lost what they cannot regain in any way? You, therefore, go after him specifically as virgins and follow him wherever he might go on account of this alone, namely virginity."

And notice that virgins follow Christ in a way that is superior to other saints because of several prerogatives they have. First, virginity went with the original creation of man, for man was made from virgin soil, and Eve was created without admixture of any other matter. Second, virginity accompanies the recovery of paradise; the first human to recover paradise was Elijah, and he was a virgin. Third, virginity accompanies the rule over the whole world; for instance, it closed heaven, it revived the dead, it parted the Jordan, and it set David and the young men free. Fourth, virginity is the companion of our restoration; for Christ, who has restored us, was a virgin and was born of a virgin. Fifth, virginity is the victory over our former corruption; for it alone overcomes the corruption of the flesh. Sixth, virginity transcends our condition in this world; for according to Blessed Augustine, "to live in the flesh outside the flesh is not an earthly way of life but a heavenly one." Seventh, virginity is equal to the status of angels; for it is always akin to the angels. Therefore, virginity rightly follows and ministers to Christ before all other virtues, just as the chief maid, who is not a slave, does not do



septem beatitudines conceduntur, ut patet Matthei 5. Primo autem Christus dicit superbis: "O superbi, qui parem habere noluistis, set in tumore et arrogancia permansistis, ecce nunc in celo 'beati pacifici,' etc." Secundo: "O iracundi, qui credidistis quod vita micium sit insania, modo in celo videte quia 'beati mites.'" Tercio: "O invidi et detractores, qui credidistis misericordiam nichil fuisse, ecce iam in celo 'beati misericordes.'" Quarto: "O cupidi et avari, qui credidistis quod vita pauperum fuisset insania, iam ergo cognoscite et videte quia 'beati pauperes,' etc." Quinto: "O accidiosi, qui credidistis quod penitencia esset insania, iam ergo agnoscite et videte quia 'beati qui lugent.'" Sexto: "O gulosi, qui contempsistis abstinenciam, ecce modo 'beati qui esuriunt et siciunt,' etc." Septimo et ultimo: "O luxuriosi, qui mundiciam contempsistis, ecce modo quia 'beati mundo corde, quoniam ipsi Deum videbunt.'" 45 50

Et ideo vos peccatores obstinati de mundis et virtuosos in extremo die [f. 221] dicetis illud Sapientie 15: "Hii sunt quos aliquando habuimus in derisum et in similitudinem improprietatis. Nos insensati vitam illorum estimabamus insaniam et finem illorum sine honore. Set ecce iam quomodo inter filios Dei computati sunt, et inter illos sors illorum est." Et ideo Gregorius de gaudiis celi loquens ait: "In celesti, inquit, patria divicie si diligantur ibi adquiruntur ubi perire non possunt, honor acquiritur ubi nullus indignus honoratur, salus adipiscitur ubi nichil obesse salutem invenitur, vita acquiritur ubi nichil mori potest, ubi etiam nichil obest, nichil superfluum, nichil deficit, [nichil] exterius quod appetitur, nichil interius quod fastiditur, set cives angelici mirantur in illum quem prospiciunt, quo frui magis siciunt." Idem etiam Gregorius dicit in omelia communi unius martiris: "Si consideremus, karissimi, que et quanta sunt que nobis promittuntur in celis, vilescunt animo omnia que habentur in terris." Et sequitur: "Que lingua dicere aut quis intellectus capere sufficit ill(a) superne felicitatis, quanta sunt gaudia angelorum choris interesse, cum beatissimis spiritibus presencie Conditoris assistere, vultum Dei cernere, incircumscriptum lumen videre, nullo mortis metu affici, set incorupcionis munere letari?" Item Bernardus: "Tanta ibi est iocunditas et suavitas quod si non liceret nisi per unius hore spacium ibi moram habere, omnes dies istius vite pleni deliciis [pro nichilo] computarentur." Cui comparare omnes 75 delicias aliunde dolor est, omnis iocunditas meror, omne dulce amarum, omne decus fetidum, omne quodcumque aliud quod delectari posset molestum est, cum Dei bonitas et potencia omnia mundi gaudia infinite excedunt. Et ideo, [f. 221v] secundum Gregorium, (ibi) diversa mirabilia sunt que nusquam in hac vita videbantur, scilicet iuventus sine senectute, decor sine deformitate, vita sine morte. Ibi satis sine sollicitudine, gaudium sine fine, 80 dies sine nocte. Item ibidem sunt dignitates iste: carmina non deficient, premia non desinunt, regnum non amittitur. Ibi etiam est pax sine discor-

any coarse work outside the house but washes and dries the hair and head of her lord and thus serves him in many ways with great joy.

Thus virginity rightfully receives its reward in heaven, where seven blessings are granted against the capital vices, as can be seen in Matthew 5. Christ says first to the proud: "O you proud ones, who did not want to have any equal but always lived in pride and arrogance, behold now in heaven 'blessed are the peacemakers,' etc." Second: "O you wrathful, who thought the life of the meek was folly, now see how in heaven 'blessed are the meek.'" Third: "O you envious and backbiters, who thought that mercy amounted to nothing, behold, now in heaven 'blessed are the merciful.'" Fourth: "O you covetous and avaricious, who thought that the life of the poor was nonsense, now understand and see that 'blessed are the poor,' etc." Fifth: "O you slothful, who thought that doing penance was insane, now realize and see that 'blessed are they who mourn.'" Sixth: "O you gluttons, who despised abstinence, behold now that 'blessed are they who hunger and thirst,' and so forth." And finally, in the seventh place: "O you lechers, who scorned cleanness, behold now that 'blessed are the pure of heart, for they shall see God.'" 55 60

And thus, at the Last Judgment you hardened sinners will say those words of Wisdom 5 with reference to the pure and virtuous souls: "These are the ones whom we once held in derision and for a parable of reproach. We fools esteemed their life madness and their end without honor. But behold how they are now numbered among the children of God, and their lot is among the saints." And speaking of the joys of heaven, Gregory says: "In our heavenly home, the wealth we love is acquired where it cannot perish, honor is gained where no unworthy person is honored, health is obtained where nothing exists that may destroy it, life is gained where nothing can die. There is, further, no too much or too little, no external good one desires, nor any internal good one gets bored with; there the angelic citizens behold in wonder the one they see, and thirst to enjoy him more." The same Gregory writes further in his common homily on a martyr: "If we consider, dearly beloved, what and how great the things are that we are promised to gain in heaven, all things on earth become worthless to our mind." And he continues: "What tongue can tell, what mind can grasp what great joys of heavenly bliss there are: to sing with the choirs of angels, to share the glory of our Creator with the blessed spirits, to behold God's face, to see the light without bounds, to be free from any fear of death, and to rejoice in the gift of everlasting wholeness?" Bernard likewise says: "There the joy and sweetness is so great that, if one could be there for only one hour, all the days of one's life, even if they were full of pleasure, would count as nothing. In comparison with that bliss, all other pleasures are pain, all joy sadness, all sweetness bitter, all beauty ugly, everything else that might give pleasure burdensome, for God's goodness and power transcend all these infinitely." And therefore, after Gregory, in heaven there are several

85 dia, voluntas sine iniuria, sine mendacio iusticia, et sine oblivione memoria.”  
Unde secundum Bernardum: “Festinemus ad illum locum tucioem, ad por-  
tum suaviorem, ad gaudium uber(ius), ubi habitemus sine metu, habundemus  
sine defectu,” etc. Dicit eciam idem Bernardus in quadam meditacione: “Ibi  
est summum bonum et summa felicitas, summa iocunditas, perfecta caritas,  
eterna securitas, et segura eternitas. Ibi est vera leticia, plena scien-  
cia, omnis plenitudo, omnis pulcritudo, et omnis beatitudo, etc. Unde  
90 versus:

Est ibi pax, pietas, bonitas, lux, virtus, honestas,  
Gaudia, leticia, dulcedo, vita perhennis,  
Gloria, laus, requies, amor, concordia dulcis.

95 Sic patet quod cum Deo beatus erit, in cuius consciencia peccatum inventum  
non fuerit; videbit Deum ad voluptatem, habebit eum ad voluntatem, et frue-  
tur ad iocunditatem; in eternitate vigebit, in veritate fulgebit, in boni-  
tate gaudebit. Sic habebit permanendi eternitatem, cognoscendi facilitatem,  
et requirendi felicitatem. Cuius siquidem erit illius civitatis sancte bea-  
tudo, cuius angeli sunt cives, Deus Pater templum, Filius eius splendor,  
100 Spiritus Sanctus caritas. O sancta civitas, celestis mansio, segura patria,  
totum continens quod delectat, populus sine murmure, incole quieti, homines  
nullam indigenciam habentes. De [f. 222] ista civitate dicit Psalmista:  
‘Gloriosa dicta sunt de te, civitas Dei. Sicut letancium omnium habitacio  
in te.’ ” Ad quam civitatem et delectabilem habitacionem perducatur nos Iesus  
105 Christus, rex, dulcor, et decus illius sanctissime civitatis. Amen.

Et hec de luxuria et eius opposito, scilicet continencia, ad presens  
iam dicta sufficiunt. Et sic terminatur iste libellus.

Finis sermonum fit hec collectio morum.

7 gaudia] *add* propria O. 9 sequamini] sequimur C. 14 possunt] aut M; *add* ire R.  
17 etc.] *om* M.W; et humilis corde R. 22 eum] illum O. 27 Helias] ennoc R.  
29 clausit] clausos aperuit R.—B1 *reads* clausos aperuit, *the other representative MSS*  
clausit. 35 equacio] receptio M.R; deceptio W. 37 domicella] thalamita O. 38 do-  
mini sui] domine sue R. 40 conceduntur] concedit O. contra] *add* vicia M.W; *add*  
septem vicia R. 41–42 ut . . . superbis] a christo qui ait primo O. 43 nunc] *om* O.  
etc.] *om* O. 48 iam . . . et] modo O. etc.] *om* O. 49 qui] quia O. esset] fuisset O.  
58 illos] sanctos O. 62 invenitur] timetur O. 63 nichil] *om* O. deficit] defuit O. ap-  
petitur] appetatur O. 64 angelici] angeli O. mirantur] *add* nichil deficient O. quem]  
qui O. 68 illa] illius C. 70 presencie] glorie O. assistere] *add* presentem O. 74 is-  
tius] sue O. pleni] plene O. pro nichilo] *om* C.M.W. 76 est] *om* O. 77 mundi  
gaudia] *om* O. excedunt] excedit O. 78 ibi] ideo C. 80 ibi] *om* O. 81 Item . . . iste]

miracles which were never seen in this life, namely: youth without old age,  
beauty without decay, life without death. There is fullness without want, joy  
without end, day without night. Further, there are the following gifts of  
honor: songs do not end, rewards do not cease, possessions are not lost. And  
there is peace without discord, pleasure without hurt, justice without fail,  
and memory without forgetting.” Therefore, according to Bernard, “let us  
hasten to the place that is safer, to the harbor that is sweeter, to the joy  
which is fuller, where we shall dwell without fear, in abundance without any  
want,” and so forth. The same Bernard says further, in one of his meditations:  
“There is the highest good and the greatest happiness, the greatest joy, per-  
fect love, eternal safety, and a safe eternity. There is true cheerfulness,  
complete knowledge, every fullness, every beauty, and every bliss,” and so on.  
Hence these verses:

Peace there is, and deep-felt love,  
Goodness, light, virtue, honor.  
All joys and happiness we find,  
Sweetness, and life eternal.  
Glory, praise, rest, and love there are,  
And sweet oneness of hearts.

Thus it is clear that the person in whose conscience no sin is found will be  
blessed with God; he will see God to his pleasure, have him at his will, and  
enjoy him in bliss; he will live in eternity, shine in truth, and rejoice in  
goodness. In this way he will have eternity of being, ease of understanding,  
and the happy fulfillment of his searching. His will be the blessedness of  
that holy city whose citizens are the angels, whose temple God the Father,  
whose splendor God’s Son, and whose love the Holy Spirit. O holy city, heav-  
enly dwelling place, safe home, containing every delight, a people without mur-  
muring, dwellers at rest, individuals without any want. Of this city the  
Psalmist says: “Glorious things are said of you, city of God. In you is the  
dwelling of all who rejoice.” May he bring us to this city and delightful  
dwelling place, Jesus Christ, the king, sweetness, and beauty of that most holy  
city. Amen.

And these things about lechery and its opposite virtue, continence, suf-  
fice for now. Thus this book is finished.

This collection of moral matters is [for?] the end of sermons.

3–4 Rev. 14.4. 4–22 Augustine, *De sancta virginitate* XXVII.27–XXIX.29 (PL  
40:410–412). 27 Cf. 2 Kings 2.11. 28–30 The references are, evidently, to Eve,  
Elijah, Joshua, Daniel, and the three youths in the fiery oven. 34 Cf. above, *FM*  
VII.x.67–68. 41–53 Matt. 5:3–9. 55–58 Wisd. 5.3–5. 66–72 Gregory, *In Evan-*

*om* O. deficiunt] desinunt O. **82** desinunt] deficiunt O. Ibi etiam est] *om* O. **84** Unde secundum] secundum ergo O. illum] *om* O. **85** uberius] ubertatis C. **86** etc.] *om* O. **86–105** Dicit . . . Amen] *this long expansion in C also occurs in group z and E; ad quod gaudium nos perducatur qui sine fine vivit et regnat amen O (M omits nos and amen).* **107** Finis . . . morum] *Also in M.W.B3.B4.Et.Go1.Pe.W2, all reading est instead of fit.*

*gelia*, hom. 37, 1 (PL 76:1275). **72–74** Cf. Augustine, *De libero arbitrio* III.xxv.77 (PL 32:1308–09). **78–84** Cf. Ps.-Augustine, *Ad fratres in eremo*, sermo 65 and 67 (PL 40:1351, 1353); *Soliloquia* 35 (PL 40:894). **86–104** *Meditationes piissimae* IV.11 (PL 184:492). **103–104** Ps. 86.3, 7.

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